A. E. BROWN

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ENGLISH HISTORY

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TEXT-BOOK

OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

For Colleges and Schools

BY

OSMUND AIRY

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WITH SIXTEEN MAPS

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PREFACE

It is hoped that this may prove useful as a text-book both for teachers and for those students who, while their knowledge of facts is incomplete, are mature enough to desire to connect events with their causes and effects, and to feel an interest in constitutional questions.

It is seldom that any general view of a period is grasped by a learner. I have endeavoured to deal with this difficulty partly by care in the headings of books and chapters, partly by short summaries. The facts upon which these summaries are based are given in the fullest detail possible in the space to which the narrative is necessarily confined.

Frequent reference has been made in the notes to authorities. This has been done not so much to support the statements in the text as with the hope that the reader may be induced to turn to the books thus brought to his notice. The rapid spread of the Free Library movement renders it probable that before long the greater number of them will be easily accessible to most students. I have not hesitated now and again to mention works of comparative rarity, for the benefit of those who, as in the city from which I write, possess the advantage of libraries of the highest class.

More space than is usual in books of this order has been given to elaborating special points, such as the nature of, and contrast between, Anglo-Saxon Feudalism and the Norman Feudal

System, the causes of the Peasants' Revolt, the course and meaning of the Reformation, the connection between political ideas and systems of Church government, the causes of the French Revolution and its effects at home, the 'Expansion of England,' the condition of the labouring classes and the legislation to which that condition gave rise, and the reforms of later years. This has necessitated corresponding compression in accounts of battles and campaigns. Wherever these are described at any length, and where it has seemed necessary for clearness, the description is accompanied by a plan. Of Hastings, Bannockburn, Poitiers, Agincourt, the Great Civil War, the struggles in Canada and India, the Peninsular War, Waterloo, the Crimean War, and the Indian Mutiny, the accounts will, I hope, be found adequate. My indebtedness to the great writers upon these subjects is too obvious to need notice.

For occasional advice and help I have now, as often in the past, to thank Mr. S. R. Gardiner, the completion of whose own 'Student's History of England' is looked for with such keen interest; while to the suggestions of another friend, the Rev. A. Jamson Smith, Head Master of King Edward's School, Camp Hill, Birmingham, is due much of whatever value my book may be thought to contain.

A work of this kind may be regarded as scarcely a fit subject for a dedication. I wish, nevertheless, to connect the labour bestowed upon it with the honoured memory of William Lucas Sargant.

OSMUND AIRY.

Solihull, Birmingham.

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Errata

Page 62, line 4, *for* Louis *read* Louis VII.
„ 80, „ 5, „ Philip „ Philip II.
„ 83, „ 9, „ Louis „ Louis VIII.
„ 89, „ 13, „ Gilbert Gloucester *read* Gilbert of Gloucester
„ 100, „ 18, „ Boniface *read* Boniface VIII.
„ 106, heading, *for* supremacy *read* causes of the supremacy
„ 107, last line, *add* and Kettering
„ 163, line 12, *dele* attainted
„ 187, „ 12, „ Sir Thomas More . . . as he was.
„ 190, „ 3, „ nor was . . . defend himself.
„ „ note 8, *add* Hallam, *Hist. of Eng.* sm. ed. vol. i. pp. 29, 30
„ 195, line 28, *for* law *read* opinion of the judges
„ „ „ 32, „ July 1 „ July 28
„ 196, „ 34, „ 1541 „ October, 1540.
„ 197, „ 4, *dele* Charles . . . later.
„ 202, „ 31, *for* Guildford Dudley *read* Guilford Dudley.
„ 222, note, „ Spencer *read* Spenser
„ 257, line 28, „ St. Giles' „ St. Giles
„ 271, „ 4, „ Cheshire „ Cheriton
„ 353, dates, „ Brihuegen „ Brihuega
„ „ „ „ Occasional Contormity Bill *read* Occasional Conformity Act.
„ 359, line 17, *dele* (p. 353)
„ 377, „ 10, *for* Lauffuld *read* Lauffeld
„ 419 „ 1, „ Tiers Etat „ Tiers État

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION

THE ROMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION

B.C. 55 TO A.D. 407

On August 26, B.C. 55, the Romans, under the eye of Julius Cæsar, effected a landing at Pevensey. The natives, who after a sharp fight at the water's edge fled to the forests and marshes, were of the same Celtic blood as those whom the invaders had already conquered in Gaul and Spain, members of the vanguard of the westward migration of the Aryan race. In the south and south-east there was considerable civilisation, owing to the intercourse with Gaul. Further inland the standard of life grew lower; in the north and west the people, little better than savages, lived by the chase.[1]

First landing of the Romans, B.C. 55

The tribes were sharply divided; among the chief were the Cantii

[1] In far-distant ages, previous to the coming of the Aryans, the British Islands were occupied by a people of an earlier stock, the Hibernians. They had been driven out by the first body of Aryans, the Goidels, who in turn were expelled by the Brythons, from whom, perhaps, the name Britain is derived. The Hibernians were now in the west of Ireland and the remote highlands of Scotland; the Goidels in the east of Ireland, in Wales, Cornwall and Devon, the Lake district, and Galloway. The new comers in each case were of civilisation superior to that of those whom they ousted. The Brythons of the south-east, like their brethren in Gaul, were no mean enemies. They carried spears and swords of bronze, shields, and some defensive armour, and were specially skilful in the management of their war chariots. Some savage customs they retained, such as tattooing and painting the body.

The greater part of the country was given over to forest, fen, and waste. The only clearings were on the uplands, such as Salisbury Plain, the Hampshire and Kentish Downs, the Cotswolds, the high grounds of Norfolk and Suffolk. Even at the close of the Roman rule the clearings in the valleys were but narrow strips of culture. The importance of the forests and fens in determining the course of the Saxon invasion will be seen later on, pp. 8, 9; Green, *Making of England*, pp. 7–11.

in Kent; the Belgæ westwards to Dorsetshire and Somersetshire; the Damnonii thence to the Land's End. On the left bank of the Thames, west of London, were the Cassii; the Trinobantes occupied Essex; the Iceni spread from the Stour to the Humber, the Brigantes from the Humber to the Tyne; the Silures lay between the Wye and the Dee; the Ordovices among the mountains of Wales; the Coritavi and Cornabii in the Midlands. North of the Tyne wandered the Mæatæ, and north of them the Caledonii, together known as Picts.

Divisions of the tribes

To these various tribes there was but one thing common, their religion. Britain, the remotest home of the Celtic race, was the most venerated dwelling of the mysterious Druids, as Anglesey, the remotest corner of Britain, was their most sacred haunt. Organised independently of tribal divisions, they were subordinate to a high-priest chosen among themselves. Their worship bears signs of Eastern birth, but doctrines and forms are alike obscure. It seems certain however that idol-worship was unknown, and that nature in various forms was adored. The oak and misletoe were objects of profound veneration; when the latter was found growing on an oak, a priest severed the plant with a golden knife, and a solemn festival with sacrifices was held. The power of the Druids was immense. They were the priests, physicians, educators, astrologers, magicians, lawgivers, and judges—and as such were free from taxation or military service. They surrounded themselves with awful secrecy; a training of twenty years apart from men was necessary for admission to their body; their mysteries were handed down by word of mouth, and jealously confined to themselves. Sacrifices—in the last resort human sacrifices—were their propitiatory offerings to their gods. Their power formed one check upon the influence of the chiefs, another was found in an aristocratic order. Below the latter were none but serfs. Besides the Druids were two inferior orders, the Ovates, or sacrificing priests, and the Bards, or prophets, who were attached to the various chiefs, roused them to battle, and celebrated their prowess on the harp.[2]

The Druids

At the moment of Cæsar's landing, Cassivellaunus ruled over the Cassii and Trinobantes, with overlordship over the Cantii and Belgæ. Uniting all four, he inflicted upon the Romans losses so serious that Cæsar hastily re-embarked, and returned to Rome after a stay of but three weeks, to prepare for a more serious expedition. In the following spring, B.C. 54, he landed again at Pevensey, drove Cassivellaunus before him, forced the Thames at Coway Stakes, below the mouth of the Wey, and captured

Second landing of the Romans, B.C. 54

[2] Kitchin, *History of France*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

Verulamium, the royal town of the Cassii, near the present St. Albans. Cassivellaunus soon gave in his submission, and Cæsar, dreading the autumnal storms, was obliged to content himself with this barren triumph, and again returned to Gaul.

For ninety years no Roman again set foot in Britain. But in A.D. **44** Aulus Plautius landed with a force of German auxiliaries used to savage war. He was opposed by the same combination of tribes as before, led by Caractacus, a great-grandson of Cassivellaunus. In vain they endeavoured to weary him out by desultory warfare. Camolodunum, the modern Colchester, the royal town of the Trinobantes, was captured and garrisoned. Then Plautius and his colleague Vespasian took charge of the left and right banks of the Thames respectively. Vespasian, after thirty battles, reduced the Belgæ and the Isle of Wight. Plautius for five years carried on a doubtful contest with the Cassii and the Silures under Caractacus.

Aulus Plautius, A.D. 44. Conquest of the East and South

Ostorius Scapula then took up the work. In **52** he overthrew Caractacus at Caer Caradoc, a lofty hill in Shropshire, at the junction of the Tame and Colne. But the Silures held out, and so effective was their guerilla warfare that in **53** Scapula died, worn out with toil and vexation, after he had secured the territory in his hands by a line of strong forts on the Severn and Avon. In **61** Suetonius Paulinus broke down the resistance of the North and West, for which the Druids were the rallying-point. He marched to Anglesey, crossed the straits, slew the priests, and burnt down the groves. From this time Druidism ceased to be a power in the land.

Overthrow of Caractacus, A.D. 52. Partial conquest of the South-west

Of the North-west, A.D. 61. Downfall of the Druids

From this distant expedition Paulinus was suddenly recalled by terrible news. Under their queen Boadicea, the Iceni had swept into Essex, burnt Camolodunum, and trodden the legion which guarded it underfoot. The flame spread rapidly; London and Verulamium were sacked and burnt; 70,000 persons, Romans, and British who did not join their brethren, perished. For this awful outburst the Romans themselves were responsible. The natives had been driven from their homes, treated with insult and oppression, and crushed by extortion; while the young men had been drafted into the armies of Rome on the continent. Paulinus flew back along the Watling Street to the rescue. For a long time his own destruction seemed imminent. At length he turned to bay in a strong position. Forming his 10,000 men into a solid wedge, he became the assailant. Before the disciplined valour of the

Revolt of the East and South under Boadicea

legionaries the British could do nothing; the battle became a butchery, in which 80,000 men were slain. Boadicea, rather than survive her ruin, killed herself with poison.

Crushed by Paulinus

But the lesson of the revolt was not lost; Paulinus was recalled, and a more equitable administration established. In **70** the conquest of the country was practically completed by the reduction of the northern Brigantes and the western Silures, and in **78** Julius Agricola crushed the Ordovices of Wales and again overran Anglesey. But his great work was in the north. In **80** he reduced the lowlands of Scotland up to the Tay, and in **81** drew a line of forts, to bridle the Picts, between the Forth and the Clyde. In **84** he reached the Grampians, and there overthrew Galgacus with a loss of 10,000 men; his own loss was but 360. At the same time his fleet made the circuit of North Britain, reaching even to the Orkneys.

The conquest completed by Agricola, A.D. 70–81. His line of forts

But Agricola's forts soon proved ineffectual. In **120** therefore the Emperor Hadrian built a wall, strengthened on its southern side by a deep ditch and earthen rampart, from the Solway to the Tyne, a distance of seventy miles. This he garrisoned with 30,000 men. In **146** Lollius Urbicus raised a new line of forts on the site of those of Agricola, and joined them by an immense rampart of earth, now known as Graham's Dyke. In **206** the old Emperor Severus, after a campaign north of this rampart in which he lost 50,000 men, again strengthened the wall of Agricola.

Wall of Hadrian, A.D. 120

Of Lollius Urbicus (or Antonine), 146

For seventy years after the victories of Agricola there had been peace. Britain was completely incorporated as a Roman province under military rule. The old tribal divisions disappeared, and the country was divided into five parts for administrative purposes, the boundaries of which are very uncertain, the whole being under a prefect with absolute power. Progress was rapid; Wales, Cornwall, and Devon, and the country north of the Tyne, were little affected; but elsewhere the people, though only those of the higher class, began to assume the Roman dress and language; houses, baths, temples, were built in Roman fashion. The valleys began to be cleared of forest; the tin mines of Cornwall, the lead mines of Somersetshire and Northumberland, the iron mines of Sussex and the Forest of Dean, were busily worked; agriculture so flourished that Britain became the granary of Europe; her builders and artificers were sought for abroad. Roads were made in every direction, and towns sprung up along them.[3]

Progress under the Romans

[3] The tracing of the Roman roads has always been a matter of controversy. But it is certain that, to give them their later names, the great *Watling*

But this development was checked by the appearance of a new enemy, the dreaded sea-pirates, who, known generally as Saxons, sailed in large flat-bottomed galleys from their homes around the mouths of the Rhine. They were a branch of the Teuton race, the second wave of the Aryans. To preserve the south and south-eastern shores from these marauders an officer was appointed, known as the 'Count of the Saxon shore'; he had a squadron to keep the narrow seas to the Land's End, and a line of nine fortresses with 4,000 men was placed under his command from Pevensey to Brancaster on the Wash. Besides this officer there were, at the beginning of the fourth century, two others: the 'Duke of Britain,' who commanded north of the Humber with 15,000 men; and the 'Count of Britain,' who held sway over the other thirty-seven garrisons. But the Romans were fast losing their hold upon the country; disaffection was deep and widespread; the extensive use of mercenaries was weakening their military strength; and their troops were continually being withdrawn to help Rome in her own necessities. Thus in **368** the Picts and the Irish Scots—Celtic settlers, that is, from Ireland, in the south-west of what is now called Scotland—raided through the country even to the right bank of the Thames, while the sea-pirates constantly

The Saxons

Raids of the Picts and Scots

Street led from London north by St. Albans, Fenny Stratford, Northampton, and Tamworth to Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury; the *Ermine Street* from London to Lincoln by Colchester and Cambridge; the *Foss Way* from Cornwall to Lincoln, crossing the Watling Street at High Cross, between Coventry and Leicester. There was also the *Icknield Street*, perhaps from Bury St. Edmunds to Salisbury and Southampton; but this is a matter of conjecture. These four are known as the Four Great Roman Ways, though the Icknield Street was probably only a British track, and the Ermine Street was certainly not Roman south of Huntingdon. From London one great road led to Richborough on the coast. Smaller roads stretched from these between all military stations and places of importance.—Guest, *The Four Roman Ways*, Archæological Journal, vol. xiv. p. 99.

The towns were of four classes: (1) *Colonia*, granted to the Roman veterans, with the laws, customs, and officers of Rome itself. Of these there were nine: Richborough, the great port for Gaul, where a beacon always shone to guide ships across the channel, and which guarded at the southern end, as Reculver guarded it at the northern, the waterway to the Thames, between Thanet and the mainland, known as the Wantsum, now dry land; London, the great trading town; Colchester, Bath, Gloucester, Caerleon-on-Usk, Chester, Lincoln, and Chesterfield. (2) *Municipia*, whose inhabitants had the rights of Roman citizens, chose their own magistrates, and made their own laws. Of these there were two, St. Albans and York. (3) Ten towns possessing the *Latin right*, where there was an annual election of magistrates. (4) The great mass of *Stipendiary* towns, governed by Roman officials and paying tribute. All of these were chosen for their military advantages. Those which were in a special sense military stations may be generally known by the occurrence of the word *chester*, *cester*, or *caster* (castra = a camp).—Lingard, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. i. p. 50; and Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.*

harassed the coasts. In **369** Theodosius restored the administration; but in **380** Maximus, a successful soldier of British descent, proclaiming himself emperor, led the whole army of occupation to Gaul and Italy. Thus denuded of troops, Britain was an easy prey to her foes. Whenever Rome could spare help they were driven back. But her own peril obliged her to concentrate all her forces in Italy, and the last legionaries were recalled in **407**. For a time the natives themselves fought bravely against their fate. The 'Hallelujah' victory over the Picts and Scots in **429**, so called from the shout with which at the bidding of the Gaulish bishop Germanus they went to the attack, was their last effort. In the words of their petition to Rome in **446**, 'The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea to the barbarians; we are massacred or must be drowned.'

Final retirement of the Romans, 407

For this helplessness the Romans were again responsible. Their conquest had been purely a military occupation, and everything had been arranged for military needs alone. The insular position of Britain, the rigour of its climate, prevented the Romans from settling down in it as in Gaul and Spain. The natives had been treated as a subject race, disarmed, excluded from office and military service in the country. Local independence had been crushed, serfdom established. Britain was to Rome what Algiers has been to France, merely a training and recruiting ground. Thus when the Roman administration was gone there was nothing to take its place. It was seen how skin-deep had been the Roman influence, how little it had really touched the mass of the natives. Roman laws, customs, and language, disappeared, and Britain was left once more—but for the mighty engineering works of its conquerors, roads, bridges, towns, lighthouses, drainage works, and fortresses—the Britain of the past, but without even the old tribal organisation—a helpless mass of individuals.[4]

Helplessness of the British

One great change, though probably very superficial, had come over the land. Christianity had nominally become universal. Its early teachers were clearly not from Rome, but probably from Asia Minor, for Easter was kept on the day observed by the Eastern and not by the Roman Church. In **303** a desolating persecution under the Emperors Dioclesian and Maximian swept over the country; St. Alban at Verulamium was its earliest martyr. But in **314** and **359** British bishops were present at councils on the Continent; a British Bible existed; British pilgrims visited Palestine; a monastery was erected at Bangor; schools for the education of the

Christianity in Britain

[4] Green, *Making of England*, pp. 5, 6.

clergy were set up. Britain even had the honour of producing the founder of a famous heresy in Pelagius, who advanced unorthodox opinions upon divine grace and original sin. The facts however that no Christian inscription or ornament has been found of earlier date than the close of the Roman rule, and that Canterbury, London, and St. Albans were the only known Roman churches, show that Christianity had but little hold upon the country.

Principal dates.

Landings of Cæsar	B.C. 55, 54	Conquest of North and Wall of Agricola	A.D. 81
Conquest of East and South	A.D. 44	Wall of Hadrian	„ 120
Defeat of Caractacus and Conquest of South-west	„ 52	Wall of Urbicus or Antonine	„ 146
Conquest of the North-west and revolt of Boadicea	„ 61	Picts and Scots in Britain	„ 368
		Recall of the Legionaries	„ 407
		'Hallelujah' Victory	„ 429

BOOK I

SAXON ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

TO THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN[1]

449–828

SECTION 1.—*The Conquest, and introduction of Christianity*

450–600

IN **449** the despairing Britons sought the aid of two of the sea-pirates, Hengest and Horsa, chiefs of the Jutes, a Teutonic tribe from which Jutland takes its name. Landing at Ebbsfleet, then a spit of land jutting out from Thanet into the Wantsum, which there formed the waterway from the channel to the Thames estuary,[2] they helped to drive back the Picts and Scots, and received Thanet for their reward. For five years the Wantsum, jealously guarded, kept them there. Then they forced a passage, won a great battle, in which Horsa was killed, at Aylesford, the lowest ford on the Medway, which formed the second line of the British defence, and a second on the little river Cray. But here they were checked; the British, deposing their chief Vortigern, rallied and drove Hengest back to Thanet until **465**. In that year the Jutes once more swarmed across the Wantsum, overthrew the British at Wippedsfleet, and by **473** had won all Kent. Here they remained for a century, their further progress checked by Romney marsh on the south; while the great forest of the Andredsweald, 120 miles long and 30 broad, from the northern corner of which morasses stretched to the Thames, shut them off on the west.

Conquest of Kent by the Jutes, 473

On either side of the Jutes came the Saxons. In **477** one body, the *South Saxons*, landed near Selsea Bill, and after fourteen years of hard fighting eastwards along the coast, the most Romanised part of Britain, captured Pevensey. But they too were stopped by the Andredsweald, which at this point came right to the sea, and were hemmed in to the narrow strip of Sussex coast. The *East Saxons* landed in Essex in the

The South Saxons in Sussex, 477

East Saxons in Essex

[1] For the whole of this chapter read Green, *Making of England*.

[2] For the Wantsum, and the remarkable changes in the south-east coast, see Burrows, 'Cinque Ports' in the *Historic Towns* series.

valleys of the Colne and Stour. They captured Colchester, but could do nothing more; for the forest, of which Epping and Hainault forests are the remnants, stopped them on the south and west; while to the north Suffolk and Norfolk were already occupied.

A third Teutonic tribe, the Engles, from the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, had made their way up the Orwell, Yare, Wensum, and Waveney, into the heart of Norfolk and Suffolk. One band settled upon Suffolk, another upon Norfolk. A third forced their way up the Witham to Lincoln, and gave their name to the Lindesey (Lindis-waras = dwellers near Lindum). A fourth, anding upon Holderness, north of the Humber, were in fifty years masters of all Yorkshire up to the Pennine chain. This became the kingdom of *Deira*. A fifth sailed up the Forth to the site of Edinburgh, under Ida, the 'flame-bearer,' foraged along the Tweed and its southern tributaries, and erected the mighty coast fortress of Bamborough. Ida's territory became the kingdom of *Bernicia*. A sixth mounted the Trent, overran the northern and western Midlands to the watershed of the Severn and Trent, and formed the kingdom of *Mercia*, the land of the 'march,' or border.

The Engles in Norfolk and Suffolk

In Yorkshire

In Northumberland

In the Midlands

Meanwhile the *West Saxons*, under their kings Cerdic and Cynric, had landed at Southampton, whence alone an open way could be found inland through the forest. In **514** they won all the country between the Avon and the Andredsweald. But in **520**, when striving to pierce the woodland west of the Avon, they were overthrown at Badbury, and for 30 years could attempt nothing more except the capture of the Isle of Wight. In **552**, however, they stormed the huge fortress of Old Sarum, which blocked the road to Salisbury Plain, and Marlborough, which guarded that from Winchester to Cirencester; won a great battle at Barbury Hill, overran the Vale of the White Horse, and before long destroyed Silchester, which commanded the road to London.[3] Meanwhile, the Jutes of Kent, led by the youthful Ethelbert, great grandson of Hengest, had edged their way westward between the forest and the Thames. Suddenly they came face to face at Wimbledon with the West Saxons, pressing eastward after the sack of Silchester. Ethelbert was defeated (**568**) and forced back

The West Saxons

Battle of Wimbledon, 568

[3] London was for a long while unattacked, and the date of its conquest, and its conquerors, are alike unknown. It then stood at the point where the river became an estuary. As the natural port for all traffic from Gaul, the lowest point for a bridge or ferry, and as the meeting-point of many roads, it was the richest and most populous town. It completely blocked the river, for no movement was possible along the marshes of its banks.

into Kent. Then the conquerors crossed the Thames and mastered the southern Midlands. In **577**, after a great victory at Deorham near Bath, they overran the lower Severn valley, thus cutting off the British in Wales from their brethren in Cornwall. To reach Chester, and so cut the British line in a second place, was then their aim. But in this their king Ceawlin failed. A revolt of his own people, and a terrible defeat at Wansborough on the Wiltshire downs, drove him from his throne in **591**, and for two centuries no further advance was made by Wessex.

They cut the British in two at the mouth of the Severn. Progress of Wessex stopped

Thus a line drawn along the Pennine chain to Derbyshire, past the Arden forest to the mouth of the Severn, enclosing the lower Severn valley, and thence to Southampton, marked the limits of the Teuton Conquest of Britain up to **600**. All to the west remained British. This conquest was no mere military occupation, like that of Rome. The attack had been made by small parties, the defence was stubborn, the country difficult; it had therefore been a *gradual* conquest. It was a *destroying* conquest, for the invaders left desolation behind them. All British life disappeared in the mastered lands, those who escaped death fleeing to their brethren in Cornwall or Wales. British laws, customs, and language, utterly disappeared. A few words of domestic use (e.g., basket), learned probably from the female slaves, the names of natural objects, rivers or hills, the Roman words 'port,' 'chester,' 'street,' and the like, remained to emphasise the general change. Christianity vanished utterly, for the conquest was a *heathen* one.[4]

Character of the Teuton conquest

The falling away of the West Saxon power after Wansborough had given another opportunity to Ethelbert of Kent. So vehement was the pent-up force of his people that by **597** he had gained supremacy over the South and West Saxons, the Mercians, the East Saxons, and the East Engles of Norfolk and Suffolk. He established a written code of laws, famous for more than a century before any other code followed. This supremacy however lasted but a few years. By the death of Ethelbert in **616**, Redwald, king of the East Engles, had managed to mass all the tribes of Mid-Britain, except the East Saxons, and had established himself as overlord of all Mercia, the East and South Saxons remaining independent. But meanwhile another great power was formed by the union of Deira and Bernicia, the kingdoms of the Engles north of the Humber, under the name of Northumbria. Under Ethelfrith Northumbria spread rapidly westward. In **613** he

Supremacy of Ethelbert of Kent

Of Ethelfrith of Northumbria

[4] Read Freeman's *England*, in 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and his three lectures in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for 1870.

accomplished the design in which Ceawlin had failed. He broke through the British march, fought his way to Chester, and thus cut off the British of Wales from those of the north. Northumbria and Mercia soon came in conflict. Edwine, the heir of the kingly house of Deira, whom Ethelfrith had driven away when he united the kingdom, fled to Redwald. On the banks of the Idle, in **617**, Redwald and Edwine together defeated and slew Ethelfrith, and Edwine was acknowledged King of Northumbria.

Capture of Chester. British line again cut

The rising of the East Saxons and East Engles against Ethelbert was probably as much a religious as a political revolt. In the changes which had taken place Christianity had a part. The Pope Gregory had heard of Ethelbert, and of his marriage with the Christian Bertha. In **597** the first foreign mission of Rome reached Kent under Augustine, a Roman monk. Ethelbert and his chiefs received baptism, and Canterbury was allotted to Augustine as the seat of his mission. Augustine was anxious to join hands with the church of the British. But the latter refused to admit the supremacy of Rome in Christendom, or to conform to the Roman practice of observing Easter (p. 6); and Augustine was thrown back upon the Saxons, whose Christianity thus took the Roman form. The East Saxons accepted the new faith, and Ethelbert compelled Redwald to receive baptism.

Mission of Augustine

Section 2.—*The Anglo-Saxon System* [5]

In the Anglo-Saxon system the family was the base of society. To each family was given a hide of land (40 acres). All the families of one kin, with their land, formed a 'mark' or 'township,' so-called from the 'tun' or enclosure surrounding the group of dwellings. If defended by a mound, it was called a 'burgh,' or borough. The town or borough was presided over by its 'reeve,' the hundred by its hundred-elder. Several townships formed a 'hundred,' and several hundreds formed a 'ga,' or 'shire.' Each shire had an independent organisation. Its chief was called 'ealdorman,' or 'heretoga,' according as he was engaged in peace or war. A system of shires formed a kingdom, whose king claimed descent from the god Woden. The kingship was elective, but the election could be made only within the divinely descended family. His power was greatly limited by the necessity of obtaining the consent of his great council to his acts. In each shire he was represented by the 'shire-reeve,' or sheriff. The people were in three classes,

Land system

Eorls, ceorls, thralls

[5] *Constitutional Essays*, ed. by Wakeman, 1st Essay; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ch. v.; and Green, *Making of England*, ch. iv.

the *eorls* and *ceorls*, nobles and simple freemen, and *thralls*, or slaves. Every freeman was a full citizen, with a voice in the assemblies, and an independent share of the land. The thrall had no rights; he was as much his lord's creature as his ox. Between ceorl and thrall grew up an intermediate class, the *lœt*, or serf (afterwards the *villein*), who tilled land not his own, which he could not leave for other land, and who paid for it by certain dues, especially by labour on the lord's special land. But he was secure in his tenancy, and his lord owed him aid and protection.

Soon a new nobility arose. Each chief collected a band of followers attached directly to his person. They became his *men*; he was their lord (hlaford = loaf-giver), who fed, lodged, and rewarded them. These were called 'gesiths,' or 'thegns,' i.e., comrades, or servants. The thegns became continually of more importance, and the eorls, and those ceorls who were not thegns, of less importance. The eorl was soon what we should call a gentleman of old family, the thegn one of the new nobility. The king's thegns became a superior order of their own body. In Alfred's reign any ceorl who acquired five hides of land, or any merchant who had made three voyages beyond sea, became 'thegn-worthy.' Thegns might in their turn become 'eorl-worthy.' There was thus a complete absence of any caste system.

Thegns

Land was originally common or *folk-land*, of which each freeman had a share assigned to him, with common rights over the unassigned part. Later, the community gave allotments to individuals as their own; thus private property in land arose. By degrees the *king* was regarded as the owner of the folk-land, and with the consent of the witan could grant it away by written documents. This was known as *book-land*. Then he would give to his favourites exemption from ordinary jurisdictions, with special powers over their own land, and later over that of their neighbours; thus arose the 'lord of the manor.' Every freeman was liable to the *trinoda necessitas*, that is, the threefold duty of attendance on the 'fyrd,'[6] or general levy of the shire, repair of bridges, and maintenance of fortifications.

Folk-land. Book-land

The mark, the hundred, the shire, and the kingdom, had each its assembly or 'gemot,' in which the leading men debated, the general body of freemen giving their 'yea' or 'nay' with clashing of shields and brandishing of spears. Before long the difficulty of securing attendance led to the practice of summoning certain

The Gemots

[6] To collect the 'fyrd' the men of each township marched in families, with their reeve, and, in Christian times, their parish priest, to the meeting-place of the hundred; thence the united townships marched under the hundred-man to the shire meeting-place, where the ealdorman and bishop took the command.

persons to attend; and this led to the shire-moot becoming a meeting of none but those so summoned. The witenagemot, or assembly of the 'witan' or 'wise' of the whole of a kingdom, was composed of the king and his family, the bishops, ealdormen, and king's thegns. Its counsel and consent was needed in all legislation; it had criminal and judicial power, the right of taxation, of declaring war or peace, and the election of ealdormen, bishops, and, practically, of the king, though this last was supposed to be done by a general assembly of the whole nation. An able king however was fairly absolute, especially when the practice grew of allowing him to pack the witan with his own nominees.

All penalties for injury were fines. Every man had his value according to his rank. An eorl's oath was worth three times that of a ceorl, and twenty times that of a læt, and an injury done to one of high rank was paid for at a higher rate. The tie of kinship ruled everything. An injury was an injury to the whole kin of the wronged man, and the penalty was paid by kin to kin, not by man to man. A man charged with a crime was condemned or absolved by the oath of his kin.

Kinship

Section 3.—*The Struggle between the Kingdoms. Church Organisation. The English own one King.* 600-835

Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex now began to contend for supremacy. It fell momentarily to Edwine of Northumbria (626). His immediate kingdom stretched from Edinburgh (Edwine's-burgh) to the Humber, and he cleared the west of Yorkshire of the British who had clung to the forest of Elmet. So able was his rule that 'a woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Edwine's day.' Christianity, soon to be the great consolidating power, had for the moment the opposite effect. In 627 Edwine and his witan declared their conversion. But Penda of Mercia stood by the old faith. In 628 he made himself master of a large part of Wessex up to the Severn, and then, in alliance with the British Cadwallon, overthrew and slew Edwine at Hatfield, near the Don. Northumbria at once returned to paganism, and to its old division into Deira or Bernicia. Then Penda conquered the East Engles (634); while Cadwallon captured York, but was overthrown by Edwine's successor, Oswald (635), at the 'Heavensfield' near the Roman wall. This was the last great aggressive effort of the British. Oswald, who was an ardent Christian, restored the union of Deira and Bernicia, extended his power over Strath-clyde (Lancashire to the Clyde), and forced the West Saxons to accept

Edwin of Northumbria the Christian

Penda of Mercia, the pagan

Christianity. But the old pagan Penda fought desperately, and at the battle of the Maserfeld Oswald went down. Once more Northumbria broke up and Wessex threw off its new religion. In **642** Oswy of Bernicia began the struggle again; by **652** he had finally formed Northumbria. In **655**, at the river Winwaed, encouraged by heavenly visions, he abode the attack of Penda, who had thrice his number. This battle decided the contest of the religions. Penda fell fighting, with thirty ealdormen. Mercia accepted Christianity, but again rallied, and at Oswy's death in **670** the great threefold division seemed permanently settled.

Oswy of Northumbria. Battle of the Winwaed 655. Downfall of paganism

The reconversion of Northumbria after Hatfield, had been begun by missionaries, not from Rome but from Ireland, where in a tribal and monastic form, utterly unlike the episcopal and centralised system of Rome, flourished a vigorous Celtic church. St. Colomba settled on the barren island of Iona, off the west coast of Scotland. Thither Oswald sent for help, and in **635** Aidan came to Lindisfarne, which became the centre of the missionary work in the north. But the Celtic church of Aidan and the Roman church of Wessex, Kent, and East Anglia, differing as to the tonsure and observance of Easter, hated one another bitterly. While Aidan lived the Roman party made no way. But Oswy recognised that union with Rome meant union with western Christendom; separation from her, ecclesiastical isolation. At the Synod of Whitby in **664** he declared for Rome; the Irish missionaries left the land, and, as Sussex had been converted, and Mercia had thrown off the Celtic church which St. Chad had introduced, all England was one communion.

The Irish missionaries in Northumbria

Synod of Whitby 664

Church organisation was now possible. From **664** to **673** the primate Theodore was engaged in appointing bishops with fixed sees, enforcing uniformity as to Easter, and, especially, securing union by insisting upon the supreme authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At Canterbury itself a great school arose, famous for both religious and secular knowledge, whence scholars went out to become centres of spiritual life in the provinces. Then followed the subdivision of sees, and in the next century *parish* organisation. The township, or group of townships under a great lord, became the parish, and its missionary chaplain the permanent parish priest. He was supported by tithes, or a tenth of the annual produce, by 'plough alms' after Easter, 'church shot' at Martinmas, 'light shot' thrice a year, and 'soul shot' or burial dues. The church grew up intensely national, reverencing Rome, but not slavishly

Organisation of the church

bowing down to her. From the earliest time it was the *Church of England.*[7]

Its national character

Church and state grew up in union. The diocese corresponded with the territorial divisions; bishop and chief sate side by side in the assembly; the prelates were soon Englishmen, not Romans; the churches were nurseries of patriots. A national tie was thus created; the Archbishop of Canterbury came in time to be regarded as the head, not only of the English church, but of the English folk.

Monasteries

Very important, too, was the establishment of monasteries. On wild sea-coasts, in primeval forests and dreary fens, desolate moorlands, deserted Roman towns, along the courses of rivers, they became centres of industrial life. The land was reclaimed and tilled, the woods hewn down. Thither fled all who preferred industry to fighting; labour soon took a dignity hitherto reserved for war. They were the homes of early literature and of all art known to the time.[8]

Influence of the church

The influence of Christianity upon the general life was all-pervading. The church, generally erected on the mound of defence, became the centre of village life; the parish priest displaced the town reeve. Heathen customs survived, but were brought into the service of religion; Easter, May Day, Midsummer Day, Michaelmas, Christmas, were all Pagan festivals turned into Christian festivals. Christianity entered the home; it forbade infanticide and the putting away of a wife at will; it denounced blood feuds and revenge, gluttony, drunkenness, and vice; it prohibited Sunday labour, established fasts, took in hand the child from the cradle to the grave, made births, marriages, and burials the occasions for religious rites; it discouraged war. For the mere slave it did much. It forbade the kidnapping and sale of his children. He himself might not be sold out of the land in which he was a slave. The Church demanded penance for his murder by his master or mistress; sometimes he gained the right of purchasing his freedom. On church lands the example was set of freeing the slaves; and nobles on their death-beds were urged to obtain grace by doing the same.

The nation was thus being made one through the Church. Politically it appeared hopelessly divided. In **694** Ine, the great king of the West Saxons, made himself supreme over Essex, London, and all south of Thames. By **710** he had wrested Somerset and Devon from the British. But conquest now did not mean extermination; the laws of Ine acknow-

[7] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ch. viii. p. 245; Freeman, *Encycl. Brit.*
[8] Green, *Making of England*, ch. vii. p. 361 *seq.*

ledged the 'Welshman' as a man and citizen, free to hold land; his blood had its price, his oath its value. From **715** to **752** Wessex and Mercia struggled with varying success for the mastery; in the end the threefold division, though with advantage to Wessex, was maintained.

Ine of Wessex. His laws

Northumbria had meanwhile been at peace. Under the influence of Beda she had become the home of literature and religion; of Cædmon of Whitby (**650**) and his successors in poetry; of Cuthbert of Melrose and Lindisfarne (**651–676**); and of the saintly Bede of Jarrow (**704–731**), the writer of the great ecclesiastical history of the English people. Politically isolated, she had become, too, ecclesiastically independent of Canterbury, through the erection of an archbishopric of York with the Pope's sanction. Two brothers, Egbert and Edbert (**738**), were respectively archbishop and king; and while the king extended his power by alliance with the Picts, the archbishop made York a great home of culture, attracting scholars from all parts of Europe by its teachers and splendid library, and sending them back to preach among the conquering Franks of Western Europe.

Greatness of Northumbria

From **758** to **796** a great king, Offa, held the Mercian throne. He wrested Kent, Essex, and London from Wessex, with all north of the Thames. Westwards he conquered the British up to the Wye; Offa's Dyke, as it is still called, marking his border from the Wye to the Dee. Here also Mercians and Welsh lived peacefully together under Offa's code. Thus the land was now in three well-defined parts—a purely Teuton part, a part containing a mixed population, and a purely British part.

Offa of Mercia: his laws

In **802**, Egbert, a descendant of Cerdic and Ceawlin (pp. 9, 10), became king of Wessex. With him the West Saxons once more took the lead. In **815** he completed the conquest of the British in the southwest by occupying Cornwall. In **826** Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia, submitted. By **828** he had overrun Mercia, which had been a prey to anarchy after Offa's death. A little later Northumbria peacefully became his tributary. In **835** he crushed a revolt of Cornishmen, aided by some new-comers, at Hengestdun, in Cornwall. Thus, if only for a moment, all England nominally had become one, and owned a single lord. Egbert, the eighth Bretwalda,[9] was called 'King of the English.'

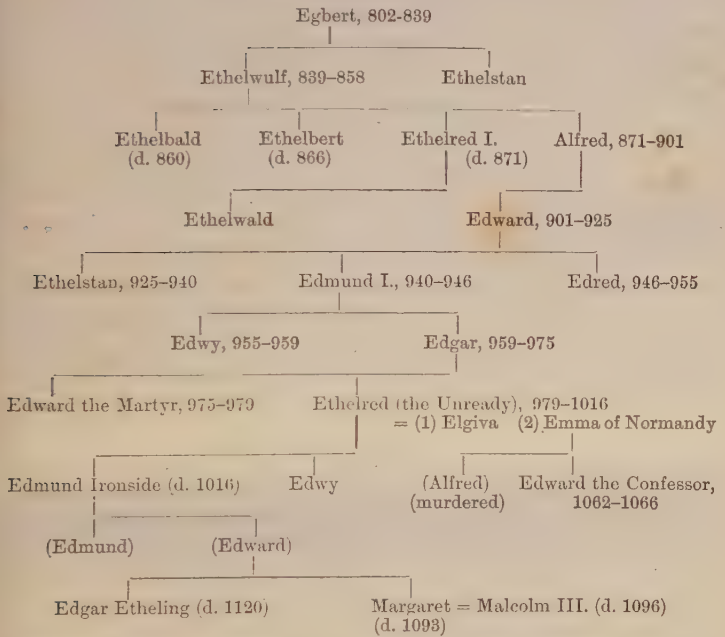
Egbert, king of Wessex

And of the English, 835

[9] The derivation of this name is uncertain. It was given in turn to the kings, who at different times were acknowledged as more or less lords of all England.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE I

Egbert and his House



[Margaret married Malcolm III. of Scotland. Their daughter Edith (or Matilda) married Henry I.]

CHAPTER II

THE NORTHMEN. INVASION AND SETTLEMENT[1]

835–955

Section 1.—*Vikings and Danes. Alfred. Peace of Wedmore*

835–878

While Jutes, Saxons, and Engles were thus winning England, another Teutonic race, the Scandinavians, known generally as North-

[1] Green, *Conquest of England*; Freeman, early chapters of *History of Norman Conquest*, and article in *Encyl. Brit.*

men, had occupied Sweden, Jutland and the Baltic Isles, and Norway. Wild, pitiless, with a passionate delight in battle, unfettered by kingship or law, the Vikings sallied from their creeks (vik = a creek) in long narrow vessels, and took their prey in every land. Over-population soon drove them far afield. In the beginning of the ninth century one body, from South Jutland, sailed up the Seine, Loire, and Garonne, raided through the Mediterranean, and founded kingdoms in South Italy and Sicily. Another, from Norway, fastened upon the Shetlands and Iceland.

The Northmen in Gaul and the Mediterranean

Ireland, whose monasteries were filled with gold-work and jewelry, was their most alluring prey. For thirty years it was plundered; in **832** the Northmen established themselves at Armagh, and put all North Ireland under tribute. On every side England was surrounded by Vikings.

In Ireland

As early as **787** three ships landed their crews near Weymouth, who slew, burnt, or carried off all within reach of a sudden dash. By **794** the coast-line of Northumbria had been ravaged. In **834** one party, from the Seine, sailed across the Channel and seized Sheppey; another, from Ireland, joined the revolted Welsh in Cornwall (p. 16). In **851** an organised invasion took place. A fleet of 350 ships sailed up the Thames. London and Canterbury were sacked. But at Aclea in Surrey, Ethelwulf, the son and successor of Egbert, and his brother Ethelstan, hurled them back. In **855** however they again wintered at Sheppey.

In England

Ethelwulf had four sons—Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, who in turn wore the crown. With Alfred he visited the Emperor Charles the Bold, who was compelled to watch kingdom after kingdom torn from him by the Northmen. The common danger bound them together; Ethelwulf married Judith, the daughter of Charles, as his second wife. But by **866** he and his two eldest sons were dead, and Ethelred was king.

Ethelred I.

A fresh body of Northmen, more terrible even than the Norwegians, now attacked England. These were Danes from North Jutland and the Baltic Isles, the Dubhgaill, or 'dark strangers,' as they were called, in distinction from the Finngaill, or 'white strangers,' who were in Ireland. Their daring and rapidity in attack were equalled only by their appalling cruelty.[2] They landed

The Danes

[2] The Vikings were superior to the forces brought against them, alike in tactics, in armaments, in training, and in mobility. Personally, the Dane was the member of an old war-band contending with a farmer fresh from the plough, a veteran soldier pitted against a raw militiaman. As a professional warrior, he had provided himself with an equipment which only the chiefs among the English army could rival, the mail "byrnie," and the steel

suddenly, seized all the horses in the neighbourhood, mounted, and sped like a fire through the land; and, when forced to retreat, they fought as well behind earthworks as in the field.

In **856** these Danes drove out the Finngaill from Ireland. In **866** they overran Fifeshire, and in **867** southern Northumbria, whose civilisation vanished before them so utterly that for ages it was the rudest part of Britain. Beaten off in Mercia, they turned aside to the Fen country, and in **869** Peterborough, Ely, and Crowland were in ruins. They defeated Edmund, king of East Anglia, and shot him to death in their camp. Mercia consented to pay tribute.

Desolation of Northumbria

Of East Anglia

Then, under Guthrum, they made for Wessex. Sailing up the Thames, they forced their way through Berkshire to Ashdown, **871**, and entrenched themselves on the heights overlooking the Vale of the White Horse. Here they were met by Ethelred and the young Alfred. Time after time Alfred led an unavailing rush up the heights. At length Ethelred, who had kept his force in hand, made his effort: the Danes were routed with great loss, and retreated to their camp at Reading. But in **872** Ethelred died fighting, and Alfred, at the age of **22**, became king of Wessex. For a time he knew nothing but defeat, and was forced to buy a truce, which set the Danes free for the complete conquest of Mercia.

Battle of Ashdown

In **876** Guthrum, joined by comrades from Ireland and Gaul, landed at Wareham and seized Exeter. But in **877** Alfred drove them thence to Gloucester, where Guthrum was joined by a fresh fleet, which sailed up the Severn. So hardly was Alfred pressed that he fell back to Athelney, a small patch of ground near Taunton, about three acres in extent, standing a few feet above the impenetrable fens which then surrounded it for miles. Here he lay for three months. In May **878** he secretly mustered the whole of the West Saxon strength behind the Selwood Forest, threw himself upon the Danes at Ethandun (Edington, near Westbury), routed them utterly, and forced Guthrum to surrender in his entrenchments. By the peace of Wedmore Guthrum swore to become a Christian; and all south of the Thames and west of Watling Street was left to Alfred. The country held by the Danes was called the Danelaw. This repulse coincided with a turn in the tide of the general

Alfred at Athelney

Battle of Ethandun

Peace of Wedmore. The Danelaw

cap. The "fyrd," on the other hand, came out against him destitute of armour, and bearing a motley array of weapons, wherein the spear and sword were mixed with the club and stone-axe.' Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*.

Scandinavian invasion. The Vikings made no further progress on the Continent.

Section 2.—*Alfred.*[3] 878–901

Alfred set to work without delay to restore his wasted realm. A standing army was his first care. The old system of the 'fyrd' (p. 12, note) was unsuited to extensive kingdoms or circumstances requiring rapid concentration. The period of compulsory service moreover was but two months, and an army likely to melt away in two months could never contend successfully with invaders who were always under arms. He had the basis of a standing army ready to his hand. During the struggles of the past centuries great numbers of the ceorls, for the sake of safety, had 'commended' themselves to thegns, who gave them protection in return for fidelity. The number of thegns also had continually increased; and Alfred by the system of five-hide thegnhood (p. 12) still further swelled a class bound to personal service. The rest of the fighting men he divided into two parts, of which one only was in the field at a time, while the other carried on their ordinary occupations and garrisoned the forts. He also created a navy of larger ships than those of the Danes, which met the enemy with great success. Under his son the English fleet numbered 100 ships.

Alfred's reforms. Army and Navy

In times of national danger the power of the king, if in able hands, always increases. Alfred used it nobly. Justice became a real thing, and the king its source. The courts became the king's courts; Alfred was the final appeal, and he delegated his power to judges whom he appointed. To judicial work he gave the best of his time and strength —'for the poor had no helper, or few, save the king himself.' The three extant codes of laws, those of Ethelbert of Kent, Ine of Wessex, and Offa of Mercia (pp. 10, 16), were consolidated into one national code, showing that all legal distinction of Saxon and British had passed away.

National code of laws

The successful resistance made to the Vikings on the Continent drove them once more to England. In 884 they entered the Thames, and attacked Rochester. Alfred flew to its relief, and forced his old antagonist Guthrum, king of East Anglia, who had broken the truce by welcoming his brethren, to give up London and its neighbourhood.

He then resumed the work of restoration. Except in Mercia west of Watling Street, art, learning, and religion had been swept away in one common ruin. Thither he sent for priests to become his prelates, and summoned others from the Continent to preside over his new foundations. An indefatigable scholar,

Religion and literature

[3] Article, 'Alfred,' in *Dict. National Biography*.

he was before long able to translate Latin with ease. Hitherto there had been English poetry, but no English prose. For the pupils at the court school translations were now made from all the great prose works of Christianity. Alfred led the way with Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History,' the 'Pastoral Book of Pope Gregory,' and others, enriching them with notes and reflections. The 'Latin Chronicle,' compiled from the Bishops' Roll of Winchester, was done by him into English with an introduction, and completed by a continuous narrative, the whole forming the famous 'English Chronicle.'

But in **893** the Danes made a fresh descent, and established themselves in the Andredsweald. Another force sailed up the Thames and fastened upon northern Kent. In **894** they crossed into Essex. Here they were successfully attacked on the Colne by Alfred's son Edward; while the king in person held Exeter against a Danish fleet and the Welsh who had risen to join them. The Danes of the Danelaw then crossed the Cotswolds into the Severn valley. But Edward, and Ethelred the ealdorman of Mercia, who had married Alfred's daughter Ethelflaed, collected every available man, besieged the Danes for several weeks in their entrenchments at Buttington, the site of which is unknown, forced them at length to battle, and drove them back in confusion to Essex. Another Danish force, which made a try for Chester, was equally discomfited. In **895** Alfred came himself to London, and by blocking the mouth of the Lea surprised and captured the whole Danish fleet. Utterly baffled, the enemy withdrew to the Danelaw, and the war came to an end.

Renewed invasion

Complete failure of the Danes

Alfred was now fifty years old, but his energy was ceaseless. Every hour had its definite occupation, and court and government were regulated with equal precision. Travellers and scholars were welcomed from abroad. When his own people refused to embrace a monastic life he filled his abbeys with slaves from Gaul and with children, who were educated for monks. His revenue was carefully collected and largely increased. One-sixth was given to the military, naval, and civil services; another sixth to public works; one eighth to poor relief, another to education; the remainder supported his religious houses at Athelney, Winchester, Shaftesbury, and others among the Welsh and Irish, and even in Britanny and Gaul.

Alfred at peace

Like his father, he sought to strengthen himself by foreign alliances. His daughter Elfthrith was married to Baldwin the Second, Count of Flanders, and an ally thus secured on the Scheldt, whence the Danes often issued on their raids. This marriage was the beginning of the permanent connection between England and

England and Flanders

the Low Countries. With the Papacy he held close relations. At home he brought North Wales under his power (**897**), established a good understanding with Bernicia, which the Danes had left untouched, and with the Scots.[4]

Death of Alfred

Alfred died on October 28, **901**, just a hundred years from the accession of Egbert. As he said himself, he had 'striven to live worthily.' He had lived worthily, because he had lived only for the good of his people.

Section 3.—*The Grandchildren of Alfred.* 901–955

In his son Edward, Alfred had a worthy successor. For ten years he reigned almost in peace, but keeping one object steadily in view.

Edward, 'the Unconquered'

Chester was made a strong place of arms and a harbour for a fleet, to cut off the Danes of the Danelaw from the Welsh and from Ireland. Two attacks from the Danelaw having been repelled, Edward in **912** mastered the valley of the Thames from Oxford to London. Then he pressed steadily northward, securing himself against attack from the Danes of Essex by fortifying the

His sister, Ethelflaed

country on his eastern flank; while his valiant sister Ethelflaed, the 'Lady of the Mercians,' now a widow, fortified the Watling Street at Tamworth, Stafford, and other strategic points, blocked the Fosse-way by a great fortress at Warwick, and secured her western flank at Bridgenorth and Scargate. Then they moved simultaneously upon the Danes. Ethelflaed captured Derby, Leicester, and York (**919**), and there the triumphs of the great daughter of Alfred were ended by death. Edward conquered East Anglia, and took Northampton, Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln. This ended the war for the time.

In **924** Edward prepared to invade the northern Danelaw. Scots, British from Strathclyde, Bernicians, and Danes, formed a

Edward, king of all Britain

great league to resist him. But their hearts failed them at the moment of the fight, and all owned him as 'father and lord.'[5] Then, 'unconquered,' Edward died in **925**, king over all Britain from Forth and Clyde to the English Channel.

Ethelstan his son went on with the work of consolidation. He drove back the revolted British of Wales and Cornwall behind the Wye

Ethelstan, 'the Glorious'

and the Tamar. His chief work was the organisation of the shires. Each shire was bound to provide a fixed contingent to the army, a certain revenue, and, later, ships, or equivalent ship-money. The king's shire-reeve (p. 12) gradually superseded

[4] The name 'Pict' now disappears from history.

[5] That is, 'commended' themselves (p. 20).

the ealdorman, and became the important person; the shiremoot became the sheriff's court; centralised government grew familiar.

Shire organisation

Frith-gilds, or peace-clubs, weakened the idea of kinship as the base of society. These were voluntary associations each member of which swore faith to the rest, and in which all aided each to secure justice. They afterwards became an important feature of society. In England they were wisely encouraged; abroad they were rigorously suppressed as possible centres of opposition to the crown.[6]

Frith-gilds

In **937** Ethelstan was confronted by a repetition of the league which had fallen to pieces before his father. With his brother Edmund he marched north and met the allies at Brunanburgh. The battle raged with fearful slaughter from sunrise to sunset. The site is unknown, but the memory of Ethelstan's victory lives in the triumphant 'Song of Brunanburgh.' Ethelstan was however obliged to leave Northumbria in comparative independence. As his under-king he selected Eric 'Bloodaxe,' a noted Norwegian adventurer, who was now pillaging the coast. His idea was to balance the Danes by an infusion of Norwegian power, and Eric pledged himself to guard Northumbria against further attack.

Brunanburgh

His policy in Northumbria

A new Danish kingdom, a Danelaw across the sea, which offered encouragement and help to that in England, had meanwhile been formed in Normandy, under Rolf, or Rollo, who was master of the Seine up to Rouen. The connection between them was seen when Ethelstan's brother Edmund, a youth of eighteen, succeeded him. A great increase of the Norman Danelaw under William 'Longsword,' Rolf's son, was at once followed (**941**) by the failure of the new policy in Northumbria, and by a revolt so serious, that after two years' hard fighting Edmund was left master of no more than Alfred's kingdom, with a shadowy overlordship of the rest. But in **943** William Longsword was murdered; anarchy and disaster fell upon his kingdom, and corresponding disheartenment upon the Danes in England. In a short space Edmund had the Danelaw again well in hand. He then overran Strathclyde, including the Lake district, with its numerous settlements of Northmen,[7] and gave it to the Scottish king Malcolm I., on condition that he should be his 'fellow-worker by sea and land.'[8] At this moment of success his career was cut short by murder.

The Norman Danelaw

Strathclyde held by the King of Scots on military tenure

[6] Brentano, *Guilds and Trade Unions.*

[7] Wherever the endings 'thorpe,' 'thwaite,' or 'by' occur, they show Scandinavian settlement; and the first two are thickly scattered over the Lake district.

[8] I.e., as a *territorial fief*, to be held

The crown passed to Edred, the last grandchild of Alfred. He was elected by a witanagemot at which for the first time were present the leaders, not only of the English, but of Danes and Welsh as well, and he was crowned by both archbishops. His chief adviser was Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, the friend and counsellor of Edward. In his second year the unquiet Northmen rose in revolt, led by Wulfstan, the Archbishop of York. But Edred, though suffering from mortal disease, marched upon them, ravaged the country, enforced submission, and carried off Wulfstan to his court. He died in **955**, with the high-sounding title of 'Cæsar of the whole of Britain.'

Edred elected by all three peoples

CHAPTER III

THE DANISH AND NORMAN CONQUEST

955–1066

Section 1.—*Disintegration. The Ealdormanries and Dunstan.*[1]

955–988

The triumph of Alfred and his house gave to England more than thirty years of repose. English, Danes, and British acknowledged themselves one nation with one king, however loose might be the tie. But with this apparent incorporation there had been going on a system of disintegration, the effects of which were not seen until a weak king came to the throne, but which was the leading cause of the disasters soon to follow.

Up to the coming of the Northmen the shires had been governed by ealdormen (p. 12), the chiefs, and successors of the chiefs, whose bands had won them. The Danish storm had swept them away, and they never reappeared in the same form. But Alfred was forced to delegate West Mercia to Ethelred (p. 21), and though Edward took back Mercia into direct dependence upon the crown, the systematic creation of ealdormanries of great extent was introduced by Ethelstan. Besides Northumbria, both East Anglia and Essex were placed under ealdormen by him. These were not hereditary chiefs; they were mere nominees, of royal blood, or nearly allied to it. It was supposed that as such they would support the king's authority. But the extent of their dominion soon awakened

Creation of new ealdormanries

by military tenure; the first case of the kind, a different thing from mere 'commendation.'—Freeman, *The Relations between the Crowns of England and Scotland*. 'Essays,' first series, iii. p. 59, *seq.*

[1] Green, *Conquest*, ch. vii. Article, Dunstan in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

an ambition to rival the power of the crown; and though they never could render it a nullity, so strong had the kingship grown during the past wars, their insubordination and rivalries were enough to paralyse the government in time of need. It was the struggle of these great officers with the crown which is the key to the history of England for the next one hundred years.

The danger of this

The first act of Edwy, Edmund's son, was to separate Mercia and Wessex, and to create a fresh ealdormanry of the former. The result was soon seen. The new ealdorman of Mercia, supported by the country north of the Thames, declared for Edwy's younger brother, Edgar; and an arrangement was made between the witans of Mercia and Wessex, by which that river was to divide the realms of the two brothers. But Edwy died in **959**, and Edgar became sole ruler. He also was forced on in the fatal path of disintegration. Wessex itself was split up into western, central, and eastern; the last, as including the primate's see, alone remained under the direct rule of the king.

Edgar, the 'Peaceful,' follows policy of disintegration

Edgar at once recalled Dunstan, who had been forced to flee during the troubles, and made him primate. Dunstan was the first of our great ecclesiastical statesmen, and was always engaged with the work of government; but he was especially a reformer of the church. In every way he strove to raise the dignity and authority of the clergy. Vowed to a higher life, they were to scorn mere worldly pleasures. They were to regard themselves as a separate order. Celibacy was therefore encouraged, though not insisted upon. All clerical disputes were to be brought before a bishop, not before a lay court; the clergy were to pay the greatest attention to ceremonial and the use of vestments. They were to bring the daily life of the people as far as possible under their inspection; they were especially to insist upon the sanctity of marriage, a tie loosely kept, and upon its celebration with the rites of the church. Dunstan applied himself also to the revival of letters. The compilation of the national history, abandoned since Edward's day, was resumed; and the 'Worcester Chronicle' is the record of England up to the reign of Canute. Between Edgar and Dunstan there was complete co-operation. Their joint reign was marked by a fresh code of laws, by vigorous justice, and by an unbroken repose, which earned for Edgar the title of 'the Peaceful.' Commerce with foreign countries was encouraged; splendid churches were built. The Danes became more and more Englishmen; many of them rose to high office.

Dunstan reforms the church

But there were serious elements of weakness. The church was sharply divided between the monastic, or *regular* clergy, so-called

because they lived by the rule of their order (*regulum*), and the parish clergy, or *secular* priests, who shared in the everyday life of the people (*seculum*). Monasticism, never heartily in favour in England, had almost disappeared during the wars. Edgar, supported by the ealdormen of East Anglia and Essex, and with the concurrence of Dunstan, wished to restore it; and to a great extent he succeeded in Wessex and East Anglia. The ealdorman of Mercia headed the anti-monastic party. The dispute grew fierce when Edgar died (**975**), leaving two young sons, Edward and Ethelred, eleven and seven years old. The Mercian anti-monastic party supported the former; the East Anglian party the latter. Dunstan sacrificed his monastic sympathies for the sake of order, and Edward ('the Martyr') was crowned by both archbishops. His short and stormy reign of four years was ended by his murder at the hands of Ethelred's party in **979**. Ethelred succeeded at eleven years of age; the eastern ealdormen straightway drove their Mercian rival into exile. From Dunstan's opposition they were freed by his death in **988**.

Regular and secular priests

Ethelred II. 'the Unredig.'

Death of Dunstan

Dunstan had brought the crown and the church into close alliance. The bishops, whose sees were as a rule coterminous with the governments of the ealdormen (p. 15), had grown very powerful, and had become the instruments whereby the crown had a check upon the latter. Lands and gifts were abundantly bestowed upon them by the king; while Dunstan surrendered to the crown the right always held by the witan of nomination and deposition. Thus a political episcopate sprung up, devoted to the crown. Meanwhile the principle that 'every man must have a lord' by commendation (p. 20) had become established. The ceorls had practically disappeared, either rising to thegnhood or sinking to villenage (p. 12); villages were no longer groups of free holdings, but the property of great lords. For justice they looked to the lord's court, which had taken the place of the hundred-moot, as the sheriff's court had taken that of the shire-moot.

Political episcopate

Disappearance of the ceorls

Section 2.—*The Danish Conquest.* 988–1016

Weakened by the distractions in church and state—weak, above all, in her king—England had now to face the second great Danish invasion, the story of which constitutes the interest of the reign of Ethelred II., the 'Unredig,' or 'Counsel-lacking.' For nearly 30 years, with but short respites, the wretched country, in spite of many instances of gallant defence, was an easy prey to her ferocious foes, led by Sweyn, king of Denmark.

Second Danish invasion

These respites were secured, not by the sword, but by ever increasing payments, the money for which was raised by a heavy land-tax, known as 'Danegeld,' henceforward a chief source of revenue, and by taking bodies of the invaders themselves into English pay. Thus in **1001** Ethelred paid 24,000*l.*; in **1005**, 30,000*l.*; in **1006**, 36,000*l.*; in **1011**, 48,000*l.* The Danes of course came back for more money, and the mercenaries on each occasion deserted to their kinsfolk. At length Ethelred was driven to a great crime. Large numbers of Danes had settled quietly down as farmers by the side of the English. In **1002**, yielding to a panic of his people and to his own base temper, he secretly gave orders that on November 13th, St. Brice's Day, every Dane within reach should be massacred. This of course did not apply to the Danelaw, where such a deed was impossible. The doom was ruthlessly carried out: men, women, and children were slaughtered without mercy. But vengeance came hard upon the deed. Among the dead was the sister of Sweyn. In **1003** he stormed Exeter and wasted Wiltshire; in **1004** it was the turn of East Anglia. Until **1007** the land was a prey to desolation. Then came a respite of two years. A great effort was made, and in **1009** Ethelred was at the head of a splendid fleet and army. But treason and the quarrels of the ealdormen paralysed action. Thurkill, one of Sweyn's lieutenants, carried fire and sword up the Thames to Oxford, northwards to the Wash, and south to the Channel. He was bought off by large sums and larger promises. When the promises were unfulfilled, he sacked Canterbury and carried off the primate Elfheah, who died under the drunken wrath of his men. In **1013** Sweyn himself entered the Humber with a superb fleet. The ealdormen of Northumbria and East Anglia deserted to him, and all resistance broke down. London was the last place to surrender. Ethelred with his second wife and their sons fled to Normandy, and Sweyn was acknowledged king. But in **1014** he suddenly died; the national spirit re-awoke, and Ethelred was recalled on promise to rule justly. Canute, Sweyn's son, who had been chosen king by the Danes, was driven off; but returned in **1015** in overwhelming force. Dissensions broke out between Edmund, a son of Ethelred by his first wife, and Edric, the king's chief counsellor, a traitor at heart. Edmund threw himself into London with his father. There Ethelred died, April **1016**. The citizens at once chose Edmund king, while the overawed witans acknowledged Canute. For a few glorious months Edmund Ironside, a true hero, struggled to free his country. He fought seven great battles with success, and drove the

Danegeld

St. Brice's Day

Sweyn

Canute

Edmund 'Ironside'

Danes to take refuge at Sheppey. Thence Canute crossed into Essex, and Edmund followed. At Assandun, or Ashingdon, on the Crouch, took place the last battle of English and Danes. Edric, who had deserted Edmund, rejoined him, only to prove traitor again at the critical moment. It was a crushing defeat—'all the English nobles were slain.' Edmund fell back to the Severn valley. A truce was made at the Isle of Olney by which he retained the ancient kingdom of Alfred, as settled by the Peace of Wedmore (p. 19), viz., Wessex and Western Mercia. But in November **1016**, murdered or worn out by toil, he died; and Canute, then 22 years of age, the age at which Alfred became king of Wessex, was master of all England without a blow.

Decisive battle of Assandun

Peace of Olney

The Danish Conquest was the direct result of the splitting up of the country into ealdormanries, and of Ethelred's incompetence. Indirectly Ethelred was the cause of a future and greater conquest: To secure Normandy, he had in **1002** married as his second wife Emma, the daughter of the reigning duke; and henceforward Norman influence entered largely into the fate of England.

Marriage of Ethelred and Emma of Normandy

Section 3.—*The Danish Kings.* 1016–1043

For a few months Canute showed himself the ruthless conqueror. Edwy, the brother of Edmund Ironside, was murdered; Edmund's sons were exiled to Hungary; all the English nobles who could be dangerous were got rid of. But then he cast in his lot unreservedly with his new subjects. He married Ethelred's widow, Emma of Normandy. He was crowned in the English fashion; he renewed Edgar's laws, and placed Englishmen in all important offices, though he sedulously got rid of the ealdormen of royal blood, replacing them by nominees of his own, called earls. Of these earldoms there were but four—Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Wessex. Of the army of conquest he retained but a few thousand 'hus-carles,' who formed the nucleus of a standing army. His northern realms became subsidiary. To win the church he did honour to English saints, and to the memory of Edmund the Martyr, Elfheah, and Dunstan. He built a church at Assandun, dedicated to all who had fallen in that great fight. He went on pilgrimage to offer gifts on Edmund's tomb at Glastonbury; he enriched many religious houses. English priests were even sent to fill Danish bishoprics, and English soldiers followed him to fight his own kinsfolk in Denmark.

Canute

His English policy

Among the Englishmen whom he specially attached to himself

was Godwine—of obscure birth, but able, eloquent, and wise. He was the first great lay statesman, as Dunstan was the first great ecclesiastical statesman. He rapidly became Canute's chief servant, was made Earl of Wessex, and in **1020** married Gytha, who was nearly related by blood and by marriage to the king. With the royal chaplains as his secretaries, he governed the kingdom under Canute. These chaplains were promoted to bishoprics, and practically formed the royal council, for the earls were summoned only to the witan, and the primate lost his commanding influence. The political episcopate of Dunstan (p. 25), and its alliance with the crown, thus became still more marked.

Godwine

For eight years Canute devoted himself to England. In **1025** he went on pilgrimage to Rome, during which he gained from the European princes on his route many privileges for English traders thither. From Rome he sent back the most striking letter ever addressed by a king to his people.[2]

Canute's letter to his people

On his return, loyally supported by England, he put down revolts in Norway and Denmark, and was thenceforward master of the North in peace. He crushed a rising of the Welsh, and in **1031** forced the Scottish king Malcolm II. to swear allegiance on receiving, as an English earldom, the northern portion of Northumbria, the present Lothian. Malcolm removed his seat of government to Edinburgh, and became to all intents English in feeling; while the real Scots, north of Forth, were regarded as savages.[3]

Malcolm swears allegiance for Lothian

The sole danger to Canute's power lay in his stepsons, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred and Emma, who lived at the Norman court. In **1028** Duke Robert the Devil, Emma's brother, took up their cause, and sailed with Alfred to invade England. But a storm shattered the fleet. Robert, in disappointment, threw away his crown and went on pilgrimage, after making his nobles swear fealty to his bastard son William. He died in **1035**; Normandy fell into anarchy, and Canute's danger was over. But almost at the same moment the great king himself, at the early age of

Death of Canute

[2] 'I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things, to rule justly and piously my realms and subjects, and to administer just judgment to all. If heretofore I have done aught beyond what was just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly. . . . I have sent this letter before me that all the people of my realm may rejoice in my well-doing; for, as you yourselves know, never have I spared, nor will I spare, myself and my toil in what is needful and good for my people.'

[3] Thus Malcolm held from England by three different tenures; all Scotland by mere personal 'commendation,' like that of a ceorl to his lord, fidelity for protection (pp. 20, 22); Strathclyde as a territorial fief, held by military tenure; (p. 23, note) Lothian as an earldom of the kingdom of England

40, passed away at Shaftesbury. Norway revolted, and the northern empire which he had built up at once dissolved.

Canute had left the throne by will to Hardicanute, his son by Emma; and Godwine and the South of England upheld his claim. But he was little known in England, and was at the moment absent. Harald, his illegitimate brother, known as 'Harefoot,' was a familiar figure in the country, and he in turn was favoured by Leofric, earl of Mercia, and the North. To avoid civil war, Godwine referred the matter to the witan, and the old division by the Thames was again resorted to. The quarrel gave hope to the Ethelings,[4] Alfred and Edward: Alfred landed at Dover, and rode to join his mother Emma at Winchester. He was kidnapped on the road, carried to Harald, blinded, and left to die at Ely. The shame of this betrayal was laid upon Godwine, in whose jurisdiction the arrest had taken place, and clung to him in spite of his acquittal by the witan. Feeling was so strong that he was obliged in **1037** to surrender Wessex into Harald's hands. But in **1040** Harald died, and Hardicanute was acknowledged by the whole kingdom. His heavy exactions of money for the pay of his Danish fleet -levied, too, by the house-carles—and the harshness of his government, roused so much discontent that it was soon plain that no other Dane would rule in England without a struggle. Hardicanute therefore invited Edward, the remaining son of Ethelred, to court, and acknowledged him as heir. By modern ideas the children of Edmund Ironside, exiles in Hungary, were the rightful heirs, as grandsons of Ethelred's first marriage. But Edward was received with enthusiasm, and when Hardicanute fell dead at a drinking bout, was crowned by the two archbishops at Easter **1043**.

Harald 'Harefoot'

Murder of Ethelred's son Alfred

Hardicanute

Return of the English line. Edward 'the Confessor'

Section 4.—*Edward the Confessor.* 1043–1066

Delicate and fragile, Edward was little suited for the work of governing England. His virtues were those of a monk, not of a king; he was often weak and petulant. Moreover, he was but half an Englishman in blood, and utterly foreign in feeling. Since his youth he had lived in Normandy; he spoke Norman, his sympathies and friends were Norman. The Norman conquest virtually began with his accession, and the whole reign was occupied with the struggle of English against Norman influence.

Edward really a Norman

At the outset indeed Godwine was supreme in Edward's councils.

[4] This title was given to princes born on English soil, when their parents had been crowned before their birth.

His eldest sons Sweyn and Harold, and his nephew Beorn, received earldoms which with his own of Wessex placed the whole coast from the Humber to the Severn in his hands; while the marriage of the king to his daughter Edith seemed to secure the succession to his house. There was however a danger to his personal credit in the misconduct of his son Sweyn, who was twice outlawed, the second time for the murder of his cousin Beorn; and the purely English policy which he upheld was confronted by the influence of William the Bastard of Normandy, who, aided by the counsels of the famous priest and scholar Lanfranc, had brought the turbulent Norman baronage under control, and had greatly extended his duchy. William had moreover planned a marriage with Matilda daughter of Baldwin of Flanders, which would have broken up the friendship which Alfred had begun with Flanders, and given him command of the Channel. But here Godwine outwitted him by securing the Pope's prohibition of the marriage as incestuous, and by marrying his own third son, Tostig, to Judith, Baldwin's sister.

Power of Godwine's house.

'England for the English'

William of Normandy

For a long time Edward fretted under Godwine's control. At length he broke through it when the monks of Canterbury, in whose hands lay the choice of their primate, selected Godwine's kinsman Elfric. He forced upon them instead Robert of Jumiéges, his principal Norman adviser, already Bishop of London. English feeling had long been rising at the favour shown to Normans and at their contempt for English customs. The placing of a Norman priest at the head of the English church was an insult to the national feeling which made revolt only a question of time. The insolence of the followers of Eustace count of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, caused a scuffle at Dover in which many Normans were killed. Edward called upon Godwine to punish the inhabitants. His reply was to demand justice upon Eustace, and, when that was refused, to call Wessex and his sons Sweyn and Harold to arms. But Leofric of Mercia and Siward the Dane, earl of Northumbria, came to the rescue of the king. The dispute was referred to the witan. Godwine was outlawed, and fled to Flanders with three of his sons, while Harold escaped to Ireland. Their earldoms were given to Normans, and Norman influence seemed supreme. William himself paid a visit to Edward, and the promise of the succession which he afterwards put forward was probably made, if at all, at this time.

Edward's Norman policy

Revolt and outlawry of Godwine

A reaction soon took place. In September **1052**, Godwine and his sons sailed up the Thames. The seaport towns and London

were enthusiastic in his favour, and Edward was forced to yield. Godwine was purged of all charges, and he and his sons were restored. Robert of Jumiéges was outlawed, and fled in haste across the sea, and Stigand, the first priest of Canute's church at Assandun, was made primate. All foreigners were dismissed. Scarcely had the national cause thus triumphed when Godwine died, April **1053**.

Reaction, and return of Godwine

Stigand primate

Death of Godwine

Harold succeeded to his power, for Sweyn was dead. Both to him and to his younger brother Tostig Edward was personally attached. Upon the death of Siward, Tostig was made Earl of Northumbria; and when Leofric also died, Harold's remaining brothers, Gyrth and Leofwine, were placed in control of the whole course of the Thames. Other deaths gave him command of the Severn valley. From this time he must have thought of the crown for himself, for Edward was childless, and the only representatives of the royal line were the grandchildren of Edmund Ironside, a boy, Edgar, and two girls.

Harold

Meanwhile the Welsh had become formidably aggressive. Two campaigns had failed to break them. But in May **1063** Harold ravaged the whole country without mercy. Their king Griffith was murdered by his own people. A law was passed that any Welshman found in arms on the English side of Offa's Dyke (p. 16) should lose his right hand. The nature of the fighting is seen in the permission given to Welsh widows to marry Englishmen. Harold himself married the beautiful Edith, the widow of Griffith and granddaughter of Leofric.

Reduction of the Welsh

Tostig ruled Northumbria badly. In **1065** the Northumbrians drove him out and elected Morkere, Leofric's youngest grandson, to be their earl, and Harold was obliged to confirm the election. Morkere's elder brother Edwine had succeeded to Mercia. Waltheof, Siward's son, was Earl of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire.

Tostig driven from Northumberland. Edwine and Morkere

For a long time Edward had been king only in name. He lived to see the great work of his life, Westminster Abbey, completed. On his death-bed he recommended Harold as his heir, and on January 6, **1066**, Harold was elected king by the unanimous consent of nobles and bishops, and crowned, not by Stigand, whose election was held to be uncanonical, but by Eldred, Archbishop of York.

Death of Edward. Crowning of Harold

Section 5.—*Harold and William of Normandy*

Harold betook himself at once to defence. For the safety of the south he trusted to himself, Gyrth, and Leofwine; for that of the north to Edwine and Morkere.

Preparations of Harold

At Easter he learned that William claimed the throne. That great man was now famous throughout Europe. All revolts within his dominions had been crushed, all attacks from without hurled back, by mingled valour and craft. His physical strength was equalled by his unswerving force of character. In the teeth of the Pope's prohibition he had at length married Matilda of Flanders. In **1064**, as far as can be known, had taken place the famous meeting with Harold. Harold had been wrecked on the coast of William's vassal Guy of Ponthieu, and the custom of the time made him Guy's prisoner; but William, as overlord, demanded his release, and carried him to Rouen where, treated with all honour, but none the less a prisoner, he remained for some months. It was now that he took his fatal oath.

Harold's oath

Time, place, and substance of the oath are alike uncertain; but William declared that he swore upon the relics of the Norman saints to secure his succession, to give up the castle of Dover at once, and to erect other castles for Norman garrisons. It is possible that he swore to these things, knowing that none could be performed unless the English people willed it.[5]

William's first step was to send an embassy demanding performance of the oath, that a refusal might give him the vantage ground of a

A 'Holy War'

charge of perjury. At Lanfranc's suggestion he determined to give to his enterprise the character of a holy war. The first thing was to gain the support of Rome. He himself, on account of his marriage and other acts of independence, was not in good odour there. But the English church was looked upon with the utmost jealousy by the Pope Alexander II. Her allegiance to Rome had been purely nominal; her bishops were made or deposed without reference to the Pope. At this moment Stigand was primate, while Robert of Jumiéges, who had received the papal approval, was an exile from the land. Nay, worse, Stigand had, in the schism which then divided Christendom, acknowledged the anti-pope Benedict. Most of all, the Archdeacon Hildebrand, soon to be the greatest of popes, saw the opportunity for establishing a claim to the future disposal of European crowns; and at his advice, when William promised to hold England

Approved by the Pope

of God and St. Peter, Alexander issued a bull excommunicating Harold as a usurper, and declaring William the rightful claimant. With his blessing he sent a ring containing a hair of St. Peter, and a consecrated banner; and William went forth as the avenger of Rome. To Englishmen his claim was absurd; but among other nations hereditary right had superseded election. His kinship

[5] Freeman, 'William the Conqueror,' in *Twelve English Statesmen* series ch. v.

to Edward therefore, with the alleged bequest and oath, gave him the better right in their eyes. Love of plunder drew to him volunteers from all. His own people were reminded of the murder of the Ethel-ing Alfred, a prince of Norman blood, of the expulsion of the Normans from England, of the insult to the Norman saints. By August a fleet of many hundred ships—large open boats with a single mast and sail—lay ready at the mouth of the Dive. His own ship, the 'Mora,' which bore at its prow the golden figure of a boy blowing an ivory horn, was the gift of Matilda. To secure the favour of Heaven he bestowed lavish gifts on the church, and devoted his eldest daughter Cicely as a virgin to her service.

William's preparations

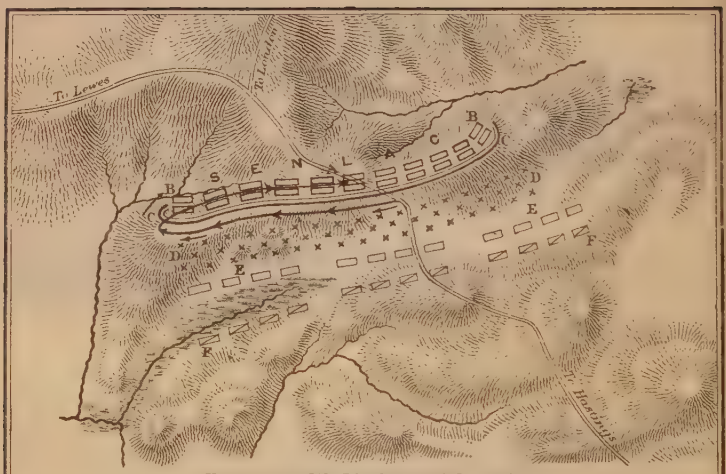
Meanwhile Tostig, who since his expulsion had been longing for revenge, had attacked the English coasts. Beaten off by Edwine and Morkere, he took refuge with Malcolm III. of Scotland, until a fresh opportunity should arrive. It soon came. Simultaneously with William, though independently, Harold Hardrada, the famous king of Norway, had planned the conquest of England. With half the fighting men of his kingdom he reached the Tyne, where he was joined by Tostig, Malcolm, and large contingents from Ireland and Iceland. Thence the vast flotilla sailed to the Humber, mounted the Ouse, and disembarked its crews at Riccall, about nine miles from York. At Fulford (Sept. 20) they were met by Edwine and Morkere. For a while the fight went against the invaders; but when Hardrada, with the dreaded Norwegian banner, the 'Land-waster,' charged in person, fortune changed, and a terrible slaughter took place. York surrendered (Sept. 24). Thence Hardrada took his men to Stamford Bridge on the Derwent, a tributary of the Ouse, a few miles north-east of the city, and drew them up on the left bank, a small detachment being left on the York side of the river.

Invasion of Tostig

Of Hardrada

For four months Harold had kept together a magnificent fleet and army, watching William. But the house-carles alone were of the nature of a standing army; the rest were farmers, and as harvest approached he was forced to disband them. At this moment he heard of the blow which had fallen on the north. He himself was lying ill. But straightway he set out along the Ermine Street with his house-carles. Marching night and day, and gathering forces as he went, he passed through York on September 25, and pressed on without pausing to Stamford Bridge. Coming unawares upon the detached portion of Hardrada's army, he attacked at once, and drove it into the Derwent, which was literally choked with corpses. Then he forced the narrow bridge, where one gallant Northman for a time held the passage with his axe, and charged up the opposite

Battle of Stamford Bridge



BATTLE OF HASTINGS 1066.

adapted from Freeman, Norman Conquest.

A	*Harold.*	CC	*Palisade.*	EE	*Norman Foot.*
BB	*Saxon Army.*	DD	*Norman Archers.*	FF	*Norman Horse.*

→ *Norman central attack diverted to S.W. corner of palisade, and then eastwards along the ridge to Harold.*

Scale of Yards.

0 500 1000 1500

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

F. S. Weller.

slope to the heights still called Battle Flats. All day long the contest raged, until Hardrada and Tostig, with the great mass of their host, lay dead. Such a march, followed by such a victory, has had few if any parallels in history. Three days later, while Harold was celebrating his victory in York, a messenger from the south rushed into the banqueting hall to tell that William had landed at Pevensey.[6]

For two months William had been—first at the Dive, then at St. Valéry at the mouth of the Somme—impatiently waiting for a wind. At length a solemn procession, in which the shrine of the saint was borne aloft through the army, won favour, and on September 27 the south wind blew. At daybreak next morning the trumpet sounded from the 'Mora'; and in a few hours the whole Norman army stood on the beach at Pevensey, where Cæsar had landed eleven hundred years before. As William leaped ashore he fell. His ready wit turned the evil omen. 'By the splendour of God,' he cried, 'I have taken seizin of my kingdom; the earth of England is in my two hands!' The next day he marched to Hastings. To force Harold to battle, he gave orders to ravage the country systematically.

Landing of William at Pevensey

Within ten days from the news reaching him Harold passed through London with the house-carles. The treachery of Edwine and Morkere kept back the forces of the north. But he soon had with him his own men of Wessex, the *fyrd* of East Anglia and South Mercia, and the picked men of Kent. He sent word to William that he would fight him on Saturday, October 14; and he chose a position where the Normans must attack at a disadvantage. This was the hill of Senlac, seven miles from Hastings, over which ran the main road to London. Stretching from east to west, it is joined by an isthmus to the high ground on the north. The southern and south-eastern faces are steep, but at the south-west it slopes more gently. Along the length of the hill Harold formed a three-fold palisade, with an exterior ditch. Behind it, on the crown of the hill where it slopes to the south-east, beneath the 'Dragon' of Wessex and Harold's own banner, the 'Fighting Man,' wrought with gold and jewels, he stood with Gyrth and Leofwine, at the head of the house-carles and picked men. They were armed with javelins and the terrible two-handed axe, with a shaft five feet long, the blows of which no shield or mail could resist. Such a weapon precluded the use of a shield. At the south-west were the irregular levies, roughly and variously armed. In the whole English force there were no archers.

Senlac Hill

The two armies

[6] For Fulford and Stamford Bridge, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ch. xiv.

On the morning of the 14th William advanced to the attack. His army was in three divisions; he himself, and his two brothers, Odo Bishop of Bayeux and Robert Count of Mortain, were in the centre with the native Normans. Each division was in three ranks: first the archers, then the heavy-armed foot, then the horsemen, armed with long lances and heavy straight swords. The archers were to disorder the foe with their arrows; the footmen were then to pull down the palisades that the horsemen might dash in.

At 9 A.M. the battle began. The archers poured their arrows, the foot rushed up the slope. A long struggle took place. The palisades were in places pulled down, but not a Norman soldier passed the line of axes. They fell back, and the horse charged. The battle of Senlac They too failed. On the left the assailants turned and fled; and the English rushed over the palisades in pursuit. The Norman centre caught the panic. The cry ran that William had fallen. Tearing off his helmet, he showed himself to his men, and launched them to another attack. With Odo and Robert—the latter a boy of twelve years old—he spurred right for the standards. A javelin from Gyrth brought down William's horse; the duke sprang to his feet and crushed Gyrth with a blow of his mace. At the same moment Leofwine too fell dead. William mounted again; once more his horse was killed under him, and again he slew with his own hand the man who had struck the blow.

After six hours the English line was still unbroken. William now thought of stratagem. He had noticed how, when his men fled William's stratagem on the south-west, the defenders had left their post; and he bade them flee again. A second time the English rushed to the pursuit, leaving their position open. The main body of the Normans left the central attack, rode westward, mounted the undefended slope, and charged eastwards, rolling up the English line along the ridge. Foot by foot the defence was beaten down. But still the standards flew and Harold stood unhurt. It was now six in the evening. William bade his archers shoot vertically into the air, especially above the spot where Harold stood. Pierced in the right eye, Death of Harold the king fell at the foot of the standards. Then twenty Norman knights vowed to lower those standards or die; and with the loss of all but four of their number the vow was accomplished. Harold was despatched as he lay, and horribly mutilated; the English nobles fell around their king. That night the victor slept among the dead on the spot where the 'Dragon' and the 'Fighting Man' had waved. To the corpse of Harold, as an excommunicated man, William refused Christian burial; wrapped in a purple robe, the body of the last

English king was laid under a heap of stones by the sea-shore. Later he was buried by the high altar of the abbey he had reared at Waltham.[7]

Election of Edgar king

William returned to Hastings, and waited in vain for the submission of the people. As though no stranger were in the land, the witan held their meeting in London, and elected Edgar the grandson of Edmund Ironside king in Harold's place.

William's march

William first secured his retreat by taking Dover Castle. Then, marching by Canterbury and passing London, he crossed the river at Wallingford. His plan was to encircle London with a desert tract, and thus secure its submission without a blow. It was entirely successful. At Berkhampsted Edgar himself, who had not yet been consecrated, with Eldred and Stigand, came to his camp and proffered him the crown. Sending a detachment before him to erect a fortress—the future Tower of London—he marched to the city. On Christmas morning, after the people in the ancient fashion had elected him king, with shouts of 'Yea, yea, King William,' he was crowned by Eldred.

Election and coronation

Principal Dates of the Pre-Norman Period

	A.D.		A.D.
Landing of Hengest and Horsa	449	Alfred, king of Wessex	872–901
Christianity introduced by Augustine	597	Peace of Wedmore	878
Conquest practically completed, about	600	Edward 'the Unconquered,' king over all Britain	925
Synod of Whitby	664	Edred, elected by English, Welsh, and Danes, dies	955
Attacks of the Northmen begin, about	800	Canute, king of England	1016
Egbert, 'king of the English'	835	Edward the Confessor	1043
		Harold and William the Conqueror	1066

7 The battle of Senlac, or Hastings, has a special place in the history of warfare, as being the last in which a phalanx of axe-men was used with anything approaching to success. At Stamford Bridge the two armies had used the same weapons; here it was a contest of the old and new formations and arms, and the new won. The Saxons had fallen before the superior tactics and military equipment of the Danes; and so they now fell before those of the Normans.—Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 24.

BOOK II

THE ANGLO-NORMAN KINGS, AND THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST FEUDALISM

1066–1154

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

1066–1087

SECTION 1.—*The Conquest completed*, 1066–1070

WILLIAM was now lawful king by election; all who resisted him henceforth were rebels. Indeed, from the fiction that he was heir to Edward, it followed that all England had already rebelled against him, and that all English land was thereby forfeited to him. It was a territorial conquest under legal forms. He did not claim as conqueror; but he had to act as conqueror: his followers had to be rewarded, and his power secured.[1] The possessions of all who had fought at Senlac, that is practically the whole of the south and south-east, were at once confiscated. Others, who submitted at once, received their lands again, but by re-grant from the king in every case. Ecclesiastical lands were left untouched; only the monasteries were spoiled in which wealthy Englishmen had stored their money for safety. Northern England, under Edwine and Morkere, was for the present not affected by the conquest.

Confiscation of lands

In March 1067 William returned to Normandy, leaving the conquered part of the country in the hands of Odo of Bayeux and FitzOsbern, created Earls of Kent and Hereford, with orders to build castles at all important points. Castles were almost unknown in England. But henceforward, where William conquered, he built a castle to secure the conquest. Earls too were appointed wherever attack was likely, as in Kent, Norfolk, Northumberland, Chester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Cornwall. In some cases he created *palatine* earldoms or bishoprics, as at Chester and Durham, in which the earl or bishop acted as an independent prince, saving allegiance to the king himself; he nominated the sheriffs, and the landowners held directly from him.[2] But no earl

Castles built

[1] Freeman, 'William the Conqueror,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*, ch. viii.
[2] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 271.

was allowed the command of more than one shire; or, if exceptions were made, William was careful to put such shires apart from one another. His chief danger in Normandy had arisen from the power of his great vassals, and he wished to guard against a recurrence of this danger.

Restricted earldoms

William himself had carried out the confiscations with comparatively little hardship. But scarcely was he gone when the people rose under the intolerable oppression of Odo and FitzOsbern. In Herefordshire they were joined by the Welsh; the Normans were besieged in the castle of Hereford. The Kentish men invited Eustace of Boulogne to help in an attack upon Dover Castle, which they promised to put into his hands. He came, but failed, and barely escaped with the loss of almost all his men. From other parts an appeal was sent to Sweyn of Denmark.

English revolt

William returned in haste in December. A fresh confiscation and redistribution of lands was his first act. Sweyn's threatened attack was staved off by negotiation. Then he turned to further conquest. The citizens of Exeter, which was to the south-west what London, Norwich, York, and Chester, were to the other parts of England, refused to admit him within the walls or swear fealty, though they offered tribute. But Exeter fell after a siege of eighteen days,[3] ended only by the walls being undermined, a device which showed how far the Normans were in advance of the English in military arts; and William showed judicious clemency to the inhabitants. The whole south-west was then divided among his followers; castles were built at Gloucester and Worcester, and William's young brother Robert was made Earl of Cornwall.

Conquest of the south-west

From the south-west William turned to the north, where Edwine, Morkere, and Edgar were in arms. At his first move to Warwick the fickle earls made submission, and Edgar took refuge with Malcolm. York then surrendered, and Malcolm swore fealty. During his absence Harold's sons, with fifty-two ships from Ireland, sailed up the Bristol Channel. But it was now so clear that William's power was the only guarantee for order, that the English inhabitants of Bristol themselves beat them back. They revenged themselves by ravaging all Somersetshire, and then returned to Ireland. In **1069** they made a similar raid. But a Norman force fell upon them and they were utterly routed. They again fled to Dublin, and from this time were no more heard of.

Of the north

In **1069** the north rose again. The movement began at Durham, and, headed by Edgar, was joined by all Yorkshire. York Castle held

[3] Freeman, 'Exeter,' in *Historic Towns*, p. 34.

out until William by forced marches came to its relief. The besiegers were cut to pieces, and a second castle built.

At this moment Sweyn suddenly appeared on the coasts with a fleet of 240 ships. Beaten off at Dover, Ipswich, and Norwich, he entered the Humber in September, and was joined by Edgar, Waltheof, and all Northumbria. They at once marched upon York. The garrisons of the castles sallied out upon them to their own destruction, the gigantic Waltheof distinguishing himself by the slaughter he did with his two-handed axe. The castles were levelled to the ground. But then the revolt collapsed. The Danes, gorged with plunder, left the land; the English dispersed to their homes.

Danish invasion

For some time William was delayed by further trouble in the west. When he came, it was with an awful purpose. He was determined that no further revolt should be feared from the north. For this he made the whole of Yorkshire and the neighbouring lands a desert. He himself supervised the awful work. All who resisted were slain on the spot; every house was burned, every living animal destroyed. Beverley alone, dedicated to St. John, was spared in this universal wasting. For seventeen years the land lay utterly desolate. In Domesday Book the record is, page after page, 'waste.' The few who survived by living upon whatever unclean food they could find—even, it was said, upon the corpses of the more fortunate dead—sold themselves for slaves. The conqueror, who had spent his first night in England amongst the dead and dying of Senlac, spent now his Christmas in the midst of a desolation such as even the Danes had never caused.

Wasting of Yorkshire

All who still had heart to resist took refuge near the mouth of the Tees. But in January **1070** the king was upon them. Some fled, some submitted to mercy. Among the latter was Waltheof. To conciliate those whom terror did not subdue, William reinstated him in his earldoms, and even married him to his niece Judith.

Then the king marched to Durham, ravaging still, and returning through the bleak snow-covered Hambledon hills amid excessive hardships to York. Even then he did not rest. West, south, east, and north were now subdued. Chester, in the north-west, alone held out. In February he set forth on another march over the Pennine chain. The snow lay deep. His men mutinied; he told them that he did not want the aid of cowards, and that he would go with those who would follow. Chester was at length reached, taken by storm, and secured by a castle. The lands around were so wasted that the surviving population pressed

Storming of Chester

southwards in a mass, seeking food. With the death of at least 100,000 persons England was now at William's feet. To reconcile the people he renewed the laws of Edward, as Canute had renewed those of Edgar. One serious addition was made to put an end to the frequent assassinations of Norman soldiers by the peasants, that of 'murder' and 'Englishry,' by which any unknown corpse was held to be that of a Norman until it was proved to be otherwise, and a fine levied on the hundred where it was found.

'Englishry'

SECTION 2.—*The Church. Ely. Lowland Scotland.* **1070–1071**

During **1070** William remodelled the church. As ecclesiastical offices fell vacant they were filled with Norman prelates. When Eldred of York died he was succeeded by Thomas of Bayeux. Stigand was deposed, and replaced by the famous Lanfranc. But in order that there might be but one ecclesiastical authority, the original aim of Theodore (p. 14), Thomas of York was obliged to swear obedience to Lanfranc. Henceforward William and Lanfranc, like Edgar and Dunstan, were joint rulers of England.

Lanfranc primate

We have seen how purely national the English church was, how slight was its dependence upon Rome. But the reign of the great Pope Hildebrand was one long struggle to subject everywhere the civil to the ecclesiastical power, to separate the church as far as possible from the state, to *de*nationalise it, to bring it into immediate obedience to Rome. Lanfranc seconded his views with great ability. He encouraged monasticism, while he reformed the lives of the monks. A rage spread for founding monasteries which the Pope exempted from the authority of the bishops. Lanfranc established church courts, in which alone ecclesiastical causes were judged. Hitherto bishop and earldorman had sat side by side in judgment—a type of the identity of church and state. But now the convocation of the clergy, which was held when a gemot was summoned, was made to last three days after the latter, to show its independence. Priests were forbidden to marry. Elsewhere Hildebrand had compelled those who were already married to put away their wives. But in England marriage was so general among the parish priests that Lanfranc shrank from too sweeping a change, and merely ordained that no such marriages should take place in future. Civil marriages—marriages, that is, without church ceremonies—were forbidden.

Objects of the Pope

Carried out by Lanfranc

So long as William reigned there was no fear of Rome gaining too much power. He insisted upon the full right of investiture of bishops and abbots, though Hildebrand had forbidden them to take the pastoral

ring and staff from any temporal lord. When Hildebrand demanded the better payment of the annual tribute to Rome, called 'Peter's pence' or 'Rome-fee' (a tax of a penny on every hearth, paid since the beginning of the tenth century), and a fulfilment of his promise to hold England as a fief of Rome, William replied that the money with all arrears should be sent in, but that his predecessors had not paid homage, neither should he. No pope should be acknowledged, no papal bull circulated, no decrees or excommunications of the church courts enforced, without his consent. But the very fact that he had to state this shows how rapidly Rome was gaining ground.

William and Hildebrand

The last stand of the conquered race was on the Isle of Ely, a piece of rising ground then completely surrounded by the Ouse and impassable fens. Thither fled all who still refused to bow to William. **1070.** Their leader was Hereward 'the Wake,' the English hero, around whom legend has grown so thickly that it is impossible to separate truth from falsehood. The monks of Ely supported him, and he was joined by Morkere, Edwine being slain in the attempt to reach him. The island was approached only by raised causeways, such as may be seen in Holland. The principal of these was at Aldreth on the south-west, where the Ouse was crossed by a bridge. William attacked on both sides: with his ships from Brandon, on the east; at Aldreth with his army. For many months he was foiled. But during **1071** Morkere, with the monks, turned traitor, and the defence broke down. Mutilation was the lot of the prisoners, Morkere was kept in captivity for the rest of William's reign, and Ely was secured by a castle at Aldreth. Hereward, whose after-life is uncertain, escaped with a few followers.

The Ely revolt

In August, **1071**, William again went north to avenge a raid of Malcolm so desolating that 'there was no house so poor in Scotland but had an English bondman.' Marching unopposed through Lothian, he crossed the firth, and reached Abernethy near the Tay. Here Malcolm came to him, swore to be his man, and left his son Robert as hostage. The marriage of Malcolm with Matilda, sister of Edgar, was an important event. Of a strong and beautiful character, and highly accomplished, she gained complete influence over her husband. English exiles gathered around her; and thus, while England was becoming Norman, lowland Scotland became more and more English, the land in which the purest English tongue was spoken.

Submission of Malcolm of Scotland

Lothian becomes English

SECTION 3.—*Conspiracies. William's crimes and family troubles. Domesday Book.* **1072–1083**

Hitherto William had been undisturbed by disaffection among his own people. But in **1072**, while he was employed in the reconquest of his revolted province of Maine, a conspiracy was formed in England. Ralph Wader earl of Norfolk, an Englishman, had asked for the hand of Emma, daughter of Roger FitzOsbern of Hereford. The approval of William as feudal lord was necessary; and, jealous of the union of two such powerful houses, he withheld it. But in his absence the marriage was carried out. At the feast there were present Ralph, Roger, and Waltheof, and an oath was taken to drive William out of England and to divide the kingdom. Waltheof, repenting of the oath, confessed to Lanfranc, who taught him that a sinful promise might be broken; he sailed to Normandy, disclosed the plot to William, and was forgiven. Roger had meanwhile begun revolt; but, unsupported by the natives, who saw no prospect of advantage to themselves, the rising was abortive. Roger was taken prisoner, Ralph escaped beyond sea. Upon his return to confront a second Danish attack, William faithlessly arrested Waltheof. He and Roger were brought to trial. Roger was condemned, and died in imprisonment. Waltheof, at the instigation of the Normans who hungered for his lands, and of his false Norman wife Judith, was also found guilty. His fate was deferred until May 31, **1076**, when he was beheaded at Winchester. For this, the only execution of the reign, William might plead the sailing of the Danish fleet—which, in fact, burnt York—the necessity of striking a blow which would hinder the natives from joining the invaders, and Waltheof's connection with their last raid. But it was none the less a crime; he had treacherously grasped at an opportunity of getting rid of the last great Englishman.[4] From this time he governed the provinces chiefly by sheriffs of lower rank.

Conspiracy against William

Execution of Waltheof

The wasting of Yorkshire, the murder of Waltheof, were followed by another gigantic misdeed. The passion of William's life was hunting, and to it he sacrificed every interest. Hitherto any man might slay the wild beasts on his own land. But by the savage forest laws now enacted this right was reserved to the king himself. Rich and poor alike were forced to observe them; mutilation in its most fearful forms was the punishment for any infraction. 'He loved the high deer as if he had been their father.' To indulge his passion near at hand, a tract of land in Hampshire, more

The forest laws. The New Forest

[4] Freeman, *William the Conqueror*, ch. x. p. 163.

than thirty miles in length, was laid waste. The people were driven out, the farms and churches destroyed. But a curse followed the crime. In the New Forest there died, during his lifetime, his second son Richard, and his grandson, the son of Robert; here too in after-time William Rufus met his death.

The next eleven years were years of harsh and oppressive government; William's demands for money were exorbitant, the forest laws cruelly enforced. Numbers of the English youth sought service abroad in the famous Varangian guard maintained by the Roman emperors at Constantinople. But life and property were comparatively safe; violence, especially against women, was rigorously punished; the building of churches and monasteries went on apace. The slave trade of Bristol was prohibited. Amalgamation between the two races was already beginning; in the towns Normans and English were living side by side. In many respects each race kept its own laws; thus, while for Englishmen the ordeal—the appealing to the judgment of God—by hot water or hot iron was retained, the Normans held to the decision by single combat.

Character of William's government

During these later years, chiefly spent in Normandy, William's life was embittered by troubles in his family. Resolved to have no rivals there, he had kept his sons in close dependence upon himself, giving them neither lands nor power. Robert, the eldest, who from his short, squat figure had gained the nickname of 'Curthose,' had been promised the succession of both Normandy and Maine. But he asked for an immediate provision, and that William would not give him. In **1077**, while attending his father in Normandy, Robert left the court, gathered adherents, and defied him. In **1079** he received effectual help from Philip of France, with the command of the castle of Gerberoi. There father and son met in fight, and William received his first wound at Robert's hand. His second son, William Rufus, was also wounded in his defence. A reconciliation was then patched up through the mediation of the nobles and prelates of Normandy, and Robert returned with William to England.

Rebellion of Robert

In **1082** his brother Odo, a cruel, oppressive, and ambitious priest, openly aspired to the papacy, and even prepared, in William's absence, to lead an army across the Alps to secure it by force. William met him at the Isle of Wight and ordered his arrest. When none dared touch him, he himself laid hands upon him. Odo claimed immunity as a priest. 'I arrest,' said William, 'not the priest, but the earl.' Odo was thrown into prison, and remained there till William's death.

Odo imprisoned

There now fell upon William a still greater trouble. Throughout their lives Matilda had kept his entire love, and their union had been a pattern of domestic purity. The quarrel with Robert had caused the first estrangement. He was her first-born and her favourite son, and in spite of William's express prohibition she had sent him encouragement and help. The reconciliation had brought back the old confidence, when she died, November 3, **1083**. From this moment the clouds gathered thick upon him. His second son Richard perished in the New Forest, and one of his daughters died. In the midst of his mourning he was called abroad to quell a fresh revolt in Maine. But success no longer waited upon him; peace was made, but it was upon his enemies' terms.

Death of Matilda

In **1083** William heard that the Danish king was again preparing to invade England. He hurriedly returned from Normandy, laid waste the whole of the eastern coast, that the invader might find no sustenance, and levied a tax of seventy-two pennies on every hide of land. To this tax, although it was in no way the old Danegeld (p. 27), that name was now given. To assist in its collection, and to ascertain what services were due to the crown, a general and detailed survey of the whole country was made. Commissioners went into every shire with orders to ascertain: (1) who had held the lands under Edward—the reign of Harold being ignored; (2) who held it now; (3) whether its value could be increased. They first ascertained the shire divisions; then from the reeve, parish priest, and six villeins of each township they learned how much land was arable, pasture, or forest; who were the owners; what fisheries and mills there were; and every fact that could assist the immediate object of the survey. It was frequently found that lands had been taken without William's grant, and these were at once resumed by the crown. The commissioners did their work in a single year, and the result was the invaluable picture of England known as Domesday Book.

Danegeld

Domesday Book

Section 4.—*The Salisbury Law. Feudal System. Death of William.* **1086–1087**

At the great gemot of Salisbury which William called in **1086**, another measure was passed of incalculable importance. Every freeman, while he was the 'man' of his immediate lord, was henceforth to be the man of the king; in other words, duty to the king was to take precedence of duty to his lord. The meaning of this can only be seen by clearly understanding the great change which the conquest had produced in the conditions under which

The Salisbury decree

society was held together. This change was the introduction of the *feudal system.*

Anglo-Saxon feudalism

We have seen that in later Saxon times thegnhood had become associated with the ownership of five hides of land; that the custom of 'commendation' (pp. 20, 26) had become general; and that thus the idea had become familiar of land being held on condition of military service, although at first there was no such condition. But in many cases this military service was still unconnected with land tenure; in others there was no direct proportion between the amount of land and the amount of service, and the connection was apparently not indissoluble; in fact, there was no fixed system, though everything tended to strengthen the principle of land held by military tenure. But there was, too, another great principle: that every holder of a hide of land was bound to the *trinoda necessitas* (p. 12), which included attendance on the 'fyrd,' or national army; and so, when all the land became the king's land (p. 38), every holder could be summoned by the king.

Feudal system

The feudal *system*, as it had grown up in Normandy,[5] was as simple as the Anglo-Saxon undeveloped feudalism was complex. Land tenure, and land tenure only, was its basis; the amount of land regulated the amount of service. The lord, who was lord of another man, was himself the vassal of a still higher lord, or of the king. The villein was lord of no man, the king tenant of no man; between them might be any number of steps. Each vassal owed to his lord an oath of fealty, or fidelity, and homage: fealty, in consideration of the land he held; homage, shown by placing his hands between those of his lord, in sign that he owed him service and claimed protection. The union of fealty and homage made the feudal tie—the tenure of the *feudum*, or fief. Each lord had jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over his own vassals, and was exempt from that of the national courts. Wherever this system flourished there rapidly grew up the idea that a vassal owed duty purely to his superior lord, none at all to the king; so that if a lord rebelled against his own lord, or against the king, his vassals followed him, and were free of all guilt. No such thing existed as the *trinoda necessitas*. Such a system, except under the strongest hand, meant disorder; the central authority became powerless; there was a continual

[5] 'Feudal government, a graduated system of jurisdiction based on land tenure, in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class next below him, in which abject slavery formed the lowest, and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade, in which private war, private courage, private prisons, took the place of the imperial institutions of government.' Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ch. ix. p. 250.

disruptive tendency, growing stronger as important posts became hereditary with the land. It was only by the ruthless exercise of his splendid gifts that William had been able, as Duke of Normandy, to make head against his own vassals; and he had been the great element of weakness to the power of his own overlord, the king of France. This system William had gradually imposed upon England, but not by any legislative act. Wherever a change of ownership occurred the Norman system was tacitly introduced, and was practically universal by the date of the Salisbury law. The landowners of Edward's time were supplanted by some 1,500 great lords, who received their lands directly from the king for military service, tenants *in capite*, or 'in chief.' From each of these military service was due in proportion. Land to the value of 20*l.* became, under Henry I., a 'knight's fee'; that is, if a great lord had lands to the value of 200*l.*, he would owe the service of ten knights. The tenants-in-chief did similarly with their own vassals. Had he stopped with the introduction of the Norman system, William would have been no better off than in Normandy.

Objects of the Salisbury decree

But by the Salisbury law he kept all the advantages, while he checked the disruptive danger, of the feudal system. He retained feudal tenure of land, but not feudal government. Henceforth a vassal was bound to follow the king first, if the king and his own overlord quarrelled. The *fyrd*, as William found it, had not been abolished. While therefore the lord could demand his vassal's service to fulfil his own obligations to the king, the king could call that vassal to the fyrd, summon him to his courts, tax him, give him protection. He had a double claim upon him—indirectly through his lord, directly through the fyrd and the Salisbury law. He could thus rely on him in struggles with the great feudal barons. This was especially the case since the bulk of the small vassals were native English who suffered from their lords' oppression. For the same reason he maintained the old customs, the hundred-moot and shire-moot; he also confirmed the laws of Edward.[6] In the Salisbury decree, more than in any other single act, is contained the future history of England.

The year **1087** was long remembered for its calamities. It was a year of murrain among the cattle, of a failure of the crops, of famine and pestilence. Many towns were destroyed by fire, and death was

[6] 'The English system was strong in the cohesion of its town organism; the association of individuals in the township, in the hundred and in the shire; the Norman system was strong in its higher ranges, in the close relation to the crown of the tenants-in-chief. On the other hand, the English system was weak in the higher organisation, and the Normans in England had hardly any subordinate organisation at all.'—'England,' in *Encycl. Brit.*

busy among the great nobles. And William himself was now to die. War had again broken out with France, and he was carrying fire and sword through the borderland around Mantes. He was resting at Rouen, when a jest of Philip brought him in wrath to the field. The king, Philip said, in coarse allusion to his extreme corpulence, was lying-in at Rouen, and there would doubtless be a grand display of candles at his churching. William swore a tremendous oath that when he rose again and went to mass he would light 100,000 candles at Philip's expense; and the oath was kept. In August he led the way into France; the harvests were swept off, the people slaughtered, the whole place wasted with fire, as he had once wasted Yorkshire. On August 15 he utterly destroyed Mantes. As he rode through the burning streets, hounding on the men to their work, his horse stumbled, and he was thrown violently against the iron pommel. For several weeks he lay dying at the priory of St. Gervase, outside Rouen. There he thought of all his crimes towards England. The little he could do in restitution was done. His treasure was given to the church and to the poor; the churches in Mantes were to be rebuilt. He released his prisoners—even Odo at the last moment. Then, praying fervently, he died at dawn of Thursday, September 9, **1087**. By his will he left Normandy and Maine to Robert, who was absent, and 5,000 pounds of silver to Henry. If Lanfranc approved, William, his second and favourite son, was to reign in England.

The year 1087

Death of William

Even before his father had breathed his last, William Rufus had hurried to secure England, and Henry to weigh his treasure. The nobles departed in haste to set their castles in order. The servants stripped the bedchamber. For a whole day the body of the great conqueror lay unattended and almost bare upon the floor. At length, amid scenes as tragic and as sad as any which had happened in his life, he was laid to rest in St. Stephen's church at Caen, which he had himself built. The tomb lay undisturbed until the sixteenth century, when the Huguenot rising swept it away. The coffin was broken, and all but one thigh-bone lost; the relic was preserved until the French Revolution of **1793**, when it too vanished.

Besides four sons, William had four daughters. One of these, Constance, was married to the Count of Britanny; another, Adela, to Stephen, Count of Blois.

Marriage of William's daughters

Thus we have seen how William, partly by the accident of Harold's absence at the critical moment, partly by greater military skill and resource, triumphed at Hastings; how he overcame in succession the unconnected risings of the conquered people,

Summary

treason among his followers, rebellion in his household. We have seen him remodel the church, and supplant the old social system by another, which none but wise and strong hands could prevent from becoming a system of disorder, and the evils of which we shall see under other kings. We have seen his crimes, his embittered age, his repentant and desolate end. Ruthless and despotic as was his sway, he was seldom wantonly cruel, and he strove for order and for justice rough as it might be. His passionate temper was generally under control, and, though his physical nature was robust, his life was temperate and chaste. We shrink from many of his deeds, but we recognise in William one of the great men of history.

CHAPTER II

FEUDALISM (1) *UNDER CONTROL*, (2) *UNCHECKED*

Section 1.—*William Rufus.* 1087–1100

William Rufus possessed a large share of the Conqueror's military skill, prompt decision, and masterfulness. Of his kingly virtues he had no trace. He was selfish, unjust, untruthful, wantonly cruel; he gloried in irreligion and vice; he robbed the nobles, the people, and the church. In person he was short, corpulent, and ruddy-faced, with flaxen hair. He stammered in his rage; and, like his father, he intimidated by voice and look. Such was the man who swore to Lanfranc to do right both to the people and to the church, and to obey him in all things. Lanfranc then secured his election by the Great Council, and he was crowned September 26.

But by Easter, **1088**, the chief barons, headed by his uncles and the Bishop Palatine of Durham, were in revolt. They knew that their power would be greater under the weak rule of his elder brother Robert. Lanfranc and the bishops, with Hugh of Chester and William of Warrenne, alone remained faithful. But the contest was decided by the native English. To them the nobles in their castles were a worse enemy than any king. Upon the promise of William that all should be as in the days of Edward they joined him heart and soul; they beat back a Norman invasion at Pevensey; they took castles from the rebels and defended castles against them; and in several encounters defeated them in the open field. Odo was captured and exiled, with the Bishop of Durham and others. The victory won, Lanfranc called upon

Revolt of the great nobles

William to carry out his pledge. 'Who is there who can fulfil all his promises?' was the flippant reply.

William had far-reaching designs upon France. Normandy was his first object. Under Robert it had fallen back into anarchy, and Robert himself was speedily bankrupt. He sold the western part of the duchy to his brother Henry for 3,000*l.*, while Rufus bribed the barons on the right bank of the Seine to accept him as their king. War of course followed between the brothers; but William was the superior general and the most liberal giver; and in **1091**, upon his promise to help Robert to regain what he had sold to Henry, as well as Maine, which had revolted, Robert agreed at Caen that if either died the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. Henry was passed over, and for two years forced to wander in great need from refuge to refuge. This was the first time that the right of election was openly ignored; the kingship was treated as something that might be willed away.

William obtains Normandy

William broke his promise, and there was further war between him and Robert in **1094**. But in **1095** Pope Urban appealed to the princes of Europe to go on a crusade to recover Jerusalem from the infidels. Robert was fired by the idea. He pledged his duchy to William for 10,000 marks. With Robert went Odo, who died on the expedition, Ralph of Wader, and Edgar. In **1096** William took possession of all Normandy.[1]

He then, in accordance with the former treaty with Robert, entered Maine with an overpowering force, and overran the country. In **1099** he lost it by a popular rising, but recovered it the same year, and kept it till his death, when it returned to its allegiance to its former ruler, Hélie de la Flèche.[2]

William was as active on his own borders as abroad. Edgar had returned from the Crusades and had again sought protection in Scotland; and in **1091** his brother-in-law Malcolm III. raided through the north in support of his claims. William chased him back to the Forth, where Malcolm renewed homage. But the conquest by Rufus of the northern part of Cumberland, which

William and Scotland

[1] Thus began the English wars with France. England was dragged into the continual conflict between France and Normandy; English men and money carried on the fight, so that the Normans of Normandy itself were soon known in France as 'English.' Rufus had indeed the future conquest of France always in view, and in 1097 was at active war with Philip. But a truce in 1098 put an end to attempts at a French conquest until the fourteenth century.

[2] His daughter married Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem; and their son, Geoffrey Plantagenet, thus came to inherit both Anjou and Maine: an important fact in later history, for the son of Geoffrey was our Henry II.

owed homage to Malcolm, with the important post of Carlisle, caused a fresh quarrel. Malcolm renounced his homage, and for the fifth time invaded England in **1093**. But he was met and slain with his eldest son by Robert of Mowbray, the great Earl of Northumberland. Four days later his queen Margaret died. A period of confusion followed, ended by another Edgar, the younger son of Malcolm and Margaret, being placed on the throne by William's help. Thus the pure Scotch line of kings disappeared. Edgar held the throne as William's vassal. Norman families, such as the Baliols, Bruces, and Stewarts, settled in large numbers in Lothian.

William and Wales

The Welsh marches witnessed perpetual war, alternating between gradual encroachments of the Normans and desolating raids of the Welsh. In **1095** William led an army to the flanks of Snowdon; and though his loss in men and horses was enormous, the mountaineers were effectually bridled by a line of strong castles on the border, whose lords were at liberty to hold whatever lands they could tear from the Welsh: a rough but most effectual method of conquest.

Ralph Flambard

The internal government was a scene of continued wrong-doing, for the death of Lanfranc in **1089** had removed the only check. William's chief counsellor was now Ralph Flambard, a cleric of low origin, whom he appointed justiciar (p. 57) and bishop of Durham. Under his advice the feudal tie was made intolerably burdensome to the tenants-in-chief; and they in turn ground their vassals. The old 'moots' became mere engines of extortion; the hated Danegeld (p. 45) was increased; William summoned the people to the fyrd, and then laid hands upon the money provided by the shires for their maintenance, leaving them to get home as best they could; he enforced the forest laws with fine, mutilation and death; the country was scandalised with the unblushing wickedness of his life. No family, however noble, was secure against his tyranny and lust. At length Mowbray, De Lacy, and Bigod, the three chief barons, rose in revolt, **1095**. But the rising was crushed almost before it was begun.

Second revolt of the great nobles

Mowbray was captured and lay in prison until his death thirty years later; De Lacy and Bigod were ruined by fines; the Count of Eu, a kinsman of William, was blinded and mutilated; William of Alderic, his godfather, was hung. There were no more revolts.

The only direct payments to which the tenants-in-chief had been liable hitherto were for the ransom of the king in case he were taken prisoner, for making his eldest son a knight, and for marrying his eldest daughter. Flambard added three other great burdens, called

'relief,' 'marriage,' and 'wardship.' *Relief* was a sum paid on the death of a tenant-in-chief by the successor. Fiefs were practically hereditary; but Flambard's theory was that at death they fell back to the crown, which might therefore justly demand a sum of money from the next holder. *Marriage* was the right to compel a tenant-in-chief to marry according to the king's wish, or to pay a fine for marrying at his own will, an extension of the control which the Conqueror had exercised—as in the case of Ralph Wader (p. 43)—over marriages which threatened him with danger. *Wardship*, with enjoyment of the revenues, was assumed by the king when a tenant-in-chief died without leaving a male heir of full age, since a widow, a minor son, or a daughter, could not pay feudal service. These burdens were continually increased and exacted with the utmost rigour. The hardship fell however chiefly upon the sub-vassals, who were in turn mulcted by their lords.

Additions to the three feudal burdens: reliefs, wardships, marriages

With Flambard's help the church was robbed with impunity. Vacant benefices were either sold or kept vacant that the king might enjoy the revenues. Church preferments were granted for secular service, and church lands, which as a rule were exempt from feudal dues, though not from military service, were given to laymen as hereditary fiefs, and burdened with such dues.

For four years after Lanfranc's death William kept the primacy itself vacant. He then forced it upon Anselm,[3] prior of Bec in Normandy, a man of meek and holy mind. Anselm accepted investiture at William's hands and paid him homage for the possession of the see. But the vicious king and the pious prelate soon quarrelled, and William arrested him on a trumped-up charge of treason. He was told that a liberal gift to the king would restore him to favour. He rejected the proposal, and personally remonstrated with the king upon his evil life; he faced with calm dignity William's rage when, in the continued schism in the Papacy, he acknowledged Urban as Pope without his sanction; declared that he would obey the customs of the realm only so far as they were conformable to the law of God, and refused to engage not to appeal to Rome. William in turn forced the bishops to abjure the primate's authority, and forbade him to go to Rome to obtain the papal sanction to his appointment,[4] shown by the gift of the *pallium* or vestment worn by metropolitan

William and Anselm

[3] See Church, *Life of Anselm*.

[4] The demand of the great Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) that all metropolitans should receive this sanction in person, without which Rome would not recognise them, was one of the most effective of her methods for denationalising the church everywhere; and it was resisted by the Conqueror and his sons.—Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. vii. part i.

archbishops. In **1097** however William gave way, and Anselm made his journey. But he was not allowed to return; his revenues were confiscated, and he remained in poverty and exile until the king's death. In **1099** excommunication was threatened by the Pope against any prelate who should henceforward receive investiture from, or do homage to, any lay prince.[5]

William's last year was passed in peace. To the end he cherished the dream of a great Continental dominion, and was actually in treaty with the Duke of Aquitaine, the country stretching from the Loire to the Pyrenees, to take his land in pledge as he had taken Normandy from Robert. On August 2, **1100**, he perished by an arrow from an unknown hand while hunting in the New Forest. He was buried hastily in the old minster of Winchester. A plain stone was placed above his grave. No bells were tolled, no lamentations made; popular execration alone followed him to the grave.

Death of William

Section 2.—*Henry I.* 1100–1135

By the treaty of Caen, Robert would now have succeeded to both England and Normandy. But he was far away, and Henry happened to be at hand. He rode straight to Winchester, seized the treasure, and secured his own election by such of the nobles as were there. He had the goodwill of the native population, for he was a genuine English 'Etheling' (p. 30, note). He at once endeavoured to propitiate all classes. His great charter promised to the English the observance of Edward's laws with his father's amendments; crimes were to be punished by these laws, not by the mere will of the king; all debts to the crown and murder fines incurred before the coronation were forgiven; the local moots were restored to their old functions; privileges of self-government were granted to the towns, and especially to London, which gained that of electing its own sheriffs. The church was gratified by the filling up of vacant sees, by the promised cessation of all William's attacks, and by the recall of Anselm. The abuses of the feudal burdens were removed, and the demesne lands—those which the tenants-in-chief kept in their own hands, and did not let out to sub-tenants—were freed from Danegeld and all burdens except knight service. The tenants-in-chief were enjoined to grant to their vassal the concessions which they themselves received. To please all, Henry imprisoned Flambard. Then, to the great delight of the English, he married Edith, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, the great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside (p. 17). Any child of the union would

Charter of Henry I.

[5] All these pretensions of Rome gave rise to a special jurisprudence called canon law, and to a special race of lawyers, skilled in continually extending its functions.—Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. vii. part ii.

unite the Norman and Saxon houses. To satisfy Norman feeling, Edith was compelled to change her name to Matilda or Maud.

Character of Henry I. and of his reign

Henry was a complete contrast to his predecessor. A clear-headed, practical man of business, he was always master of himself; his licentiousness was kept within the bounds of outward decency; he was as cruel, but not so wantonly cruel, as his brother; as keen in the chase, and in the enforcement of the forest laws; self-interest was his only guide, but this fortunately led him to a course favourable to good government. His advanced education gave him many varied interests, of which a menagerie of wild beasts at Woodstock was but one example. His reign was a time of vigorous intellectual progress. Latin and English versifiers were numerous. 'Romance' writing—writing, that is, in the French form of Latin—was widely followed; Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his 'History of Britain,' with tales of the 'gests' or deeds of Arthur and his knights, of Merlin and his prophecies, drawn from British songs and traditions; others wrote the stories of Charlemagne and Alexander the Great. Architecture flourished, and splendid religious houses arose in the land.

In spite of the charter, Henry's extortion, though more carefully applied, was probably as great as that of Rufus; and at his death he had hoarded an immense sum. But the merits of his rule were great. He, like Rufus, stifled the dangers of feudalism. Whenever possible, he took offices out of the hands of the old baronage and created a fresh body of officials, 'new men' from a lower class. Thus he raised Roger, a priest of low degree, to be justiciar and bishop of Salisbury; and under his minute and laborious attention a permanent administration was established, which brought all matters directly under the king. This increase of the kingly power was a vast gain. Law succeeded to brute force. By his severe impartiality and personal diligence in judicial work Henry earned the title of the 'Lion of Justice.'

The 'new men': Roger of Salisbury

The fruit of all this was soon apparent. Robert, on his return from the East, had been accepted by Normandy, and all the great barons in England conspired in his favour. But the English and the church again supported the crown; and when Robert landed at Portsmouth, an agreement was come to by which he abandoned his claim to England, and Henry his claim to Normandy; if no male heir was left to either, both countries were to pass to the survivor; and Henry was to pay Robert a pension of 3,000 marks. Then Henry laid his hand heavily, but by legal process, upon the disloyal barons. Some were banished, others deprived of their lands. Robert of Belesme, a monster of cruelty, powerful in England,

Agreement with Robert

Normandy, and Ponthieu, so powerful indeed that he was a serious rival to the crown, was beaten out of his castles at Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, and Arundel by Henry himself, at the head of 60,000 native English, and imprisoned amid their rejoicings. Then Henry threw over the treaty with Robert, and in **1103**, having him in his power, refused to give him his liberty until he had relinquished the pension. In **1104** an excuse was found for invading Normandy, and after two campaigns, ended by the great battle of Tenchebrai, **1106**—a battle won by English soldiers against Normans, in which Henry fought on foot after the English fashion—he was master of the country. Robert remained his prisoner for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. Of the Norman nobles many had lands in England as well; these he confiscated, while leaving them their lands in Normandy itself. Thus he separated from England those most likely to be troublesome to its peace.

The feudal barons depressed

Normandy taken from Robert

War in Normandy however was chronic. Robert had left a son, William Clito (or Etheling), now twelve years old, whose cause was taken up in **1111** by Louis the Fat of France, many Norman nobles, the Count of Flanders, and Fulk of Anjou; while Henry formed a close alliance with Germany which was afterwards strengthened by the marriage of his daughter, henceforth known as the Empress Matilda, to the Emperor. At length the peace of Gisors, **1113**, gave him the overlordship of Britanny and Maine; while his son William was betrothed to Matilda, Fulk's daughter. They were married in **1119**. A fresh revolt in favour of William Clito, also supported by Louis, was closed by the victory of Noyon, or Brenneville, in **1119**; Henry retained Normandy, and acknowledged Louis as overlord.

Peace of Gisors

During the war Henry's queen died. But a still more grievous calamity overtook him: in **1120** his son William was drowned in mid-channel with two natural children of the king, sixteen ladies, and 140 knights. The news was brought by a page to Henry, who was waiting his son's arrival at Southampton. He fell into a settled melancholy, from which he never afterwards emerged. But his activity was undiminished. By defeat in the field in **1124** he compelled Fulk to give up the cause of William Clito, which he had again espoused; and William Clito died in **1128**. A desultory war with France finally ceased in **1127**.

Death of Henry's wife and son

Henry now took a bold step. A second marriage had brought him no children. He had no male heir, and a female succession was unknown in England or Normandy. But he now sent for his daughter

the Empress Matilda, who had been left a widow, and constrained the Great Council, at which were present his brother-in-law David I. of Scotland, Stephen, count of Boulogne, the son of his sister Adela (p. 62), and his natural son Robert earl of Gloucester, to swear to maintain her succession. She was then re-married in **1128** to Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou, the son and successor of Fulk (p. 50, note).

His daughter recognised as heir

With Scotland, throughout the reign, there was unbroken peace. With Ireland a close connection grew up through the church. In Wales the progress of the English was steady. Henry planted a colony of Flemish clothworkers in Pembrokeshire, where the language still bears tokens of their presence. Norman bishops were placed at Llandaff and St. David's. In **1111** Cardiganshire was conquered by Gilbert of Clare, and in **1114** and **1121** Henry himself marched into the country; on the second occasion he reached Snowdon, and received the submission of the principal chiefs.

Progress in Wales

The dispute with the Pope on the old question of investiture had meanwhile been settled. Henry was determined, like the Conqueror, to maintain the rights of the crown as he had received them; and the bishops were easily coerced. But Anselm, in obedience to the papal decree of **1099** (p. 53), refused either to do homage for the temporal possession of his see, or to consecrate the bishops whom Henry had invested. Fortunately both king and primate were temperate men, and no open breach occurred. In **1102** Henry consented to a decree enforcing the strict rule of celibacy on all clergymen, parochial or not (p. 41); and to another that the clergy should no longer hold temporal offices. But on the main question he would admit no compromise until **1107**, when it was agreed that henceforward prelates should own their allegiance by doing homage to the king for their temporal possessions, while Henry gave up to the Pope the right of investiture with the staff and ring, the signs of spiritual office.[6] Further he would not go. The election of bishops was made by the chapters, but in the king's courts; synods met, but their decrees had no authority without his sanction; no ecclesiastical censure might be issued without his command; no papal legate might enter England without his licence. When Anselm died in **1109**, Henry kept the see vacant for five years, and impounded the revenues. In **1110** he banished Thurstan, archbishop of York, on the ground that he had been

Compromise regarding investiture

Henry's supremacy over the church

[6] The investiture dispute had been going on elsewhere, especially with the Emperor in Germany. It was finally settled as Henry settled it, by the Concordat of Worms, 1122.

consecrated by the Pope, and not by the primate of England; and only restored him when, at the peace of Gisors in **1113**, the Pope solemnly confirmed the ancient customs of England. The struggle went on, Rome now and then gaining a point, as when the papal legate displaced the archbishop as president of the synod, or losing one, as when Henry sanctioned the neglect of the marriage decrees. Meanwhile there was a great development of church activity. New sees were created at Ely and Carlisle. The Benedictine monks, who lived among men and served the parish churches, were followed by the Cistercians, or 'white monks,' who established themselves in monasteries remote from man, veritable voices in the wilderness.

Benedictine and Cistercian monks

In **1133** Henry visited Normandy for the last time. He was seized with fever after hunting, and died December **1, 1135**; his last words being a renewed declaration in favour of his daughter. His body was brought to England and buried at Reading.

Section 3.—*Administrative System*[7]

The administrative system which had grown up, especially under Henry I. and Roger of Salisbury, was roughly as follows:—Instead of the witanagemot there was a *Great Council*, to which the principal tenants-in-chief were summoned by the king; the right of summons soon became hereditary, as with our House of Lords. It met thrice a year—at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide—when the king 'wore his crown' in public. All important acts were passed by its counsel and consent; it was a court of appeal, and it elected the king. But far more important, except on the greatest occasions, was the *curia regis*, or king's court, which was permanently in session. This was composed of two classes: (1) the five hereditary officers of the household, the constable, chamberlain, steward, marshal, and butler; (2) three officers named by the king and removable at will, the justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer. The *justiciar* was for a long time the really important person. He was the king's prime minister, his representative when he was abroad. So long as there was danger from feudalism the kings were careful to place this office in the hands of humble churchmen, such as Flambard or Roger of Salisbury. The ruin of royal authority under Stephen is shown by the disappearance of the office for a time. When Henry II. had finally crushed feudalism, great nobles became justiciars, and were checks upon the royal power rather than its instruments. By the time of Edward I. they are

Great Council

Curia regis

Justiciar

[7] *Constitutional Essays*, edited by Wakeman; third essay.

concerned, as 'lord chief justices,' entirely with the law. The *chancellor* was at first only the king's private secretary, seated behind the *cancella*, or screen. He was one of the royal chaplains. No layman was chancellor until the fourteenth century.[8] The office rapidly superseded that of justiciar. Becket, under Henry II., had fifty clerks and was the second man in the realm. The *treasurer* had charge of the royal hoard at Winchester. The curia regis had three duties: sometimes it was the king's privy council, sometimes a court of appeal, sometimes the court of exchequer. As the two former, it accompanied the king wherever he went; as the third, it sat twice a year at Westminster to receive the sheriffs' rents, at the table covered with the chequered cloth from which it took its name. As a court of appeal it heard (1) all cases between the king and the tenants-in-chief; (2) all appeals from the popular courts; (3) cases which came there without coming before these courts; (4) cases where a precedent was wanted. Under Henry I. judges were sent at times from the curia to sit in the shire courts; and this plan was greatly developed under Henry II.

Chancellor

Treasurer

Functions of the curia regis

The government of the shires hinged entirely upon a royal officer, the *sheriff* (shire-reeve, p. 22). His duty at first had been merely to collect the revenue. But he soon became a great man, sitting side by side with ealdorman and bishop in the shiremoot. When the ealdormanries became very large, neither of these two could often attend; and the sheriff gained their power. After the Conquest, when the earls became few—there were only four at the time of Domesday Book—and when the bishop had his own ecclesiastical court (p. 41), the sheriff was the king's right hand, his great check upon the baronage. He led the men of the shire to the fyrd; he was the sole judicial officer. The Conqueror was careful to give the office, not to nobles, but to trusty servants of low degree.[9] The sheriffs were responsible for the collection of all royal rents and of the *ferms* or contributions of the towns on the king's demesne. In this capacity they became corrupt and extortionate; and the first privilege the towns always asked for was to be free of the sheriff's authority in this respect (p. 53). They had

The sheriff

[8] As the clergy alone could write, they were naturally intrusted with political correspondence and with the framing of laws.—Hallam, *Middle Ages*.

[9] Compare them with the 'intendants' of Richelieu and Mazarin in France.—Airy, 'The English Restoration and Louis XIV.,' p. 10, in *Epochs of Modern History*. Their power of summoning the fyrd was superseded chiefly by 'commissions of array' in the fourteenth century, and their other functions were handed over by Mary to lord-lieutenants in 1556.

to collect the Danegeld, the judicial fines, the fines for non-attendance at the courts, the *escheats* or reversions of land to the crown when no heir was left, fees for permission to transfer land, fines for *essarts*, or illegal clearings in woods, and for non-attendance at the forest courts, the great feudal dues imposed by Flambard, and, under Henry II., the *scutage* (p. 65), which together formed the royal revenue.

Thus all branches of government were subordinated to the royal power, which could make itself felt at once through the sheriff, and the dangers of feudalism were greatly lessened. The king's revenue was partly from feudal dues; but, on the other hand, largely independent of them. The king had also the power of calling out the fyrd under the sheriffs, independently of his power to summon the feudal force. Thus it was that the crown was able, both now and in later times, even under the worst kings, such as Stephen or John, to face the whole baronage, and that the barons were afterwards compelled to throw in their lot with the people.

Consequent strength of the royal power

SECTION 4.—*Stephen. Unchecked Feudalism.* **1135-1154**

If wills and oaths had force, Matilda the empress was the rightful heir. But there were other claimants. The Conqueror's daughter Adela (p. 62) had three sons, Theobald, Stephen, and Henry, bishop of Winchester. There was too a natural son of Henry, Robert earl of Gloucester, soldier, statesman, and scholar. Theobald was a stranger, but Stephen had been adopted by Henry after his son's death, and brought up in the English court. He had married a granddaughter of Margaret, the English wife of Malcolm III., also named Matilda. He was brave, generous, courteous, and warm-hearted; but without the stern character which had enabled his predecessors to cope with feudalism. During the next nineteen years was to be seen what unchecked feudalism meant. The three weeks following Henry's death gave a foretaste of the coming anarchy. Law ceased in the land; the nobles prepared for war; the people attacked the abuse most easily attacked: a general raid was made upon the forests, to the almost complete destruction of the deer.

Claimants to the throne

Stephen secured the crown by prompt action. While Matilda attacked Normandy, he hurried across to England, undeterred by a terrific storm. At Dover and Canterbury he was refused admittance. But London welcomed him. Thence he hastened to secure the treasure at Winchester, where he was joined by Roger of Salisbury and Henry of Winchester. Various reasons were found for evading the oath to the Empress Matilda (p. 56); the real one was doubtless the objection to a female ruler. Stephen was

Election of Stephen; his charters

chosen by the great council, and crowned December **22, 1135.** Charters of conciliation were at once issued. To the people at large were again promised Edward's laws. The nobles acquired the baneful privilege of building castles at will. Rome, ever ready to take advantage of weakness in the crown, was the great gainer. The bishops would take no oath of allegiance until Stephen had been acknowledged by the Pope ; they then swore fealty only so long as he should preserve the liberties of the church. The primate is mentioned, not as archbishop, but as Pope's legate. In **1141** the clergy under Henry of Winchester asserted that the right of election to the crown belonged to them alone.

Disturbances began east and west in **1136**, when two great nobles, Bigod and Baldwin of Redvers, threw themselves into Exeter and Norwich. The revolt was suppressed without much difficulty, but the request that Stephen would release his prisoners because they had fought for their own lord shows the revival of the worst feature of feudalism (p. 46). Stephen had next to face the formidable invasion of David of Scotland, **1137**, who remained faithful to his oath to the Empress Matilda. Peace was made by the cession of Cumberland with Carlisle, and David's son Henry was made Earl of Huntingdon. Another invasion followed in **1138**, and the whole north suffered the extremity of misery. But the aged Thurstan of York and the sheriffs summoned the fyrd. They swore before the army to conquer or die. The standard was borne on a ship's mast mounted on a carriage, a silver box containing the consecrated elements above it. Beneath floated the banners of the local saints. On August 22 the Scotch attacked. The English were in their native formation, a compact wedge. The rush of David's half naked horde, though supported by his bodyguard of English and Norman knights, was vain. Half the Scotch army perished, David and Henry barely escaping. But Stephen's weakness was shown by his cession of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland to Henry as an English earldom.

Revolt of barons

Invasion by the Scots.

Battle of the Standard

Cession of the northern counties

Stephen himself had been incessantly occupied with war on the Welsh marches and with scattered revolts of his nobles. Everywhere anarchy prevailed. Castles were springing up all over the land ; those who did not build castles seized upon abbeys and fortified them. Private war desolated the country ; private tyranny, private justice, private coinage, went on unchecked. Each day proved Stephen less capable of rule. The barons, led by Robert of Gloucester, were alienated by his employment of Flemish mercenaries ;

Anarchy

by the creation of new titular earldoms, without estates, but with money pensions; by his lavish gifts to unworthy men; and by the debasing of the coinage. Stephen then quarrelled with the church, his main support. Roger of Salisbury, his nephews the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and his son Nigel the chancellor, held all the business of government in their hands. They possessed vast wealth and many of the noblest castles. But Stephen, suspecting treason, seized Roger and his nephews, with all their castles, and Roger died in prison. For this outrage to the church the king was arraigned before an ecclesiastical synod at Winchester, presided over by his brother, Henry of Winchester the Pope's legate, and forced to do penance for his crime.

Meanwhile, the Empress Matilda and her husband Geoffrey of Anjou, with Robert of Gloucester, had conquered Normandy. In **1139** it was thought that the time had come for an attempt on England, and in September the empress landed with Robert. For eight years there is one dreary record of skirmishes and sieges, imprisonments and escapes. At the great battle of Lincoln, February 2, **1141**, Stephen was deserted by his mercenaries and taken prisoner; but was exchanged for Robert of Gloucester, who had fallen into the hands of Stephen's friends. London remained steady to Stephen, and with his devoted queen Matilda drove off the empress from before its walls. On the whole fortune favoured the king. In **1147** the empress, whose haughtiness had alienated her followers, and who was weary of the endless struggle, sailed to Normandy, and in the following year Earl Robert died. Many nobles also went to the Crusades.

Civil war

For the people it had been an awful time. 'It was a time when any rich man made his castle, and when they filled them with devils and evil men. . . . They were the days when wretched men starved with hunger. . . . In those days the earth bare no corn, for the land was all fordone by such deeds, and men said openly that Christ and his apostles had gone to sleep.' It was amid scenes like these that the Cistercian monks flourished, no fewer than 115 monasteries, the refuges of the weak from violence, being built, and that the beginnings of a university at Oxford are seen. Divinity lectures had already been given in **1133**; general subjects and Roman law were studied under Stephen.

And now a greater figure comes upon the scene. To Geoffrey and Matilda had been born on March 5, **1133**, a son, Henry.[10] At nine he was sent to his mother in England; and thus, as an observant boy, he had before his eyes the real meaning of

Henry II.

[10] There were two other sons, Geoffrey and William.

unchecked feudalism. After four years he returned to Normandy. At eighteen he was in the north, fighting against Stephen, and was knighted by David of Scotland in **1152**. When only 19 he married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis of France, and the possessor of Aquitaine in her own right. He was overlord also of Britanny. The French King Louis, and his younger brother Geoffrey, with Stephen's son Eustace, now attacked him in Normandy, but in vain. Upon the invitation of several nobles in England, who looked to him as the eldest male descendant of Henry I., he determined to make a bid for England. The horrors of civil war were rekindled. But Stephen was anxious for peace His queen and his brother Theobald were both dead; his son soon followed them.

Peace of Wallingford

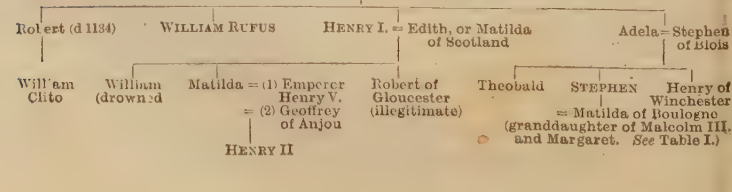
Peace was made at Wallingford, November 6, **1153**. Stephen was to retain the crown for life; but Henry was adopted as heir, and Stephen was to act by his advice. All former rights of the crown were resumed; estates which had changed hands since Henry I. were restored; the castles which had sprung up —'adulterine' they were called—were to be destroyed, the armies disbanded, the mercenaries dismissed; the clergy were to be protected and not unduly taxed, the sheriffs reappointed; justice was to be done without favour; the country was to be restocked and commerce encouraged; one coinage alone was to be minted. All paid homage to Henry, and nine months later Stephen died, October 25, **1154**.

Death of Stephen

Principal Dates.

	A.D.		A.D.
English revolts, up to	1072	Acquisition of Normandy	1096
Remodelling of Church under Lanfranc	1070	Great Charter of Henry I.	1100
Conspiracy, and execution of Waltheof	1074–1076	Battle of Tenchebrai and second acquisition of Normandy	1106
Revolt of Robert	1077	Investiture dispute settled	1107
Domesday Book	1083	Peace of Gisors	1113
Salisbury decree	1086	Battle of the Standard	1138
Barons' revolts against Rufus	1088, 1095	Peace of Wallingford	1153

GENEALOGICAL TABLE II


WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR = Matilda of Flanders
Robert (d 1134)
WILLIAM RUFUS
HENRY I. = Edith, or Matilda of Scotland
Adela = Stephen of Blois
William Clito
William (drowned
Matilda = (1) Emperor Henry V. = (2) Geoffrey of Anjou
Robert of Gloucester (illegitimate)
Theobald
STEPHEN
Henry of Winchester
= Matilda of Boulogne (granddaughter of Malcolm III. and Margaret. See Table I.)
HENRY II

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

F. S. Weller.

BOOK III

THE DOWNFALL OF FEUDALISM AND THE GREAT CHARTER

CHAPTER I

HENRY II.[1] 1154–1189

SECTION 1.—*The Struggle with Privilege. Henry's European Empire*

HENRY was a great European ruler before he became king of England. From his mother he inherited Normandy, with the overlordship of Britanny; from his father Anjou, Maine, and Touraine (p. 50, note); by his marriage he became lord of Aquitaine (p. 62) from the Loire to the Pyrenees and from the Bay of Biscay nearly to the Rhone. Thus England was but one portion of his mighty empire. He never spoke the English tongue; only thirteen out of the thirty-five years of his reign were spent in the country; twice only did he pass two years there consecutively; and it was but at the close that he recognised it as the chief of his dominions.

Henry's dominions

For six weeks he was detained in Normandy by contrary winds. They were weeks of peace, 'for no man durst do other than good, for the mickle awe of him.' He was crowned December 19. He was already a familiar figure, known as 'Curt-mantel,' from the short Angevin cape he wore. His frame was large, thickset, and powerful; his legs were bowed with incessant riding; his hair was short and red; his face freckled from exposure, and 'lion-like'; his grey eyes blazed and became bloodshot when he was angered. His dress was the roughest and most carelessly worn in the court. His physical vigour was so exuberant that he seldom sat down, even for meals; violent exertion was necessary to him, and he was immoderately devoted to the chase. His servants complained that they were worn out by the hardships of their lives.[2] The paroxysms of passion, when he would roll on the floor and gnash at the straw with his teeth, made men willing believers in the story that there was a demon strain in the Angevin blood.

Appearance and character

[1] Norgate, *History of the Angevin Kings.*

[2] 'He may rather be said to fly than to go by horse or boat,' said the King of France. One of his secretaries thus ends his wail:—'O Lord God Almighty, wilt thou not turn the heart of this king, that he may know himself to be

Henry was a great king, unfailing in political craft and penetration; equally renowned as warrior and law-giver. His methods were as rough and downright as his personal habits; but everything got done, and thoroughly done. He seemed well informed on every subject; when not in action, he was reading, or in the company of scholars; his wit was ready and genial; his memory, whether for faces or facts, unerring. He owed much to his choice of ministers: Richard de Lucy and Robert earl of Leicester were justiciars; Nigel of Ely, nephew of Roger of Salisbury, treasurer. His chancellor was a young deacon named Thomas Becket, who both for business and pleasure became indispensable to him. Becket was of great strength and stature, fluent of speech and ready in debate. Dignity and refinement marked his face; his hands were white and slender; his dress elegant; his expenditure upon his household profuse. It seemed as if it were he, not Henry, who kept a court; rich and poor found a free table at his house; the nobles sent their sons to be educated there. There was no stain on his honour or purity; he was impetuous, eloquent, resolute, as Henry himself.

Thomas Becket

Henry forthwith carried out the terms of the treaty with Stephen. The mercenaries were dismissed, many hundred castles destroyed, Stephen's pensionary earldoms abolished, all royal lands and fortresses forcibly resumed. To establish some sense of justice, judges were again sent into the provinces; the king himself took a large share in the judicial work. Malcolm IV. of Scotland, son of Henry of Huntingdon (p. 60), was compelled to restore the three northern shires and acknowledge himself Henry's vassal. An expedition into North Wales brought about the submission of Owen, its reigning prince. Then Henry made a royal progress from Malmesbury to Carlisle, fortifying his castles as he went, to show the people that he was truly king.

Treaty of Wallingford carried out

But he had been busy also across the Channel. He had wrested Anjou and Touraine from his brother Geoffrey, who claimed them by his father's will. In **1158** he secured the betrothal of Margaret, the baby daughter of Louis, to his infant son Henry. In the same year he mastered Nantes, at the mouth of the Loire, the first step in the annexation of Britanny.[3] He next fell upon Toulouse, which he claimed through his wife Eleanor, but

Annexation of Britanny, and of Toulouse

but man, and may learn to show some grace of regal consideration, some human fellow feeling, for those whom not ambition but necessity compel to run after him thus!'—Mrs. Green, 'Henry II.,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*, which should be read throughout.

[3] This was completed in 1169, and Geoffrey, Henry's fourth son, who had married its heiress, Constance, was made duke.

which owned Louis, her former husband, as its overlord. This enterprise led to a step of the utmost moment in England. Neither English nor Norman knights could well be used for so distant an expedition, for they were only bound to serve for forty days. Instead therefore of personal service, every knight's fee was taxed at forty shillings, called *scutage* (*scutum*—a shield). Henry had already, in his Welsh campaign, struck a blow at feudalism by ordaining that, instead of all the knights following him, every two should furnish a third, who should serve three times the ordinary period if called upon. But the institution of scutage went further. The chief danger of feudalism had been that, in order to perform the required military service, every tenant-in-chief kept about him a large body of retainers. With the abolition of actual service the maintenance of such a body became yearly less usual, while the king grew stronger by being able to surround himself with mercenaries paid out of the scutage. Henry now overran Toulouse, except the city itself, into which Louis had thrown himself, and by the truce which followed retained the whole province. Becket remained to secure it, and showed himself as stout a man-at-arms as he was a sagacious chancellor. Henry's dominions, in actual possession, or by overlordship, now stretched from the Orkneys to the Pyrenees.

Scutage

In **1160** Louis planned an attack upon Normandy. But Henry struck first. The little Margaret was in his keeping. Her dowry was the Vexin, a district which formed the strategic frontier between Normandy and France. Henry induced the Pope's legate to celebrate the marriage, seized the Vexin, and in **1161** forced Louis to a peace. Closer union was brought about by the schism which broke out in the church on the death of Nicholas Breakspear, the English Pope Adrian IV. Rival popes arose. Of these one, Victor, accepted investiture from the German emperor, and the church therefore refused to recognise him (pp. 53, 56). Henry, pursuing the traditional German policy of England, was upon the point of joining the emperor in upholding Victor, and of thus arraying the church, both in England and Normandy, against himself; but he was overruled, and with Louis acknowledged Alexander III., who had been driven out of Rome; and at Chouzy, near Blois, the two kings walked together, holding either rein of Alexander's horse

Peace with France

SECTION 2.—*The Struggle with Becket against Clerical Privilege*[4]

Henry desired to restore all things to their state under Henry I. The church was the great difficulty. Along with her power she had

[4] Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.*

developed abuses which stood in the way of his reforms, and he now looked to Becket, whom he had hitherto known only as his second self, to help him in combating these abuses. Unmoved by Becket's remonstrances, he secured his election as primate a year after the death of Archbishop Theobald, and he was consecrated, June 10, 1162, by Henry of Winchester, at whose demand he was, in the king's absence, solemnly freed from all secular obligations previously incurred.

Becket made primate

Henceforth he was the champion of the church, and of the church alone. To Henry's anger and surprise he threw up the chancellorship. His household was as splendid, his charity as profuse, as before. But he himself became an ascetic, a humble student of the Bible, a painful performer of the duties of his office. He determined to strengthen the church by reform. His predecessor Theobald had exercised little care in ordination, and this had led to the existence of a large number of vagabond priests of low character. He now refused to ordain any one who was not qualified by a good life, learning, and a fixed charge of souls. He secured the canonisation of Anselm, who had opposed Rufus. He busied himself in recovering for the church the property which had been alienated in the confusion.

Complaints soon reached Henry in Normandy. He came over in haste, and compelled Becket to resign the archdeaconry of Canterbury. A bitter quarrel arose when Becket declared in full council that Danegeld was not due from, and should not be paid by, any church lands—the first instance of constitutional opposition to a financial decree of the crown—and when he violated the 'custom' by excommunicating laymen without the consent of the king (p. 42).

But the great contest was over the church courts. Intended by the Conqueror to deal solely with spiritual offences, they had been gradually drawing to themselves every cause which by any stretch of the word could be brought under that head, such as oaths, wills, questions of legitimacy, the causes of widows and orphans, even debts, as breaches of faith. Worse still, no clergyman, nor any one in the remotest way connected with the church, was tried by the royal courts; while the church courts themselves could pronounce only spiritual censures.[5] This immunity was called 'benefit of clergy.' Thus the king was deprived of his fines and large classes were outside the grasp of his law. The vagabond priests robbed or murdered with impunity; more than one hundred murders had been committed during Henry's reign without due penalty. Appeals to

The church courts. Benefit of clergy

[5] Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 353.

Rome were frequent from the great monasteries, which were exempt from episcopal control.

Henry was bound to set his foot on such a system. In **1163** he called upon the bishops to confirm the 'custom' that all clerks found guilty by the lay courts should, after degradation by the clerical courts, be handed back to the sheriff for punishment. Becket led the refusal. To maintain the doctrine of Rome that no cleric was amenable to a lay court, he proposed that after conviction in the church courts the offender should be deprived of his clerical character; then, if he offended again, he would fitly come before the king's court. In other words, a cleric might commit two murders, a layman only one. Around this question the battle raged until, harassed by repeated confiscation, and unsupported by the Pope, he yielded. At Clarendon near Salisbury he was called upon to declare his submission publicly. He drew back from his word; but before the fury of the king and the entreaties of the bishops again gave way, and swore 'loyally and in good faith' to obey the 'customs.' The question was —what were these customs? Henry at once embodied them in the celebrated *Constitutions of Clarendon*, January **1164**. Appeals to Rome were forbidden, and no cleric might therefore leave the kingdom without license; the king's consent was necessary to the election of prelates; the estates of bishops and abbots were to pay the same dues as lay fiefs; the sons of serfs and villeins were no longer to be ordained without their lord's leave, lest they should thereby rise from their low estate. The crucial article was that which insisted that an accused clerk should be practically tried like a layman. Becket refused to admit that these were 'customs.' Twice he tried unsuccessfully to quit the country. At length, after a scene of violent recrimination with king and barons at Northampton Castle, he fled under cover of a storm, reached Sandwich after three weeks wandering in disguise, and thence made his way to the exiled Pope, from whom he secured a solemn condemnation of the Constitutions. In **1166** he was appointed legate for England. His first act was to excommunicate the king's chief agents, and to warn Henry himself. King and archbishop met in conference in **1169**, but to no purpose. Becket threatened an interdict. Henry laughed at his threats. Any one who brought an interdict should, he swore, die as a traitor; any one who observed it should be banished and his goods confiscated. But such a deadlock could not continue. Henry took a false step when, following the Continental custom, he ordered the coronation of his eldest surviving son Henry, a ceremony only legally to be performed by the primate, to be celebrated by the Archbishop of York.

Constitutions of Clarendon

Becket escapes from England

This was a matter of the greatest importance, since a king was nothing until he was crowned and anointed. By **1170** he found that he must make concessions, and Becket received his permission to return, though the question of the customs was not settled. Sending his sentence of excommunication upon Roger of York and the assisting bishops before him, Becket landed in Kent, and passed to Canterbury and London through welcoming crowds. From the high altar of Canterbury, on Christmas Day, he excommunicated De Broc, the holder and waster of the lands of his see. The news reached Henry in Normandy. Beside himself with fury, he shouted, 'What a pack of fools and cowards have I nourished in my house, that not one of them will avenge me of this upstart clerk!' That night four of his household secretly left the court. On December 29 they burst into the cathedral and slew Becket on the altar-steps.[6] All Christendom was moved with horror. The Pope laid an interdict upon the land, and threatened to excommunicate the king. The cathedral was closed; the bells were not rung. Henry himself was overcome with despair; for three days he refused food and speech. But he soon regained mastery of himself. Before the Pope's legates could reach him he was in England. Strict orders were given to prevent the sentence reaching the country. From England he hastened to Wales, and thence to Ireland, where he remained until the spring. But then he went again to Normandy, and reconciled himself with the Pope by denying complicity in the murder on oath, abjuring the anti-pope and the Constitutions, and professing to hold England as a fief of Rome. The cathedral was reopened; the tomb of Becket, already the scene of many a miracle, was the object of pilgrimages from far and near. The date of his consecration, which he himself had dedicated to the Trinity, became, as Trinity Sunday, one of the chief festivals of the Catholic church.

His return

His murder

Throughout this bitter struggle Becket, and not Henry, had been regarded by the people as their champion. This was not, as has been asserted, because he was of Saxon blood; for, although he belonged to the middle class, both his parents were Norman. It was because the church was the only refuge of the weak and poor, of the widow and the orphan, from the pitiless harshness of the royal power and from baronial outrage. Her courts had drawn under their jurisdiction many causes which, as we should regard it now, and as Henry regarded it then, had no business there. But the clergy were educated men, well qualified to sift evidence, and, when the church was not directly

[6] Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*; and Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii.

concerned, probably juster than officials who existed at the royal will. Their penalties were milder and more humane. Many criminals escaped with inadequate punishment; but there were no crushing fines or hideous mutilations for petty thefts or assaults. Moreover, the immunity of all persons who partook of the clerical character from the jurisdiction of the lay courts, was in conformity with the fact that every class of society—nobles, burghers, monks, or merchants—tried to secure themselves by special privileges.

But Henry too was right. The purpose of his whole reign was to break down privilege and to establish equal justice. Nothing shows better how great a man he was, how far his ideas were in advance of his time, than that, with whatever violence and meanness, he attacked without reserve that form of privilege which could claim most respect, and to which the people whom his action was ultimately to benefit were most warmly attached.[7]

Section 3.—*Conquest of Ireland. Legislative Reform. The Last Effort of Feudalism*

As early as **1155** Henry had been commissioned by Adrian IV. to bring Ireland politically under his rule, and ecclesiastically into conformity with Rome. In **1166** one of the native kings, Dermot of Leinster, was allowed to seek allies against his rivals among the nobles of the Welsh marches. Between **1167** and **1170** various of these, the principal being Richard of Clare, called 'Strongbow,' son of the Earl of Pembroke, established themselves firmly in the old Danish settlements of the south and east. In October **1171** Henry entered into the fruits of their labours. He landed in person at Waterford with 4,000 men, and in three weeks all Munster was at his feet. The bishops acknowledged obedience to Rome, and the native kings, except the King of Connaught, did him homage. From this time the Norman barons pushed on steadily through Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. In **1177** they all did homage to Henry's youngest son John, who was destined to be king of Ireland. Hugh de Lacy remained as his justiciar. But in **1186** he was murdered; John alienated Norman nobles and Irish chiefs alike by his rudeness and insolence; and before Henry's death anarchy once more prevailed.

Meanwhile reform went on apace in England. Already Henry had by the Constitutions introduced the germ of our grand jury system into disputes as to tenures by ordaining that trial should follow upon the 'presentment' of twelve men to whom the circumstances were

[7] Freeman, *Hist. Essays*, 'St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers.'

known. He now, by the *Assize of Clarendon*, February **1166**, extended it to criminal cases. Twelve men of the hundred and four men of the township were to 'present' all persons accused of felony by public report. The inhabitants of a manor were divided into tens, each member of a ten becoming surety for the good behaviour of the others; and many regulations were made by which the people became their own police. Judges were sent every year throughout the country with almost unlimited powers. The great nobles lost their influence over the shire moots, and their private courts fell into disuse. The new *régime* was sure, pitiless, and unrelenting; the treasury was filled with fines for innumerable offences rigorously exacted. But the grand jury system, the application of which was continually extended, was a splendid training of the people in self-government.

The grand jury system

In his downright course against privilege Henry had spared no interest. The barons had been impoverished by the exactions of the judges, and humiliated by the destruction of their local influence. Upon complaints of the extortions of many of them who had been made sheriffs Henry instituted an examination into their conduct, and by a single edict deposed them all; only seven out of the twenty-seven were reinstated, the places of the others being filled by clerks trained in the court. Henry's wife Eleanor, through resentment perhaps at his love for Rosamond Clifford, fostered the discontent of the barons; the ill-judged coronation of his son gave them a leader;[8] and at the end of the Irish campaign they girded themselves for the last effort of feudalism. Already his second son Henry had asked in vain for an independence, and had been refused as Robert had been refused by William the Conqueror. In **1171** he fled to the French court, where he was joined by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey. Louis, with the counts of Flanders, Blois, and Boulogne, openly espoused their cause. Normandy, Britanny, and Aquitaine revolted. At home, William of Scotland and his son David, the great earls of Chester, Leicester, and Norfolk, with Hugh of Durham, were in arms, and all England north of a line from Huntingdon to Chester, except some royal castles, was held by the rebels. On the other hand, Richard de Lucy the justiciar, the king's kinsmen he descendants of Henry I.'s 'new men,' Strongbow and De Lacy from Ireland, the trading classes, the church, and above all the native English, were staunch to the king.

General revolt

Henry was roused to his utmost energy. By marvellous activity and skill he had beaten his enemies abroad in detail by September **1173**, while the justiciar routed the Earl of Leicester in October with a loss

[8] His eldest son William died 1156; his second son Henry died 1182 (p. 77).

of 10,000 men. But in **1174** all his enemies were upon him again, and his peril was extreme. A vast fleet lay on the Flemish coast ready to invade. He determined to risk all to save England, which he now recognised as the chief of his wide dominions. On July 7 he set off in the midst of a terrific storm. At Canterbury he did public penance, prayed and fasted at Becket's tomb, and then, still fasting, went on to London. In the middle of the night of July 17 he was awakened with joyful news. William 'the Lion' of Scotland had been taken prisoner by a gallant enterprise of the sheriff and fyrd of Yorkshire. The heart was taken out of the revolt, and within three weeks of his landing Henry was master of the country. Then he flew back to Normandy; here also, and in Britanny, his success was rapid and complete. Thence he sped to Aquitaine, where Richard gave in his submission. A general peace ensued. William the Lion swore homage and fealty, and placed in Henry's hands the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Berwick, Stirling and Edinburgh. In England the king behaved with wise moderation: he dismantled the castles of the defeated rebels and exacted a fine; but he deprived none of them of their possessions. Of his prisoners one only remained a captive, his own traitorous wife. The strength which the system of Henry I. had given to the crown had enabled it to hold its own (p. 59). Before the barons again attacked the crown they had learned to rely, as the crown had hitherto relied, upon the people.

Capture of William 'the Lion'

Success of Henry

Section 4.—*The last Reforms, and the Downfall of Henry II*

The next fifteen years were spent in Normandy, with flying visits to England, each marked by some great legislative act or assertion of royal authority. In **1176** the *Assize of Northampton* improved upon that of Clarendon. The Salisbury decree of **1086** was again enforced; the jurisdiction of the judges largely extended. They were divided into six bodies of three each. Each body (*justiciarii itinerantes*, or 'justices in eyre') took a division of the kingdom for its circuit. In **1178** five judges were appointed as a court to hear appeals in Westminster, and this shortly developed into the *King's Bench*, which tried cases in which the king was concerned, and the court of *Common Pleas*, which tried cases between one subject and another. In **1181** the *Assize of Arms* ordained that every freeholder should be enrolled by the justices, and should swear to provide himself with certain prescribed arms, to be used only in the king's service, and not to be given away;

Assize of North-ampton

Assize of Arms

at the owner's death they were to pass to his heir. This act gave new importance to the fyrd, which the king alone could call out; and it made England a nation of men accustomed to arms.

Up to **1185** Henry was at peace. His court was famed throughout Europe. Ambassadors, theologians, scholars, and great lawyers surrounded the king. A great official nobility was trained up. Richard, son of Nigel of Ely, gave an elaborate account of the administration in the 'Dialogus de Scaccario.'[9] Ralph Glanville, justiciar in the place of De Lucy, wrote the 'Book of the Laws of England.' The blank in historical writing was filled up by the 'Gesta Henrici II.' Roger of Hoveden collected materials for his chronicle; Gerald of Wales related the conquest of Ireland. The country was growing rich by commerce; the royal income had more than doubled, and a vast treasure had been laid up. The Jews, the only bankers and usurers—since Rome forbade usury to Christians—and the sponge which the king squeezed dry when he needed money, in return for the protection which he afforded them, had largely multiplied. The towns were growing rapidly in prosperity, though the country districts were kept back by ignorance of cultivation, failure of crops, cattle plagues, and the heavy land taxes. London had its own laws, and many other towns bought the charters from Henry's successor which gave them similar freedom with the wealth which they now obtained.

Henry's court

State of the country

But in **1185** Henry quarrelled with Philip Augustus of France; while the partiality which he showed to his youngest son John brought on war between the two brothers. In **1187** Geoffrey his fourth son died, leaving a boy, Arthur, heir to Britanny. Philip, as overlord, claimed the wardship of Arthur. Henry's refusal would have been followed by immediate war, but for the news that Jerusalem had fallen at length before the Saracens, and that the cause of Christendom was ruined in the Holy Land. Both kings took the cross. Henry exacted throughout his dominions a tax of one-tenth of all personal goods, known as the Saladin tithe.[10] But a rising of Aquitaine against Richard, who had been invested with the dukedom in **1169**, delayed the expedition. Philip attacked Richard, and in **1188** Henry marched to his son's rescue. But the crafty Philip formed a secret engagement with Richard, and suddenly surprised Henry with the demand that he should name his son his heir and consent to his marriage with Philip's sister, Adela. When Henry refused, Richard publicly renounced his allegiance to his

The Saladin tithe

[9] Stubbs, *Documents*, p. 160.

[10] All taxation had hitherto been laid on land only.

father, and swore homage to Philip for all the Angevin dominions. And now began the great king's downfall, the strange suddenness of which astonished all Europe. In June **1189** he was besieged in Le Mans by Philip and Richard. After a severe fight he had to flee, for the first time in his life, hotly pursued by Richard. Riding through the scorching heat of a long June day, he reached the Norman frontier, and thence, by a desperate enterprise, made his way to Anjou. Here he was summoned by Philip to a meeting at Colombières. On the way he was seized with mortal illness. But his will carried him to the place of meeting, where he accepted perforce the humiliating conditions laid before him. He only asked for a list of those who had conspired against him. As he lay dying at Chinon the list was brought. The first name was that of his darling John. He started from his pillow, lay down again, and turned his face to the wall. 'Let all the rest go as it will,' he murmured; 'I care no more for myself or the world.' In his delirium he cursed the day of his birth and called down vengeance on his sons. Sometimes he was heard to mutter, 'Shame on a conquered king!' He died on July 6. Borne on the shoulders of his faithful barons, and clad in regal robes, the great warrior and law-giver was laid to rest in the church of Fontévraud.

The downfall of Henry

His death

CHAPTER II

THE SONS OF HENRY II

Section 1.—*Richard I. ('Lion-heart') and the Crusades*[1] **1189–1199**

Richard I. can scarcely be termed a king of England. He was more a foreigner than his father; of his reign of ten years less than ten months were spent in the country. He had been the earliest to take the cross, and is to be thought of first as a great crusader.[2]

His sole object was to get money for his expedition. There was a large sum in the treasury; everything was sold which could be sold

[1] Cox, *Hist. of the Crusades.*

[2] The coronation, September 3, was defaced by a massacre of Jews, who, in ignorance of the royal prohibition, came to offer gifts. The hatred against the bankers and usurers was set loose, and similar outrages occurred in many towns. At York, on March 17, 1190, a terrible scene took place. The Jews fled to a tower of the castle, where they were besieged by a furious crowd. Hopeless of mercy, but with courage as great as their despair, they first slew their women and children; then they fired the town, and to the number of five hundred perished in the flames,

—wardships, bishoprics, judgeships, sheriffdoms, and—a matter of vast importance—charters to towns (p. 72); crusade vows were commuted for money; a scutage was raised for a Welsh war, which was not begun; William the Lion was released from his vassalage, and received back the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh for 10,000 marks.

Two justiciars were appointed—Hugh of Durham, a grandson of the Conqueror, and William of Longchamp the chancellor, bishop of Ely, a man of lowly origin, small and misshapen in person, tyrannous and grasping, but of great capacity. In the hope of securing the fidelity of John, Richard gave him control of six counties in England; but he would not recognise him as heir, and insisted that he and their illegitimate brother Geoffrey, archbishop of York, should reside outside the kingdom.

William of Longchamp

Richard left England in December, and sailed with Philip in July **1190**. At Messina he met his fleet. Here the two kings, scarcely disguised enemies, were delayed until the spring of **1191**. During the interval Richard acknowledged his nephew Arthur of Britanny as heir. The fleet then sailed for Acre, which for two years had been besieged by a desponding and famishing army of Christians. On the way Richard conquered Cyprus, and, having been released from his betrothal to Philip's sister Adela, married Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre. In June he reached Acre, and early in July the place surrendered. Philip of France at once returned home. His departure left paralysing jealousies behind. Scarcely one of the leaders, besides Richard, was disinterested; there was bad blood between the French and the English forces; famine and disease thinned the ranks. Twice Richard forced his way within a few miles of Jerusalem, and twice was compelled to retrace his steps. The enterprise was clearly hopeless. In September, after rescuing Joppa from Saladin, he concluded a three years' truce. In October he sailed; was shipwrecked on the Adriatic coast; made his way in disguise to Vienna; and was there made prisoner by Leopold of Austria, his bitter personal foe. In March **1193** he was claimed by Leopold's overlord, the Emperor Henry VI., and remained his captive for more than a year.

Richard in the Holy Land

His capture

Meanwhile William of Longchamp had driven his colleague out of office, and had been made papal legate. But the real struggle for power began when John returned in **1191**. Longchamp's corrupt and haughty behaviour had alienated the barons: and he presently gave John the opportunity he was watching for by the arrest of Geoffrey of York, the son of the great Henry, when he came to take possession of his see. John held a meeting of

Fall of William of Longchamp

the barons at Windsor, and, supported both by them and the citizens of London, who expected to get more from him than from Longchamp, deprived him of all his offices and expelled him to France. Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, succeeded him both as justiciar and as legate.

Philip had returned after the fall of Acre to plot against Richard's Angevin dominions. He offered them to John with the hand of his sister Adela; and when Richard's capture was known John did homage to Philip. But Normandy would not support him, and indignation was keen in England. Walter condemned him as legate, and as justiciar besieged his castles, and beat off a French fleet which attacked the coast. Then a six months truce was arranged, which was spent in negotiating for Richard's release, Philip and John exerting all their influence to secure his prolonged detention. For a while the emperor hesitated. At length the king was set free for a ransom of 100,000*l.*, more than twice the annual revenue, on condition that he consented to hold England as a fief of the empire and gave up Cyprus. The nation responded nobly to the call. Besides the 'aid' (p. 51) due from the tenants-in-chief, a tax was levied of a quarter of every man's income and personal property; the Cistercian monasteries, which were the great sheep rearers, gave a fourth of their wool, the churches their ornaments. For the sum still unpaid the justiciar went as hostage, Hubert Walter, the primate, filling his post. In July **1193** John received the hurried warning from Philip, 'The Devil is let loose.' His attempt at revolt was frustrated by the vigour of Hubert Walter; Richard landed on March 13, **1194**, and by the end of the month was complete master of the realm.

Rebellion of John

The king ransomed

But even now he looked to England only as providing money to secure his foreign dominions. Fresh taxes were exacted, the monasteries plundered of their wool. Somewhat later five places were licensed for a heavy sum to hold tournaments, which had flourished under Stephen, but had been suppressed by Henry II., as leading to disorder, and forbidden by the Pope. The seal was taken from the chancellor, all acts passed under it declared invalid, and payments exacted for passing them under a new seal. John was forgiven and allowed to retain most of his lands with a pension. The submission to the emperor was annulled by a solemn re-crowning. Richard then went on progress through his kingdom, and in May, after two months stay in England, sailed to Normandy. Hubert Walter was left in command. He was a man of remarkable capacity and integrity, trained under Ralph Glanville in the traditions of Henry II. His main business

Exactions of Richard

Hubert Walter

was to collect money for Richard. But he greatly extended the jury system (p. 70). Each county elected four knights of the shire. These four selected two from every 'hundred' (p. 11), who in turn selected ten more. To these twelve in every hundred was given the duty of deciding what cases should be 'presented' to the judges.[3] The power of the sheriffs was limited by forbidding them to act as judges in their own shire, and by the election of special officers to keep the pleas of the crown in murder cases, the origin of our 'coroners.' The modern 'justice of the peace' arose from the edict of **1195** that everyone over fifteen should swear before a knight of the shire that he would personally aid in preserving the king's peace.

Extension of the grand jury system

Taxation under Hubert Walter brought neither misery nor general revolt. But in London the money was raised by a poll tax, which, pressing to an equal amount on every man, was a special burden to the poor. They demanded taxation proportionate to their means, and under one William Fitz-Osbert rose in the streets. The riot was put down with difficulty; Fitz-Osbert fled to sanctuary, but was dragged out and hanged with eight others. Hubert was regarded by the mob as a tyrant, by the church as a violator of sanctuary. Richard now sent a demand for 300 knights to be maintained at their own cost, or an equivalent in money. Hubert laid the demand before the great council. For the second time constitutional opposition to a royal demand for money was raised (p. 66). The bishops, led by Hugh of Lincoln, refused to furnish knights for foreign service, and the barons followed their lead. When Hubert tried force, the bishops complained to Pope Innocent III., who at once ordered him to resign the justiciarship, as beneath the dignity of his holy office. He was succeeded by Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, a far harsher and less judicious man. Hubert's last act was to carry out a new survey. A large part of the nobility and many religious houses had been exempt from Danegeld. This exemption was put an end to. The 'carucate,' or hide, which had varied according to the nature of the soil, was henceforward fixed as 100 acres; a permanent tax was laid upon it,

Hubert Walter resigns

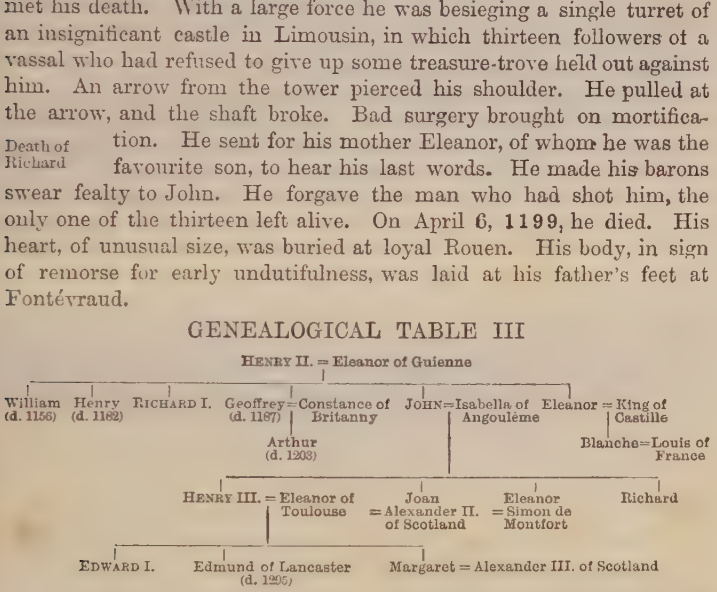
[3] 'At an early period, even before the abolition of ordeal by the Lateran Council of 1215, a petty jury was allowed to disprove the truth of the presentment (as now), and after the abolition of ordeal that expedient came into general use. The further change in the character of jurors, by which they became judges of fact, instead of witnesses, is common to civil and criminal jury alike. . . . The verdict of the jury no longer represented their previous knowledge of the case, but the result of the evidence afforded by the witnesses of the fact; and they became accordingly judges of the fact, the law being declared by the presiding officer acting in the king's name' (as now).—Stubbs, i. p. 619.

and to this all lands, lay or ecclesiastical, were subjected. The assessment was determined by the grand jury, the field of which now covered cases of every kind.

Meantime Richard was holding his own against Philip. No great progress was made on either side up to **1198**. In that year however he formed a vast league against Philip, of which Otho of Germany, his nephew, was the chief member. But at the moment when ultimate triumph seemed certain he was struck down. It was in no great contest with a worthy foe that Richard the 'Lion-heart' met his death. With a large force he was besieging a single turret of an insignificant castle in Limousin, in which thirteen followers of a vassal who had refused to give up some treasure-trove held out against him. An arrow from the tower pierced his shoulder. He pulled at the arrow, and the shaft broke. Bad surgery brought on mortification. He sent for his mother Eleanor, of whom he was the favourite son, to hear his last words. He made his barons swear fealty to John. He forgave the man who had shot him, the only one of the thirteen left alive. On April 6, **1199**, he died. His heart, of unusual size, was buried at loyal Rouen. His body, in sign of remorse for early undutifulness, was laid at his father's feet at Fontévraud.

Death of Richard

GENEALOGICAL TABLE III


HENRY II. = Eleanor of Guienne
William (d. 1156)
Henry (d. 1182)
RICHARD I.
Geoffrey (d. 1187) = Constance of Britanny
Arthur (d. 1203)
JOHN = Isabella of Angoulême
Eleanor = King of Castille
Blanche = Louis of France
HENRY III. = Eleanor of Toulouse
Joan = Alexander II. of Scotland
Eleanor = Simon de Montfort
Richard
EDWARD I.
Edmund of Lancaster (d. 1295)
Margaret = Alexander III. of Scotland

SECTION 2.—*John ('Lackland') and the loss of Normandy.* 1199–1204

By hereditary right Arthur of Britanny, as son of John's elder brother Geoffrey, was heir. But England did not desire a boy to rule, and at the coronation the old doctrine of kingship (p. 11) was publicly asserted in the archbishop's declaration that 'he who surpassed all other men in vigour was to be preferred,' and 'if there be one of the dead king's sons who excelleth, that one should be the more promptly and willingly chosen.' To Philip the disputed succession was a welcome opportunity for attacking English

John king by election

power in France. He took Arthur under his guardianship, and the boy was acknowledged by Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. Then Philip attacked Normandy. For a year, however, John and his mother Eleanor prospered. In **1200** therefore Philip agreed, for 20,000 marks, to recognise John as heir to Richard, and to marry his son Louis, famous afterwards as Louis IX., to Blanche, the daughter of John's sister, Eleanor of Castille.

So strong had the central government now become that if John had behaved with prudence he might have been more supreme even than Henry II. But every bad feature in his character had been heightened by his father's indulgence. He was intensely selfish and faithless; his vice and impiety were wilder than those of Rufus. So low was the estimate formed of him that at the death of Richard the nobles set their castles in order, and the horrors of unchecked feudalism were barely kept off by the devotion of Hubert Walter, William the marshal, and Fitz-Peter the justiciar. By divorcing his wife Avice, daughter of the powerful Earl of Gloucester, and by marrying Isabella of Angoulême, who was betrothed to the Count de la Marche in her own country, he now alienated the baronage on either side of the Channel. He violated the rights of the church and quarrelled with the whole Cistercian brotherhood. In **1201** he summoned the tenants-in-chief to go with him into Normandy. They returned a direct refusal until their grievances were redressed, and he was obliged to content himself with a scutage.

John alienates all classes

In this year, taking advantage of an appeal to him as overlord from John's subjects in Poitou, Philip demanded the surrender of all the Angevin fiefs to Arthur, and summoned John to trial at Paris for contumacy before the peers, who in default condemned him to deprivation. Philip at once entered Normandy, married Arthur to his daughter Mary, and invested him with all but Normandy. For a long while John showed marked incapacity. But a sudden act of vigour in August **1202**, placed Arthur in his hands, and after Easter **1203** the boy was never again seen alive. The manner of his death is unknown; it is only certain that he died by John's contrivance, if not by his very hands. Once more John was summoned to Paris, and this time sentenced to death as a murderer. Philip again entered Normandy. Soon little but Rouen was left to John, and Rouen only because it was guarded by the strongest fortress in France, the Château Gaillard, the 'Saucy Castle,' upon which Richard had expended all his engineering skill. But after a memorable siege of nine months[4] the castle was won, Rouen fell, and by Mid-

Murder of Arthur

[4] For an interesting account of the castle and this remarkable siege see Norgate, *History of the Angevin Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 375 *seq.* and 416 *seq.*

summer 1204 all Normandy was lost. By the end of the year Aquitaine alone remained of all Henry II.'s foreign dominions. England was henceforth complete in herself. Normandy became a province of France. Those nobles who had lands in both threw in their lots with one or the other. Normans and natives in England became one people: the Norman form of execration, 'May I become an Englishman!' disappeared. The king was answerable to, and dependent upon, the English people alone.

Loss of Normandy

SECTION 3.—*John and the Pope. Baronage, Church, and People, in alliance against them. Magna Carta.* 1204–1215

The death of the primate Hubert at once involved John in a quarrel with the church. The chapter of the cathedral claimed the right of election. So did the bishops of the province. But in practice no election was made without a licence from the king, which carried with it the recommendation of his nominee and a practical veto on the choice.[5] The junior monks at Canterbury, wishing for a monk as primate, met in the night, chose their sub-prior Reginald without the licence, and hurried him off to Rome for the Pope's approbation. The elder monks, having received the king's licence, chose his nominee John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, and sent a counter deputation to Rome. Glad of the opportunity of striking against royal control of the church, Innocent III. decided in favour of election by the monks without a licence, and rejected the bishops claim, but annulled the elections of both Reginald and De Gray as irregular. He then selected Stephen Langton, an Englishman of high repute living at Rome, induced the monks who had come to Rome to elect him, and consecrated him without the king's consent. John in fury drove their brethren from the kingdom, and refused to let Langton land. The Pope then commissioned three bishops to warn him. He forced them from his presence, threatened, blasphemed, and scoffed at Rome. Innocent hereupon laid the land under an interdict. This awful sentence, the invention of Rome to frighten kings into decent government, meant that from that moment the forms of religion were removed. The churches were closed, the bells silenced; no service was performed except baptism and extreme unction, the dead were buried in unconsecrated ground. In the midst of the general horror and gloom, John alone remained defiant. The bishops fled; he imprisoned their relations and confiscated their possessions. In 1209 excommunication followed the

Quarrel with the church

Stephen Langton

The interdict

[5] As is the case now with the *congé d'élire*.

interdict;[6] but the sentence had no force until published in England, and John watched the ports so jealously that no messenger could arrive with the bull. But in **1213**, on the petition of Langton and the bishops, the Pope pronounced his deposition, and called upon Philip of France to execute it. Philip prepared a fleet; but John sent a squadron to the mouth of the Seine and burnt his ships.

Excommunication and deposition

But the country was groaning under the interdict. The people were oppressed with taxation and the forest laws; the baronage were more than ever estranged by extortion, by the licentiousness which did not spare the honour of their families, by the presence of the mercenaries, and by the forced surrender of their castles and of hostages for their loyalty. Pandulph, the Pope's legate, worked incessantly on the king's fears. The prediction of the hermit Peter of Wakefield, three days before Ascension Day, that he would not survive the feast, had still more effect. On May 15, **1213**, in full council, he swore to hold England as a fief of Rome,[7] and to pay 1,000 marks annually in token of submission; to receive Langton, the exiled bishops and monks, and to pay them an indemnity for their losses. The next day was the feast, and on the 17th he hanged the hermit. Philip again prepared to invade, and again was frustrated by a naval defeat at Damme. But when John proposed a counter invasion his barons refused to follow an excommunicated king. In July Langton landed and absolved him on receiving his oath to govern righteously. Once more he appealed to the barons. Those of the north again refused. The whole body of nobles held an assembly on August 4 at St. Albans, and called to it the reeve and four representatives from each township on the royal demesne. This advance towards popular representation was carried still further in November, when the king himself summoned four knights from each county to discuss with him the affairs of the kingdom. It showed that the barons had recognised that, with the great power possessed by the crown (pp. 59, 71), they must have the people on their side, instead of against them, as heretofore.

John submits to the Pope

Meetings of the barons

John's submission to Rome, however, had divided his foes. Supported by Innocent, who now removed the interdict, he was in good heart, though the church, with Langton at its head, had thrown in its lot with the barons. In June **1214** he invaded Poitou, while the great league which Richard had brought together was reformed, and the north of

John supported by the Pope, but opposed by the church

[6] For the history of excommunication, see Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap vii. part i.

[7] The formal receipt for the kingdom, with the seals of the Pope and the cardinals, is in the British Museum.

France invaded by an army of 100,000 men under John's illegitimate brother the Earl of Salisbury, called 'Longsword.' But at Bouvines (July 27, **1214**) they were met by Philip with half their number, and disastrously defeated. A truce for five years was concluded, and John returned to England.

Invasion of France. Battle of Bouvines

This ill-success weakened John before the barons. In November they met again at St. Edmund's, and took an oath to insist, even by force, upon their demands being granted. These they presented on January 6, **1215**. Continual evasion, in which John was supported by the Pope's legates, led to a third meeting at Stamford, when, proclaiming themselves the army of God and the church, they marched directly upon London, and were received there with welcome. John saw that the game was up for the moment. With assumed cheerfulness he met the barons at Runnymeade, a meadow on the Thames between Staines and Windsor, and signed the Great Charter, June 15, **1215**. He was then asked to dismiss his mercenary troops; to leave London in possession of the barons for two months, and the Tower in the hands of the primate; to consent that a vigilance committee should be appointed of twenty-five barons, and that freemen should be allowed to swear obedience to it and take up arms at its bidding. The barons' object in this was not a permanent constitution, but immediate safety. The outburst of frenzied wrath, the old Angevin fury, told how great was the humiliation felt by the king.

The barons in revolt

Magna Carta, based upon the charter of Henry I., was the first fruits of the loss of Normandy, 'the first great public act of the nation, after it has realised its own identity,' a treaty between the king and the whole people, not merely one class.[8] Henry I. had insisted that the sub-vassals should share in the benefits of his charter; it was now the barons themselves who made this a prime condition. 'All the aforesaid customs and liberties that We have granted to be held in our kingdom, so far as pertains to Us, with reference to our vassals, all men of our kingdom, as well clerk as lay, shall observe, so far as pertains to them, with their men.' The language of the Charter shows that all distinction of race had vanished, for there is not a word in it that recalls this distinction. (1) The *church* obtained a confirmation of the right of free election, a declaration that the Church of England is free, and a clause enacting that founders of religious houses should have the right of custody during vacancy. (2) The *tenants-in-chief* were protected from abuses of the feudal burdens, and from the oppression exercised in securing the

Magna Carta

[8] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. p. 530; *Documents*, p. 288, *seq.*

payment of debts to the crown and to the Jews.[9] (3) No scutages or aid besides the three great feudal dues (p. 51) were henceforth to be imposed save by the common counsel of the nation in an assembly summoned as follows for the express purpose forty days before the date of meeting: the prelates and the earls and greater barons by royal writ to each individually (*cf.* House of Lords); the tenants-in-chief of lower rank (*cf.* House of Commons) by general writ to the sheriff of each shire. In this assembly there was no representative element. (4) Private law-suits are to be determined at fixed places; suitors are no longer to be compelled to follow the king's court from place to place. Two judges are to go on circuit in each shire four times a year, assisted by four knights elected by the county. Penalties in the case of freemen are not to be ruinous, and are to be fixed by a jury from the neighbourhood; barons are to be tried by their peers, and the clergy are to be fined in proportion to their non-ecclesiastical property. (5) The power of the sheriff is still further limited (p. 58); the abuses of purveyance[10] are remedied; greater freedom is granted to enter or leave the kingdom; the oppression of the forest courts is removed. Then comes the precious enactment, the struggle to secure the due fulfilment of which lasted for four centuries and a half.[11] 'No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or exiled, or any wise destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay, right or justice.'

Split in the baronage

It was the whole baronage which extorted the charter, especially the northern barons, who had refused to follow John abroad, and the official nobility of Henry I. and Henry II. John had with him only his foreign personal adherents. But the granting of the charter, like the submission to the Pope, to a great extent broke up the coalition. The barons connected by blood or marriage with the king, such as the Earl of Salisbury, came back to him. John, faithless as ever, provisioned his castles and gathered foreign troops in large numbers.

The Pope now came to his aid. He annulled the charter, sus-

[9] The Jews lent money to the nobles, being the only money-lenders, for the Church regarded usury as a sin: the crown enforced payment, and established the Exchequer of the Jews for the purpose; and it then, as the price of its protection, made what calls it pleased upon them.

[10] Wherever the king or the court went, there went before them the royal purveyors, with power to take provisions or demand services at nominal prices, or even without payment at all.

[11] *I.e.*, until the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679.

pended Langton, excommunicated the rebel leaders, and laid London under an interdict. John then took the offensive. With one army the Earl of Salisbury devastated the eastern counties; with the other he himself marched north, and, after driving out Alexander of Scotland, took his long-delayed vengeance on the northern barons. The whole north underwent a harrying as fearful as that of Yorkshire under William I., John aiding the work with his own hands.

The Pope annuls the charter

Civil war

In their extremity the barons offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip of France, who claimed it in right of his wife, Blanche of Castille (p. 79). His fleet sailed up the Thames in April, and, disregarding Innocent's excommunication, he himself landed, was welcomed in London in May, and received the homage of the barons, of Alexander, who marched right through the country to Dover, and of Salisbury, who again left the king. But difficulties soon arose. Louis became unpopular. The jealousy against foreigners was enhanced by his bestowal of honours or lands on his own followers, and by his evident want of capacity. Supplies were cut off by the sailors of the Cinque Ports, between whom and the French on the other side of the Channel there was constant war. Many barons, won by John's lavish promises, deserted to him, and he soon had the ascendant. But when his triumph seemed secure a strange disaster overtook him. On his march he had to cross the sands of the Wash: he himself, with the army, got safely across; but on looking back he saw his enormous baggage-train swallowed up by the advancing tide. Disappointment acted upon a frame enfeebled by debauchery. He fell ill with fever at the monastery of Swineshead, was borne thence to Newark, and there, after naming his son Henry, a boy of ten, his successor, he died on October 19, **1216**, at the age of forty-nine. He was buried at Worcester.

The crown offered to Louis

Unpopularity of Louis

Death of John

The death of John was Louis's notice to quit. There was no longer any question of resisting tyranny; the legitimacy and innocence of Henry were in his favour. The royalists were now the national party, and most of the great nobles came over to William the Marshal, earl of Pembroke. Henry was crowned on October 28, when he renewed the fealty to the Pope, and Pembroke was named regent and guardian of the king. For some time Louis and the barons who still stood by him fought the losing game. But he suffered a great defeat in a desperate street-fight in Lincoln, 'The Fair of Lincoln,' May 19, **1217**; while in August Hubert de Burgh (the last of the great justiciars) completed his discomfiture by the

Louis driven out of England

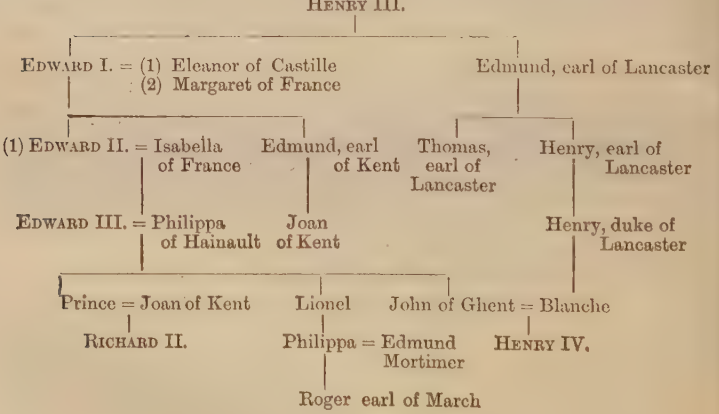
destruction of the French fleet in an action off Sandwich, where skill and coolness compensated for inferior numbers. On September 11 a treaty was concluded at Lambeth. Its terms were singularly moderate, but it was an emphatic assertion of 'England for the English.' Louis and his French followers were allowed to retire in peace. But Pembroke insisted that all towns, castles, and lands held by foreigners should be surrendered, and that the English adherents of Louis should pay homage and fealty to Henry. It is said that Louis further promised to restore to England, at his accession to the French throne, all the Angevin dominions of Henry II.

Treaty of Lambeth, 1217

Principal Dates to Henry II., Richard I., John

	A.D.		A.D.
Acquisition of Anjou and Touraine	1158	Richard on Crusade	1190
Scutage	1160	Administration of William Longchamps to	1191
Becket, archbishop of Canterbury	1162	Administration of Hubert Walter	1198
Constitutions of Clarendon	1164	Loss of Normandy	1204
Murder of Becket	1170	Stephen Langton, archbishop	1207
Great revolt against Henry	1173	John does homage to the Pope	1213
Justices-in-eyre	1176	Magna Carta	1215
Assize of Arms	1181	Treaty of Lambeth	1217
Revolt of Richard	1187		

GENEALOGICAL TABLE IV


Henry III.
Edward I. = (1) Eleanor of Castille
(2) Margaret of France
Edmund, earl of Lancaster
(1) Edward II. = Isabella of France
Edmund, earl of Kent
Thomas, earl of Lancaster
Henry, earl of Lancaster
Edward III. = Philippa of Hainault
Joan of Kent
Henry, duke of Lancaster
Prince = Joan of Kent
Lionel
John of Ghent = Blanche
Richard II.
Philippa = Edmund Mortimer
Henry IV.
Roger earl of March

BOOK IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CHARTERS

1217–1377

CHAPTER I

HENRY III. 1217–1272

SECTION 1.—*England for the English*

THE Earl of Pembroke, with Peter des Roches, the Poitevin bishop of Winchester, and Guala, the Pope's legate, kept good peace until Pembroke's death in **1219**, when the justiciar Hubert de Burgh became the principal figure, though Peter des Roches acted as the king's tutor and gained an unfortunate influence over his weak nature.

First issue of the Great Charter, Nov. 1117

In November **1217** the great charter had been issued in its final form, the clauses regarding taxation and the appointment of the committee of 25 being omitted as hampering the government too much; while the equally popular charter of the forests did away with the more atrocious penalties hitherto attached to breaches of the forest laws, and annulled much of the vexatious legislation connected with them.

A constant struggle now went on between the English policy of Hubert de Burgh and the foreign influences represented by Peter des Roches (p. 32). Hubert was determined to drive the foreigners from the royal castles; and in this, after an unfaltering use of force, he succeeded. Peter des Roches left the country, and for a time the influence of the foreigners was at an end. A successful expedition however to Gascony, which was attacked by Louis, now king of France, led to an influx of Gascon nobles.

Hubert de Burgh's English policy

In January **1227** Henry was declared of age; and misgovernment began. He, too, seemed bent upon nothing but getting money. Scutage after scutage and carucage after carucage (p. 76) were levied. All acts passed during the minority were declared invalid, and large sums demanded for their confirmation. An unsuccessful war in Wales in **1223** caused further exactions. In **1224** a fifteenth of all movables was exacted for a confirmation of the

Exactions of Henry

charters. In July **1229** Henry went upon an expedition to Poitou. It was inefficiently conducted and enormously expensive; and its only result was a scutage, the *Scutage of Poitou*, which the laity paid with murmurs, the church only after vehement resistance.

But extortion which raised far more opposition was that of the popes. The Pope Honorius, who was at war with the Emperor Frederick II., made rapid demands upon both laity and clergy. In **1226** the great council declared that the laws of England did not sanction such payments. When Gregory IX., on the deaths of Langton in **1228** and of his successor in **1234**, insisted upon a large grant before giving his decision in the old quarrel which arose between the monks and the bishops as to the right of election, the barons refused; though the clergy were obliged to give way. In each case Henry gave his support to the Pope. One form of papal influence was particularly obnoxious. By what were called the *Papal Provisions* the Pope claimed the right to nominate to vacant livings; and the English churches were being rapidly filled by Italian priests, who never became Englishmen in feeling, and many of whom, while drawing the revenues, never lived in the country. Somewhat later it was declared that the foreign clergy drew a sum out of the country far exceeding the royal revenue. In **1231** a secret association, calling itself the 'Commonalty of England,' under Sir Robert Twenge, who had been deprived of the right of nomination to a family living, set itself to cure the abuse. The Pope's messengers were murdered and his bulls trodden under foot; foreign ecclesiastics were taken prisoners and held to ransom; their harvests were swept off and publicly sold for the good of the poor. The method was rough, but successful. Twenge's right to his nomination was acknowledged, and the Pope agreed to confine the Provisions to livings in the gift of the church.

Of the popes

The 'Papal Provisions'

It was easier to attack Hubert de Burgh than the king, and the odium of all these abuses, and of the failures in Wales and Poitou, fell upon him. Richard, the king's brother, headed the party who were jealous of his power. Peter des Roches returned and gained his former evil influence. All the king's troubles, he told him, arose from the fact that it was Hubert, not Henry, who governed. Much expense might be saved by abolishing his office and governing by secretaries. Peter gained a still more favourable hearing when he induced the clergy to vote the king a fourth of all their movables. Henry dismissed his great minister in **1232**. He was starved out of the sanctuary to which he had fled, taken in fetters to London, deprived of all his possessions and honours,

Fall of Hubert de Burgh

and imprisoned in Devizes Castle. But his twelve years' struggle to keep England for the English had not been without effect. 'Is that the true and great-hearted Hubert,' said the smith who put the fetters on him, 'who has so often saved England from foreigners, and restored England to England?'

For a time his aim was lost and the country was filled with Peter's foreign friends. But the evil brought its own cure. Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, the most powerful of the barons, left the court in disgust in **1233**, and, with the help of Llewellyn of Wales, was soon in open revolt. He was joined by Hubert de Burgh, who, aware that Peter was plotting his murder, had escaped from Devizes. Henry found himself deserted by the English baronage. A monk named Robert Bacon preached to his face that there would be no peace 'until Peter and his son are gone.' When the king and Peter marched against Gloucester, he fell upon their quarters in the night and carried off all their horses and baggage. By a shameful act of treachery Peter at last secured his murder. But the general rising of national feeling was supported by the remonstrances of Edmund Rich, the primate, and the pressure was so great that Henry did not care to resist when he heard that a castle within two miles of him had been sacked and burnt. Peter and the whole Poitevin 'gang' were dismissed. In **1234** peace was restored, and Gilbert de Clare, Richard's brother, now earl of Gloucester in his place, was named Governor of England, Ireland, and Wales. Unfortunately in **1236** Henry married a foreign wife, Eleanor of Toulouse, and the evil began again. Her relations were numberless, and each looked for a fortune in England. English officials were dismissed in their favour. Henry chose one of her uncles, William de Valence, president of his council. Another, Boniface of Savoy, actually became primate on the death of Edmund Rich, an appointment which had much the same effect as that of Robert of Jumiéges by Edward the Confessor. The barons loudly expressed their disgust, and the king's brother Richard headed them. A tournament between English and foreign knights was changed into a sanguinary conflict. An attempt to assassinate Henry in **1238** was probably due to the same cause.

And of Peter des Roches

The Queen's relations

For many years the country was wretchedly misgoverned. The popes drained it unceasingly of money, and the abuses of the papal provisions went on with the connivance of the weak and priest-ridden king. The influx of foreigners continued: Poitevin ladies came over to be married to English heirs; Aymer de Valence, a stepson of the king, was made bishop of Winchester at

Misgovernment

twenty-two years of age. To satisfy these strangers the king raised money by keeping the great offices vacant, borrowing from his brother Richard, and many forms of irregular exaction. His vexatious treatment of London in particular was remembered by the citizens to his disadvantage. He was as incapable for war as for government. An expedition to Poitou in **1242**, undertaken with a wild idea of winning back the empire of Henry II., ended in a disastrous defeat at Taillebourg, followed by an ignominious truce. Somewhat later Henry made peace with France, by which he relinquished all claims, except to Gascony, which was secured to him with Limoges, Cahors, and Perigord. In **1253** he went with scarcely better result to Gascony, threatened by Alfonso of Castille. The province was saved, not by arms, but by the marriage of his eldest son Edward to Alfonso's daughter Eleanor, followed by a fresh influx of foreigners, this time of Spaniards. Between pope, foreigners, and king, the people grew more and more angry and discontented, though for want of leaders—for Richard had married the queen's sister and had thrown in his lot with the court—there was as yet no general revolt. But reform was in the air. In **1244**, after the Poitou fiasco, a joint committee of four prelates, four earls, and four barons had demanded a responsible ministry as hitherto, a justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer; and they promised that if the king would do this and carry out the measures they indicated, money should be given to be expended under their supervision. Another scheme proposed that the charter should be carried out by four elected councillors, called conservators—the justiciar and chancellor, and two others, by whom four of the judges were to be elected. During Henry's absence in Gascony, Richard, who was left deputy, called a great council at Westminster in April **1254**, to which were summoned four knights, elected by the county court or shire moot, from each shire, with representatives of the clergy of each diocese.

Foreign failures

Schemes of reform

In **1254** a new form of papal extortion was put in force. The Pope, anxious to have a friend in South Italy and Sicily, part of the dominions of his enemy the emperor Frederick II., who had just died, offered the crown to Henry's brother Richard, and, upon his refusal, to the king's second son Edmund of Lancaster. Henry accepted the offer, and borrowed money on all sides to support the enterprise. But he could not raise enough, and the Pope undertook the war himself, charging the expenses against Henry, who in this way found himself in **1257** the Pope's debtor for 135,000 marks. To escape from the bankruptcy Henry made the most exorbitant demands, even to one-third of the whole revenue of the country. The

Henry's debts to the Pope

discontent which this aroused was reinforced by his display of incapacity in a Welsh campaign, and by a failure of the harvests in 1257 so terrible that great numbers died of starvation. It was clear that all that was needed was a capable leader, and at the parliament of April 1258 such a leader had been found.

SECTION 2.—*Simon de Montfort, 'That which touches all should be allowed of all'*[1]

Simon de Montfort

Simon de Montfort was the second son of the constable of France. After a youth of perilous warfare he was driven from his country, and came to England in 1233. Through his mother he had a claim upon the earldom of Leicester, and this Henry conferred upon him in 1239. He then secretly married the king's sister Eleanor, the widow of William the Marshal, son of Gilbert Gloucester. In 1248 Henry sent him to govern Gascony. On his return in 1253 a quarrel took place between the brothers-in-law; and he was henceforth regarded as the leader of the opposition. By his advice Henry was told plainly that for a while the government must be taken out of his hands. On June 11, 1258, the celebrated 'Mad Parliament' met at Oxford. The great tenants-in-chief alone were summoned, but the lesser tenants-in-chief accompanied them, and all came armed. The moment was favourable, as Richard was out of the country. A long list of breaches of Magna Carta was presented, and a committee of 24 was then chosen—12 by the king and 12 by the barons. Each 12 chose 2 from the other 12, and these 4 elected a body of 15, who were charged with the executive government, and were to meet thrice a year for discussion with a third 12 chosen by the barons to represent the people generally. This was no democratic scheme, but an aristocratic oligarchy, resting upon popular support. The plan of reform which was drawn up was known as the *Provisions of Oxford*.

'Mad Parliament.' The executive taken from the king

Provisions of Oxford: a too drastic reform

One of its demands was that of Hubert de Burgh, the surrender of all the royal castles into native hands. Simon set the example by handing over Odiham in Hampshire and Kenilworth. Several of the foreigners resisted; their castles were besieged and captured, and all obnoxious strangers were ordered to leave the country. Another most important provision was that the sheriff was to become the officer of the people instead of the king, and was to be elected annually by the freeholders of the shire.

The Provisions of Oxford made a complete transfer of power from the king to the barons. But, just because it was so complete, it could

[1] Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*.

be no more permanent than the vigilance committee of John's days (p. 81). A king of England without power was an unintelligible thing. It is indeed remarkable that the arrangement lasted from **1258** till **1263**. The barons soon split into two sections, those who wished to keep power to themselves, and were satisfied when the aliens were dismissed, and those who wished to go further and help the lower orders. The former were headed by Gloucester, the latter by Simon. Between the leaders a fierce quarrel soon broke out; and in **1261** Henry took advantage of it. Like John with Magna Carta, he procured the papal absolution from the 'Provisions,' and changed the ministers appointed by the fifteen. Gloucester openly joined the king, and Simon for a time left the country. Henry then issued an appeal to the whole people against the barons, pawned the crown jewels and collected troops; the appointment of the sheriffs was submitted to the arbitration of the king's brother and decided in his favour; and Henry went to Paris to gain the support of Louis IX. But in **1262** the Earl of Gloucester died. Simon returned, and, joined by the young earl, Richard of Gloucester, rallied the reforming party. Before the year was out Henry was forced to confirm the Provisions of Oxford. The defiant attitude of Prince Edward at the head of a large mercenary force on the Welsh border, brought on an appeal to arms. Simon summoned an army, secured the Severn valley, and then marched south. London, where the majority of the citizens were estranged from the king (p. 88), and Dover, were soon in his hands; and the Provisions were again signed by both parties. It was agreed however to submit the whole dispute to Louis IX. By the *Mise of Amiens*, January **1264**, Louis gave a decision which simply annulled every reform which the barons had accomplished. The Pope, as ignorant of England as Louis, confirmed this decision; and many of the barons went over to the king. But Simon at once declared that he and his four sons would fight the matter out.

Split in the baronage

Simon de Montfort reforms the opposition

Mise of Amiens

In the northern midlands Henry and Edward were successful. But the wealthy parts of the country, the counties round London, were staunch to Simon. The king, passing by London, marched to secure them. Simon followed with an army of barons and Londoners, and at Lewes—all attempts at conciliation being rejected by the counsel of the impetuous prince—a great battle was fought May 14, **1264**. Edward routed and pursued the Londoners from the field, returning to find that in his absence Simon had gained a great victory. By the *Mise of Lewes* a new body of arbitrators was appointed; the king was bound to act by the

Battle of Lewes. Mise of Lewes

advice of his counsellors, to keep the charter, and live at a moderate expense. Edward and his cousin Henry, son of Edmund of Lancaster, were hostages, and Simon was made protector.

Having arranged for the provisional government, Simon summoned the famous Parliament of January 20, **1265**, at which the principle of representation received its vital extension. The towns, as taking no part in the election of knights of the shire, had hitherto possessed no share in the representation. But Simon called to this Parliament, not merely two knights from each shire, elected by the county court or shire moot, *but two burghers from each city or borough*, with four from the Cinque Ports, since 'that which touches all should be allowed of all.' When this Parliament met Simon's work was done; he had established the great principle of English political life. His provisional government, by which all power was in the hands of a committee of nine, formed again too drastic a change to subsist. He and Gloucester soon quarrelled. Gloucester gathered forces, and after exacting an oath from Prince Edward, who had escaped, to keep the land free of strangers, threw himself on the king's side. Simon—then on the Welsh side of the Severn—was taken by surprise. For a long time he was prevented from crossing the river. At length he forced a passage and marched towards London, whence his son Simon marched to join him. But Edward out-generalled them both. He cut young Simon's force to pieces at Kenilworth on August 1, **1265**, and then by a rapid movement fell upon his father at Evesham, August 4. 'Commend your souls to God,' said the earl to his followers, as he saw Edward's overpowering numbers, 'for our bodies are Prince Edward's.' His small army, formed in one close array, was attacked simultaneously in front, flank, and rear, and literally ridden down. The great earl, 'Sir Simon the Righteous,' died fighting, with his eldest son Henry. The external signs of his rule were at once removed, and his sheriffs deposed; London was fined, deprived of its charter, and otherwise humbled; forfeiture was pronounced against all the barons who had fought with him. But the work he had done lasted. He could not do more because he was not king. Fortunately he was succeeded by one who, besides being as great-hearted and as clear-headed as himself, stood on the vantage ground of the throne, and who entered at once into his labours, without causing the jealousy that necessarily followed Simon.[2] The royalist victory was not yet complete. Young Simon held out for a time; Kenilworth Castle, whither the forfeited lords had fled, stood a siege

Parliament of 1265. Representation of cities and boroughs

Battle of Evesham

[2] Gardiner, *Introduction to English History*, p. 75.

of six months against the whole of Edward's force, and the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, October 27, **1266**, contained the terms upon which they at length surrendered. A third stand was made at Ely, and a fourth in London by Gloucester, who had again taken up the popular cause. But all was quiet by June **1267**, and the *Statute of Marlborough*, November **1267**, granted everything for which the 'Mad Parliament' had asked, except the appointment of ministers and sheriffs. In other words, Magna Carta was recognised as the law of the land, but the attempt to rob the crown of executive power had failed.

Dictum de Kenilworth and Statute of Marlborough

The country rapidly emerged from disorder. Henry took care to create no new discontent. Genuine prosperity reigned. So settled was the state of things that Edward, with a large number of barons, felt free to sail to the Holy Land. There he heard of his father's death, November 16, **1272**.

Prosperity

Henry was not a man of vices. He was pious, amiable, and cultivated; but he was a repetition of Edward the Confessor: a monk rather than a king, utterly wanting in the qualities of a great ruler, weak and easily led, a slave to his relatives and to the Pope. His very cultivation led him to prefer the more polished foreigners; he neither understood the people nor what constituted good government.

Character of Henry III.

His reign had seen one memorable event in religious and social history. Hitherto there had been in England two orders of monks, the Benedictine and the Cistercian (p. 57). But now, about the time of Simon's coming to England, there entered an entirely new element into the ecclesiastical system, and one which had an effect of incalculable importance. This was the coming of the Mendicant Friars.[3] Of these there were two orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The Franciscans, so called from the gentle Italian St. Francis of Assisi, were vowed to relieve the wretchedness of the poor. The Dominicans, or followers of St. Dominic, the persecuting and learned Spaniard, the founder of the Inquisition, devoted themselves to teaching. They did not live, like the monks, in retirement, but like brothers (frères = friars) in the busiest haunts of misery or ignorance. They were vowed to absolute poverty, and to self-abnegation of every sort. No disease, however loathsome, could repel the Franciscan; while the Dominican rapidly became the great intellectual influence of the world. They were opposed by the secular clergy and by the monks, but they were encouraged by the Pope, for they were

The coming of the friars

[3] Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars*; *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, Gardiner, *Introduction*, p. 72; Stephen, 'St. Francis of Assisi.'

submissive to Rome, and taught the faith of the church with greater purity than either, and both seculars and monks were speedily left by the majority of the people for the friars. The degradation into which they fell will be seen later on; but for a long time we shall have to notice only the vastness of their influence. One of their pupils was Simon de Montfort himself.

CHAPTER II

EDWARD I

Section 1.—*The Legislation of Henry I. and Henry II. continued*

Edward showed his sense of security by the leisureliness of his return. He passed through Italy, where he met the Pope, secured the services of the Florentine lawyer, Accursi, and formed a connection with the bankers of Florence; took part in a local war in Burgundy; resided for a time with Philip III. in Paris; spent nearly a year in Gascony; arranged a good understanding with Flanders; and only arrived in England in August **1274**. At his coronation Alexander III. of Scotland, his brother-in-law, and John of Britanny, did homage.

The reign of Edward I. continues that of Henry II. in its two great principles: the denial of the assumptions of Rome and the clergy, and the diminution of feudal privileges. His earliest act was to order a revision of Domesday Book, with a view of ascertaining what right the great nobles had to the local authorities and other privileges which they claimed. Its object did not appear until **1278**, when the *Statute of Gloucester* ordered a writ of 'quo warranto' ('by what warrant?') to be issued to each; and is best seen in the reply of the Earl of Warenne. Throwing his sword on the table, 'See, my lords,' he said, 'here is my warrant. My ancestors came with William the Bastard, and conquered their lands with the sword; with the sword will I defend them against any one who wishes to usurp them. For the king did not subdue the land by himself, but our forefathers were with him as partners and helpers.'

Edward I. continues the work of Henry II.

But Edward's reign was more than a series of negations. It was a great time of positive reform, in which he himself took the lead. His habit was to summon barons, prelates, knights, or burghers separately: thus he found out clearly what was wanted in each direction, and gave effect to it by legislation. It was not, apparently, until **1295** that the different constituents met in one body.

This legislative activity began with his first Parliament, April **1275**, at which were present prelates, barons, and 'the community of the land.' By the *Statute of Westminster the First* the amount of the aid for the marriage of the king's daughter or the knighthood of his son was fixed; elections were to be free of undue pressure; the demands of the great charter, the Provisions of Oxford, and the Statute of Marlborough, were all revised and developed. For this the king received a permanent grant of the customs on the staple products of England—wool, skins, and leather. In **1278** he compelled all freeholders of an estate worth 20*l.* a year who were not knights, though owing knight services, to receive knighthood: a 'levelling up' which tended to diminish the power of the great lords—like the Salisbury decree of **1086**—by bringing all such freeholders into direct personal relation with the crown, while it also enriched the king with the fees paid for the honour; and this was followed by many similar writs in later years.

Important legislation: 'Statute of Westminster the First'

Compulsory knighthood

By the famous statute *De Religiosis*, **1279**,[1] the holding of land in 'mortmain' (the 'dead-hand'), a long-standing abuse, was forbidden. When any one endowed the church with lands, he gave it to a body which did not fulfil the ordinary obligations of land tenure. In many cases feigned endowments were made on the understanding that the donor should receive the lands back as fiefs of the church, and be thus free of the feudal burdens. The effect of mortmain is seen by the fact that the clergy possessed nearly *one-half* of all the soil of England. The new law declared all lands which were alienated in mortmain forfeit in future to the lord of the alienator; if this were a tenant-in-chief they would fall to the king. Led by the primate the clergy resisted, but gave way before Edward's threat of total confiscation. In **1281** the prelates attempted to exclude the royal courts from dealing with questions on patronage and the goods of the clergy, but failed; and in **1285** the writ of 'circumspecte agatis' ('mind what you are about') finally limited the jurisdiction of the church courts to spiritual matters only, such as offences for which penance was due, tithes, churches and churchyards, injuries to clerks, and the like. Edward moreover utterly refused to pay Peter's pence (p. 42) to the Pope, or the 1,000 marks tribute promised by John; and the 'papal provisions' remained a dead letter.

'De Religiosis'

Limitation of church courts

In **1285** the *Second Statute of Westminster*, in its first article 'De donis conditionalibus' ('concerning property given conditionally'), instituted the law of *entail*; that is, that when an estate is granted to a man *and his heirs*, the holder may not part

Law of entail

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, p. 106, &c., and *Documents*.

with it. The *Statute of Winchester* gave new life to the 'fyrd' and the Assize of Arms, and to those laws of Henry I. and Henry II. which had encouraged the people to be their own police. All highways between market towns were to be cleared of cover which might hide brigands for 200 feet on either side. Finally, in **1290**, to make the land system still more a strength to the royal power, to keep up the amount of the feudal dues, to increase the number of persons in direct relation to the crown, and to prevent the subdivision of society, was passed the *Statute of Westminster the Third*, the great act 'Quia emptores' ('because purchasers'), by which in all transfers of land the purchaser, instead of owing the feudal dues to the seller (sub-infeudation), owed them to the seller's lord.[2]

Statute of Winchester

'Quia emptores'

Section 2.—*Wales and the Scottish Succession*

Edward was bent upon putting an end to the incessant difficulty from the Welsh. Their constant inroads, their interference in all English difficulties, and the wide powers which it was necessary to give to the lords of the marches, were a serious menace to public peace and the authority of the crown. The reigning prince Llewellyn had absented himself from the coronation, and was ravaging the borders. But in **1277** Edward forced his way to the wilds of Snowdon, while the fleet captured Anglesey. By the winter Llewellyn submitted, but in **1282**, with his brother David, he again revolted, captured Flint and Rhuddlan castles, and wasted all the land up to Chester. Edward came back in wrath. For the work among the hills he relied upon his mercenaries, mountaineers from the Basque provinces and Aragon. Llewellyn was slain in fight and David captured in June **1283**. David was brought to London, tried as a traitor by his peers, and executed. Wales was then divided into counties. The old customs were retained, but with the English criminal procedure. On April 25, **1284**, Edward's wife gave birth to a son in Carnarvon Castle, whom he presented to the Welsh chieftains as 'Prince of Wales,' the title ever since borne by the eldest son of the king.

Edward I in Wales

Death of Llewellyn and David

'Prince of Wales'

Affairs called Edward to France in **1286**, and he was away for three years. The danger of such absence was at once shown. The barons refused to pay grants till he should return; they collected large

[2] Thus, if the king granted a fief to A and A sold part of his fief to B, B would henceforth be the immediate vassal, not of A, but of the king. So, if B held his fief from A, and sold part to C, C would be the vassal, not of B, but of A. This tended to the interests of the great lords, but still more to that of the king, and prevented the incessant subdivision of society.

bodies of men; the great Earls of Gloucester and Hereford waged open war upon one another; the Welsh broke out once more; the sheriffs exercised their powers oppressively. Edward hurried home, heard complaints, removed the offending sheriffs, and bound the Earl of Gloucester to the crown by giving him his daughter Joanna in marriage. By the end of **1290** all was quiet again.

The state of affairs in Scotland now gave him a welcome opportunity for an attempt to bring that country also under his rule.

The Scotch succession

Alexander III. died suddenly in **1286**, leaving no male heir. But his daughter Margaret had married Eric, son of the King of Norway, and to the children of this marriage he had bequeathed the kingdom. She died, leaving an infant daughter, also called Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway,' who was recognised as lawful queen.

The 'Maid of Norway'

Edward hoped to marry her to his son, and so unite the kingdoms. The hapless child set off on her journey, September **1289**, but died under the fatigue of the voyage. Thus the direct line of William the Lion was extinct. At once there arose no fewer than 13 claimants. Of these but two had serious pretensions. David, brother of William, had three daughters—Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret had left a grandson, John Baliol; Isabella had a son, Robert Bruce, earl of Annandale; Ada had left a grandson, John Hastings. The right evidently rested between Baliol and Bruce. Edward, to whom the Scottish regency had given a final voice in any dispute, at once went north. At Grantham his wife Eleanor, who never left him, sickened and died. For three days he was crushed with sorrow. Then he accompanied the body to London, erecting a cross at each halting-place. At Easter **1291** he held a conference of the two kingdoms at Norham, and asserted his right to the guardianship of Scotland, in virtue of the frequent acts of homage paid by Scottish to English monarchs. He had taken care to ransack every depository of records for proofs of these acts, from the time of Edward, son of Alfred, to that paid to himself by Alexander.[3] The claim was admitted, and he was called upon to dispose of the crown. By national custom Bruce, as son, though of the second daughter, had the better claim; by English feudal custom, Baliol, as descended from the eldest daughter, though a grandson. The assembly was unanimous for the feudal claim,[4] and Edward confirmed the decision, reserving his own

Claims of Bruce, Baliol, Hastings

Edward claims the guardianship of Scotland

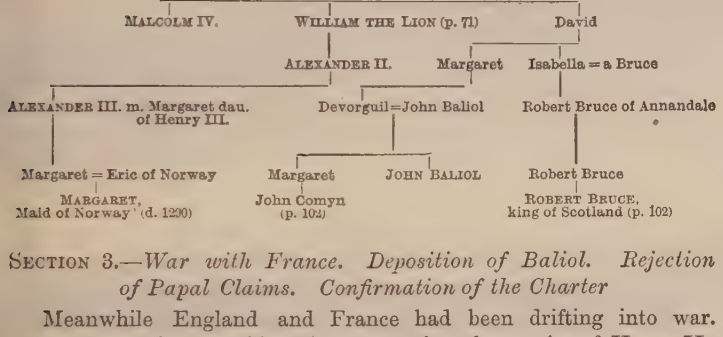
[3] Freeman, 'Relations between the Crowns of England and Scotland': *Essays*, 1st series; and 'England,' in *Encycl. Brit.*

[4] The Scottish nobility was chiefly of Norman origin, and many of them who had lands on both sides of the border were anxious not to offend Edward.

right as overlord. Baliol swore fealty, was crowned at Scone, and did homage for Scotland. But all the elements of disturbance were left in the ambition of Bruce, and in the insult given to national feeling by Edward's unwise demand that appeals should be heard by the English courts at Westminster. Baliol himself, a weak man, was summoned by Edward for injustice, and heavily fined.

Baliol's claim confirmed

GENEALOGICAL TABLE V


DAVID I. = Daughter of Waltheof (pp. 32, 40, 43)
Henry, earl of Huntingdon (p. 60)
MALCOLM IV.
WILLIAM THE LION (p. 71)
David
ALEXANDER II.
Margaret
Isabella = a Bruce
ALEXANDER III. m. Margaret dau. of Henry III.
Devorguil = John Baliol
Robert Bruce of Annandale
Margaret = Eric of Norway
MARGARET, Maid of Norway (d. 1290)
Margaret
John Comyn (p. 102)
JOHN BALIOL
Robert Bruce
ROBERT BRUCE, king of Scotland (p. 102)

SECTION 3.—*War with France. Deposition of Baliol. Rejection of Papal Claims. Confirmation of the Charter*

Meanwhile England and France had been drifting into war. Edward never had any idea of reconquering the empire of Henry II., and in **1285** had relinquished all claim to Normandy for 10,000*l.* But, though there was formal peace, the rivalry between the sailors of the Cinque Ports and the opposite coasts led to continual warfare at sea. At length a challenge passed to fight out the quarrel. An empty ship moored off St. Mahé on the coast of Britanny marked the place; and on May 15, **1293**, a fleet of English, Dutch, Irish, and Gascon ships met those of France, Genoa, and Flanders. A long day's struggle ended in the total destruction of the French fleet. Philip wrathfully demanded full restitution for his loss. Edward tried to settle the matter peacefully. He offered to marry Philip's sister, and ceded Guienne as her dowry. Philip obtained possession and then rejected the offer. Edward hereupon withdrew his allegiance for Aquitaine, and forbade all trade with France; took into his pay a great league of European states, and especially secured the friendship of Flanders. He had hitherto met with little opposition in his demands for money; he had indeed fallen back upon arbitrary taxation without much regard

Great naval defeat of the French

Philip obtains Guienne

for Magna Carta; he had increased the tax upon wool by his own decree. In dealing with the clergy, especially, his understanding with the Pope (p. 93) had borne good fruit. But now, when he demanded half their revenue, they asked for the repeal of the 'De Religiosis' act. The request was refused, and the money exacted on pain of outlawry. The merchant's stock of wool was seized. John Baliol gave the whole revenue of his English estates for three years. A vast armament sailed, and by **1295** Guienne was recovered. Edward himself was meanwhile occupied in suppressing a fresh and formidable outbreak of the Welsh. In the expedition he was in extreme danger; his baggage was surprised; his army cut in two. But, bearing all hardships exactly as his men, he extricated himself from the peril with great skill, and completely suppressed the revolt.

Guienne recovered

Troubles came thickly in **1295**. Philip again captured Bordeaux. The expedition which sailed under the king's brother Edmund of Lancaster failed completely, and Edmund died there. A national rising in Scotland, a rising of the people more than of the feudal nobles (p. 96, note), to which Baliol was forced to give his adhesion, drove the English out of the country, and an alliance was made between Baliol and Philip, the beginning of a permanent connection between France and Scotland. Edward concentrated his attention upon the home difficulty. Marching with 35,000 men, he took Berwick by assault, with fearful loss; and on the same day the Scotch were beaten back from the walls of Carlisle. Upon hearing of Baliol's breach of faith, 'The treacherous fool!' exclaimed Edward, 'if he will not come to us, we will go to him.' At Dunbar he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Scots, April 27, **1296**. Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth surrendered. Baliol gave up his crown, and was sent to the Tower; three years later he was allowed to go to his estates in Normandy, where he died in **1305**. Edward then made a progress through the north. Returning by Scone, he carried away the regalia and the coronation stone, an object of Scottish reverence which is now in Westminster Abbey. No confiscation of estates was made. John Warenne, earl of Surrey, was left governor, and Hugh Cressingham treasurer.

Failure at Bordeaux; rising of Scotland

Subjugation of Scotland

The dangers of **1295** had brought about the summoning of the celebrated parliament of November, which was intended to be a model for future parliaments. The clergy were represented by the archbishops and bishops, the archdeacons, one representative for the clergy of each cathedral, and two for those of each diocese. There were, besides the tenants-in-chief, two knights

The 'Model Parliament'

from each shire and two citizens for each city or borough. It was called because, almost in Earl Simon's words, 'it is very evident that common dangers must be met by measures concerted in common.' At the parliament of **1296** began the final conflict with the Pope.

Boniface VIII. and 'Clericis Laicos'

Boniface VIII., the most arrogant of popes, had issued the famous bull, 'Clericis Laicos,' which forbade the clergy to pay, or rulers to demand, taxation upon church property. But the time for such assumptions was over. Edward coerced the clergy by a threat of outlawry. If they would not bear the burden they should not have protection. No mercy was shown to recalcitrants. They were stripped of everything, even their horses were taken from them on the highway. The primate and the Bishop of Lincoln alone were resolute, and Edward forfeited all the goods of the province of Canterbury.

He was now able to turn to the Continent. He determined to attack France himself from Flanders, while another expedition under the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford went to Gascony. But he was met by unexpected opposition from the great barons. They were not bound, they said, by their feudal duty to serve in Flanders. They refused to go even to Gascony, whither they were so bound to follow the king, unless he went too. 'By God! earl,' exclaimed Edward to Bigod the Earl of Norfolk, 'you shall either go or hang.' 'By God! king,' was the reply, 'I will neither go nor hang.' It was really against arbitrary taxation that they were striking; and they were joined by the merchants, whose wool had been seized, and by the clergy. It was the voice of the united nation which now spoke. Edward however made terms with the clergy and sailed for Flanders, leaving Prince Edward as regent. That very day the two earls marched to London and forbade the collection of the imposts. A little later they demanded that before any grant was given the charters should be confirmed and completed. The prince gave way, and Edward, who was at Ghent, approved his action. The *Confirmatio Cartarum*, **1298**, really amounted to the insertion of the articles regarding taxation which had been omitted from Magna Carta as issued by Henry III. (p. 85). No tax, it was declared, was henceforth to be made, *except by common consent*.[5] Edward felt bitterly the distrust shown of him. Heavy as his exactions had been, he had spent the money unselfishly for the good of the country.

Opposition of nobles, clergy, and merchants, against arbitrary taxation

The Confirmation of the Charters

[5] Gardiner, *Introduction*, p. 79. 'Common consent' would now mean, not that of the tenants-in-chief only, as provided by Magna Carta, but of the whole nation in parliament.

Section 4.—*William Wallace and Robert Bruce*

The Scotch had meanwhile found a new champion in William Wallace, a country gentleman famed for strength and courage. The people who had not yet lost heart came round him; and so daring and well timed were his attacks that the English were forced to keep within the walls of their castles. Gradually the feudal nobles joined him,[6] and his irregular bands swelled to a large army. Warenne and Cressingham with 60,000 men approached Stirling, and Wallace gave them battle, September 11, **1297**. The English advanced over the long narrow bridge. When only part had crossed he launched his whole force against them, slew 5,000 men, and drove the rest into the river; those on the other side turned and fled. Cressingham, who had earned special hatred, was killed, and his body flayed. One by one the castles surrendered; and Wallace was not only master of Scotland, but able to make a devastating raid through Northumberland.

William Wallace. Battle of Stirling

Edward came back in haste from Flanders in **1298**, and joined his army of vengeance at Berwick. Peace had been made through the private mediation of the Pope. Boniface proposed two marriages, those of Edward and his son to Philip's sister and daughter; he himself holding Guienne until all was settled. The marriage of Edward took place in **1299**; but Guienne was not restored until **1303**. On July 22, **1298**, Wallace was forced to battle at Falkirk. His spearmen were in four dense masses, with his archers between them, and his horse on the flanks. A morass protected his front. The first line of English rounded the morass and attacked in flank, while the second line picked its way across and fell upon the front. Wallace's horse and archers fled; but the spearmen stood impervious to Edward's cavalry, until the English bowmen[7] made breaches in their ranks; then the knights dashed in, and a massacre ensued. With the loss of three knights and a few archers, the English slew more than 15,000. Wallace escaped to France. Edward then fortified the

Peace with France

Defeat of Wallace at Falkirk

[6] The interference of Edward in Scotch affairs, especially the summonses to Westminster, was making the feudal nobles constantly more Scotch and less English (p. 96, note).

[7] In this battle the English archers first came into prominence. They were armed with the terrible long-bow, which is mentioned in the Assize of Arms of 1252; the Scots had only the short-bow. Up to 1281 the cross-bow, or arbalest, was the great weapon, and John's mercenaries had used it effectively against the barons. Edward I. took the long-bow into favour. The archer could shoot three cloth-yard shafts against the cross-bowman's one. He drew his bowstring to the ear, not to the body, like the Scots, and could kill, it was said, at 500 yards. An English archer boasted with truth that he carried twelve Scots' lives at his girdle.—Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 98, &c.

Lowlands up to Stirling once more, but was obliged to return from want of provisions for his army.

He was now called upon to give the confirmation of the charters by word of mouth, upon the promise of which alone Norfolk and Hereford had joined in this last campaign. He gave it 'with reservation of our coronation oath and the rights of the crown.' These words raised a storm such as Becket had raised with his 'saving our order.' Edward saw clearly where he must give way, and in March **1300**, by the 'Articuli super Cartas' ('the articles upon the charters'), he re-confirmed them in parliament, with important additions and without reserve.[8] 'From this moment it was plain that the government of England would rest, not on the king alone, but on the king in co-operation with parliament.' King and baronage moreover were now united in a memorable way. More than once Boniface VIII. had interfered in Scotch questions on the ground that Scotland was an independent see of Rome. He now demanded perfect freedom for her on all church subjects; as to other matters Edward must send deputies to Rome to obtain the papal decision. The king prepared the whole case with the utmost care, and in January **1301** laid it before parliament at Lincoln. The baronage enthusiastically supported him. A letter, signed by 104 of them, was sent to the Pope. No king of England, it was there stated, had ever pleaded, or been bound to plead, before any judge ecclesiastical or secular, respecting his rights in the kingdom of Scotland, or other temporal rights: 'neither do we, nor will we, permit our aforesaid lord the king to do, or attempt to do, even if he wished it, any of the things aforesaid.' Edward had from this time no more trouble with the barons. Norfolk was submissive; Hereford died, and his son was married to the king's daughter Elizabeth.

'Articles upon the charters'

The barons reject the claims of the Pope

Once more the Scotch difficulty broke out. Wallace had reappeared, had captured Stirling and had cut an English force to pieces at Roslyn. In **1303** Edward, passing Stirling, marched unopposed to Perth, and wintered in Dunfermline. In **1304** Comyn and many others came in to him. Stirling fell, and on August 4 Wallace was betrayed. He was tried at Westminster Hall and condemned as a traitor, in spite of a noble defence. His head was placed on London Bridge, his quarters were sent to Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. It must be remembered that, while to the Scots he was a national hero and patriot, to Edward he was a traitor and a bandit.

Execution of Wallace

[8] Gardiner, *Introduction*, p. 81.

Edward's end seemed attained, but again he was disappointed. At Baliol's death two men claimed the succession—Robert Bruce, grandson of Bruce of Annandale, and John Comyn, Baliol's nephew (p. 97). Bruce was thirty years of age; he had resided at Edward's court, had joined Wallace, had again submitted to Edward, and had fought against his own countrymen. He now came in haste from London, and had an interview with Comyn. It ended in a quarrel, and Bruce stabbed his rival in Dumfries church before the high altar. 'I doubt,' he said to his friends, Kirkpatrick and Lindesey, as he rushed from the church, 'that I have slain the Red Comyn.' 'You doubt,' was the reply; 'then I will make sicker (surer),' and Comyn was despatched as he lay. Then they seized the castle.

Robert Bruce

The country rose to their new leader; the English were driven over the border, and Bruce, to win the clergy and nobles, was crowned at Scone on March 25, **1306**, by the Bishops of Glasgow and St. Albans.

Crowned

Edward was deeply moved. It must be remembered that he had been acknowledged overlord of Scotland. He swore to avenge Comyn's death. Should he die before he could reach Scotland, his body was to be carried before the avenging host; should he survive the expedition, he would never again draw his sword against a Christian foe. The prince, on being knighted, vowed that he would not rest two consecutive nights in the same place until the Scots were subdued. Ere they set out, Pembroke had already surprised and defeated Bruce at Methven, June 26, **1306**. Bruce himself narrowly escaped capture, reached Ireland with difficulty, and lay close during the winter. The prisoners this time were mercilessly dealt with. Among them was Bruce's youngest brother, Nigel, and Isabella, countess of Buchan, who had placed the crown on the fugitive's head. Nigel was executed; Isabella was placed inside a large cage in a room in Berwick Castle. The wife, daughter, and sisters of Bruce were sent to London. In the spring of **1307**, Bruce landed again in the west, drove Lord Clifford out of Carrick Castle, and waged a successful guerilla warfare. Edward grimly made his way to the north. But incessant toil had at last told its tale, and it was evident that this would be his last campaign. He was scarcely able to sit his horse, and was generally borne by slow stages in a litter. With the utmost difficulty he reached Carlisle. Here he was attacked with dysentery. On July 3 the stern white-haired old man mounted his horse and rode two miles towards Scotland, and the next day two miles more. On July 6, **1307**, at Burgh-upon-Sands, less than three miles

Defeated at Methven

Returns

Death of Edward I

from the frontier, he died. He was thirty-six years of age when he began to reign, and like two of his predecessors, Henry I. and Henry II., he reigned thirty-five years.

Expulsion of the Jews

One event of an isolated character in the reign was the expulsion of the Jews in **1290**. Held in abomination by the church, and despised by all, they were hated by the class of small proprietors, because, when they had mortgages on the lands of their debtors, they sold these mortgages to the great nobles for their protection, and thus became instruments of oppression. In each town they lived in a special quarter, called the Jewry, carefully guarded, but in continual danger. To the crown they were very useful (p. 72), and it is not easy to see why Edward was so bitter against them. In the first year of his reign he forbade them to erect synagogues, hold freeholds, or exact usury; any Jew over seven years of age was forced to wear a distinctive mark of yellow cloth upon his dress; all over twelve paid threepence a year to the crown. In **1278** no fewer than 293 Jews were hung for clipping the coinage, and their property seized. In **1287**, under the influence of the queen-mother, who had driven all Jews from her own lands, the whole body lost their property, obtaining personal freedom only for a fine of 12,000*l.* In **1290** the king published an edict banishing them, to the number of 16,500, from the country, a cruelty for which he received a large grant from the clergy; and they did not again appear legally in England until the reign of Charles II.

Character and appearance of Edward I

King Edward was tall and spare. His arms were long and nervous; he was a splendid horseman, and to his last ride was noted for his upright carriage in the saddle. He stammered slightly, though never at a loss for words. His hair, jet black in manhood, had turned to silver long before his death. A peculiar droop of the left eyelid was inherited from his father. He was a great hunter and a famous breeder of horses: English horses were noted on the Continent in his reign. His private character was stainless; his religion deep and unaffected. As far as might be, he lived for his family. Never was marriage tie closer than between him and his first wife; and, while she lived, his temper was genial and joyous. To his second wife also he was a tender husband. He was not learned; but he was a benefactor to learning. Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar (p. 92), was the only great philosopher of England up to the time of his famous namesake. English poetry, which expressed the sorrows of the poor caused by the oppression of royal officials and of prelates, sprang up side by side with lyrical song, which treated of spring, and love, and joyousness, and with fable, in which the king figured as lion, the nobles as wolves, the priesthood as the fox.

Summary

The ninety years covered by the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. form a great epoch. The charter had been won, but, in spite of such men as the Earl of Pembroke and Hubert de Burgh, was in danger. Henry gave his country as spoil to his wife's foreign friends, and sacrificed the national church to the Pope, until Simon de Montfort, himself a foreigner, headed an oligarchy based on popular sympathies, and stayed the mischief. Since the Conquest the principle of representation had constantly been expressing itself; he adopted it and made it perpetual. But in doing so he was forced to take all power from the king, and for that the country was not ready.

Then a king, in the full vigour of manhood, enters into his labours: a king of strong purposes, of clear insight, a great organiser, a great lawgiver in an age of great lawgivers, a great warrior, though no vulgar fighter, loving power, but understanding his people's needs, and using his power nobly; a king who keeps faith [1]—who, while he insists upon every legal right, and sometimes strains legality,[2] can give way; such a monarch as England was not to see until Elizabeth ruled. A thorough Englishman, he allows no foreigners to find place; comprehensive in idea, he seeks to incorporate Wales and Scotland; the state and church alike are made as independent of Rome as can be without a revolution for which the time has not come. The principle of the great earl, that 'what touches all shall be allowed of all,' is taken in its integrity; church, nobles, people, alike have their share in the making of laws; all are put in direct relation to the crown, government is thoroughly organised. The nation, acting for the exigencies of the moment, and without seeing clearly what was to be the end at which it should aim, had found its destiny under Simon and Edward. 'What under Henry I. was the effect of despotic routine, and under Henry II. the result of law imposed from without, becomes under Edward I. a definite organisation worked by an indwelling energy.' From the Conquest to the winning of the Charter forms one epoch; from the winning to the confirmation forms another; the third, which

[1] The motto, 'Pactum serva' ('keep faith'), which was placed on his tomb, was broken but once. Following the evil precedents of John and Henry III., he obtained, in 1305, a bull from Clement V. absolving him from the charters. Fortunately the Scotch war intervened and saved him from disgrace.

[2] As when, after the confirmation of the charters, he retained, as not expressly forbidden, the right of exacting poll tax, or tallage, from the towns which, as being almost all on the royal demesne, not part of any fief, were on a different footing from the rest of the country. This was given up by Edward III., 1340 (p. 118).

lasts until 1689, broken by the despotism of the Tudors, and the attempted despotism of the Stuarts, contains the growth of the power of the House of Commons.

Dates—Henry III. and Edward I

	A.D.
Final issue of Great Charter	1217
Fall of Hubert de Burgh	1232
Provisions of Oxford	1258
Battle of Lewes	1264
Representation of towns in parliament	1265
Battle of Evesham, and death of Simon de Montfort	1265
Great legislation of Edward up to	1290
Subjugation of Wales	1283
Baliol does homage for Scotland	1291
'Model' Parliament	1295
Confirmation of the Charters	1298–1300
Wallace	1297–1304
Robert Bruce crowned	1306
Death of Edward I.	1307

BOOK V

SUPREMACY OF THE COMMONS

CHAPTER I

EDWARD II. 1307–1327

SECTION 1.—*Piers Gaveston and Thomas of Lancaster. Bannockburn*

EDWARD II. had grown up idle, frivolous, and extravagant. 'He was the first king since the Conquest who was not a man of business.' Piers Gaveston The early loss of his mother, and the incessant absorption of his father's time in business, had left him to the companionship of his foster brother, Piers Gaveston, a youth of Gascon descent. Gaveston was brave and skilful in arms, but so unfortunate was his influence that Edward I. had dismissed him from the country, and had made him swear never to return.

The king's first act was to recall him, and to shower upon him honours and wealth. The earldom of Cornwall, reserved by Edward I. for one of his younger sons, placed him in the first rank of the baronage. He was left regent of the kingdom when Edward went to France to marry Isabella; and at the coronation walked in the place of honour, bearing the crown before the king; old officials were dismissed for no other reason than for having opposed his extravagance in former days. Probably his scoffing treatment of the barons, the nicknames he attached to them, alluding to their personal appearance, and their defeats at his hands in the tilt-yard, had even more to do with their ill-will. Edward was forced by them to send him away for a time; but his dismissal was made an occasion for still higher gifts and honours. He was appointed governor of Ireland with almost royal state.

But the next year, **1309**, Edward again recalled his 'brother,' greeting him with the most lavish affection. The barons at first refused to attend parliament while Gaveston was there. Then they The 'Ordinances' brushed the king contemptuously aside, and forced him to surrender the executive into the hands of a council of 21. In **1311** this council put before him their 'Ordinances.' Gaveston was to be banished, the royal extravagance checked, and all

power put into the hands of the barons, though parliament was to meet once a year.

Edward was forced to yield, and Gaveston was dismissed to Flanders. Within a few months the king had recalled him for the third time, though to keep him from the clutches of the barons he took him upon a campaign in Scotland, in which he showed himself a good soldier. This infatuated conduct was the favourite's death-warrant.

Thomas, earl of Lancaster

The most powerful of his enemies was Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the son of Edmund, Edward I.'s brother, who died in Gascony (p. 98)—a coarse, unscrupulous man, whom Gaveston had nicknamed 'The Hog.' Lord of a large part of the north and midlands, he was a serious rival to the throne. With Pembroke and Surrey he went in pursuit of Gaveston. After narrowly escaping capture at Tynemouth, Edward succeeded in shipping his friend to Scarborough Castle. Here he surrendered to Pembroke, upon a pledge of safety. But the Earl of Warwick, 'Black Dog,' dragged him from bed and carried him barefoot and bareheaded to Warwick. Pembroke was not there, and a proposal to keep his pledge was dealt with by the argument: 'You have caught the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him again.' He was condemned, and executed June 19, **1312**, at Blacklowe Hill, by Caverside, and Edward was obliged to pardon all concerned in the deed.

Death of Gaveston

During these years Edward had been the tool of Philip IV. in an act of gross injustice—the suppression of the Templars. In **1118** nine poor knights had been established by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in a community near the Temple, to watch the roads and protect pilgrims.

Dissolution of the Templars

By degrees they increased in number; money and lands were bestowed upon them. At the close of the Crusades the Templars became indolent and corrupt. Wherever they settled, and especially in England under the patronage of Richard I. and John, they acquired vast wealth. In France Philip IV., greedy for their possessions, suddenly laid hands upon all their habitations, on the ground that the knights were guilty of sorcery and many abominable crimes, imprisoned and tortured them, and urged other princes to do the same. Easily influenced, Edward issued orders for their suppression. They were dissolved in **1311**, their wealth confiscated, and assigned to the rival order of Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, who held Rhodes against the Turks, or placed in the treasury. Their churches, circular in form, may be seen in London, where the present Temple was their monastery, in Northampton, and in Cambridge.

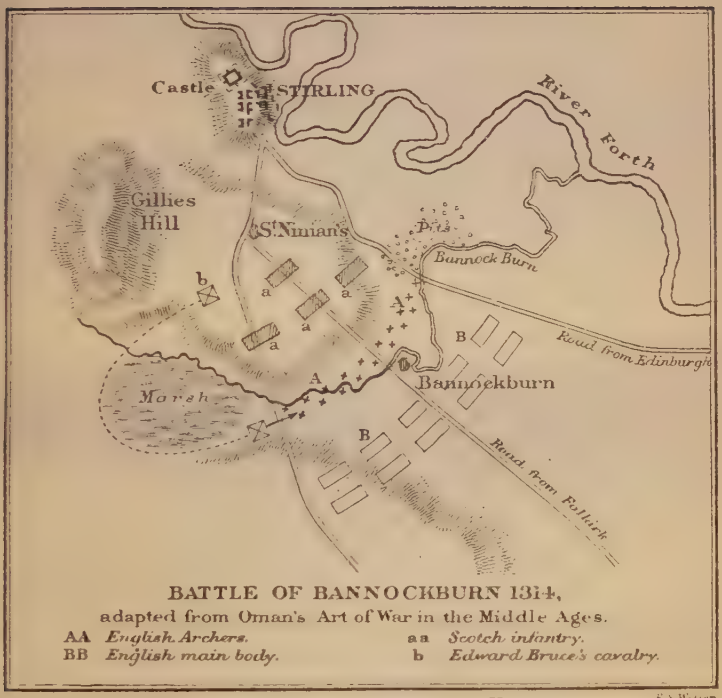
Meanwhile Robert Bruce was rapidly becoming master of Scotland. He captured Linlithgow in **1311** and Perth in **1312**; in **1313** Roxburgh fell to James Douglas, and Edinburgh to Randolph, earl of Moray; Edward Bruce, brother of the king, captured Dundee and the Isle of Man. Then Stirling was so closely invested that its commander promised to surrender on Midsummer Day, if not previously relieved. This at last roused Edward. With the Earl of Pembroke he put himself at the head of 100,000 men and marched in June **1314** to the relief of Stirling.

Success of Bruce

With 40,000 spearmen, a few light troops, and less than 1,000 cavalry, Bruce awaited this enormous host. His right, under Edward Bruce, rested on a marshy stream, which also lay between the fronts of the two armies, the Bannock-burn; his left, under Randolph, upon the road from Edinburgh. To protect this wing from a flank cavalry charge he dug a number of pits, which were concealed with turf and brushwood. Walter the Steward, or Stuart, the son-in-law of Bruce, and James Douglas led the centre. Bruce himself was in reserve, with his cavalry on his right. The disposition of the English troops, on the other hand, was most unskilful. No attempt was made to outflank the Scots. The 100,000 men were all crowded together for a front attack, the archers far in advance and unprotected on their flanks. The attempt of a body of horse to slip past the Scotch left and reach the castle was foiled by Bruce's watchfulness (June 23rd), and the same evening a skirmish, in which Bruce took part at great personal risk, ended in favour of the Scots.

Battle of Bannock-burn

On Monday, June 24th, the English archers began the attack. The Scots were falling fast, when Bruce sent his brother with the cavalry round the marsh, charged the undefended archers in flank, and rolled up their whole line with such slaughter that they took no further part in the battle. Then Edward launched his masses of cavalry upon the Scotch pikemen. But now there were no archers as at Falkirk to open a way into the square, and the English were driven backwards time after time. Bruce, seeing them waver, charged with his reserve. Suddenly, too, upon the rising ground in the rear of the Scots—since known as Gillies' Hill—appeared what seemed to be a fresh army. This was really the camp followers and baggage warders, unable to restrain their zeal. The English fled in confusion; hundreds fell into the pits and were slain there. Gloucester, Clifford, and William the Marshal were killed; Hereford was taken; Edward, with James Douglas hard in pursuit, galloped to Dunbar, whence he escaped by sea to Berwick. Stirling surrendered the next day. Scotland had won her independence, though it was not acknowledged for fourteen years (p. 112).



BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN 1314,

adapted from Oman's Art of War in the Middle Ages.

AA *English Archers.* aa *Scotch infantry.*

BB *English main body.* b *Edward Bruce's cavalry.*

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

The effects of this defeat were far-reaching. The north of England up to York was speedily in Bruce's hands. Wales rose at the news. Edward Bruce landed in Ireland, and for two years, in alliance with the native kings, had great success against the English nobles. In **1317** he was joined by the king himself, but through his own rashness was defeated and slain on October 14, **1318**. Robert then returned to Scotland, leaving Ireland in utter anarchy.

Section 2.—*Revenge. Family Treason. The Despensers*

But it was by Edward himself that the disaster of Bannockburn was most felt; for it left him discredited and powerless before the barons. Lancaster assumed the entire direction of affairs. In January **1316** he became President of the Council on condition that Edward consulted him on all matters of importance, observed the Ordinances, and dismissed his evil counsellors.

England was meanwhile in a state which recalled the year **1087**. The crops had failed, the sheep and cattle died in the fields from pestilence, the people were starving by hundreds on the roadside. The incessant rains spoiled the fruit crop. The great landowners dismissed their retainers, who betook themselves to brigandage. Fever and dysentery spread widely. Horses and dogs were the food of the starving wretches; it was even said that in their misery parents ate the bodies of their dead children.

Misery in England

Lancaster was no Simon de Montfort; he was no more capable of good government than Edward. The Scotch ravages went on unchecked; private war broke out among the nobles. New parties formed themselves. Pembroke, angry at the violation of his pledge to Gaveston, headed the personal enemies of Lancaster; Despenser, son of the justiciar who died at Evesham, rallied the friends of the king. All were for a short time united in an attempt to reconquer Berwick, which had fallen to Bruce. It failed completely; on the other hand, a battle took place at Mitton-on-Swale, September **1318**, in which 3,000 English were slain. It was called the 'Chapter of Mitton,' from the large number of English priests who took part in the fight.

Failure of Thomas of Lancaster

The 'Chapter of Mitton'

The Scotch campaign over, the nobles again fell asunder. Had Edward possessed ordinary prudence or capacity, he might now have escaped from Lancaster's tyranny. His ultimate ruin was owing to his own folly and weak forgetfulness of the past.

The place of Gaveston had been taken by Hugh Despenser, son of the Despenser just mentioned. He was married to Margaret, eldest

daughter of the Earl of Gloucester who fell at Bannockburn. He thus became possessor of part of his estates on the Welsh border, and soon quarrelled with the other great lords of the marches, who joined Lancaster against him. In **1321** the Earl of Hereford and Roger Mortimer, the two most powerful, refused to attend the court while the Despensers were there, and produced a long series of charges against them before parliament. Both father and son were condemned to exile, and the king was again forced to grant a full pardon to their opponents.

Hugh Despenser

Banished

But the triumph of Lancaster and his friends was short. Mutual jealousies are sure to break out among men who have no object but the satisfaction of their own ambition or private hatred. An insult to the queen from one of Lancaster's adherents roused all the chivalrous feeling left in Edward. He marched to Leeds in Kent, captured the castle, and hung the governor who had offered the affront. Pembroke and the king's half-brothers, the Earls of Norfolk and Kent, with many of the barons, joined him. The Mortimers submitted. Lancaster fell back upon Scotland, with which country he was now in close alliance. But at Boroughbridge he was intercepted and captured by the governor of Carlisle. He was taken to Pontefract and executed without trial, in revenge for Gaveston's death. Clifford and Mowbray, the two great barons of the north, suffered at York, and other executions followed. Edward then constrained the parliament of May **1322**, at which Wales was for the first time represented by twenty-four members from each of its two divisions, to repeal the Ordinances, and to declare that henceforth no ordinances should be made except in parliament, 'by our lord the king, and by the consent of the prelates, earls and barons, and the commonalty of the realm.' The sentence against the Despensers was revoked, and the father made Earl of Winchester. The annulling of the royal power had failed again, as it had failed under John and Henry III. (pp. 84, 92).

Success of Edward

Execution of Thomas of Lancaster

Lancaster had no claim, such as had Sir Simon the Righteous, to respect or pity. Nevertheless, so wretched was Edward's incapacity that popular feeling soon regarded him as a saint; miracles were worked at his tomb, as at those of Becket and De Montfort; the table on which the Ordinances were signed was regarded as a holy relic. Another unsuccessful campaign in Scotland in **1323**, in which Bruce, following hard upon the retreating king, nearly took him prisoner at Byland, revived the contempt of the barons. Rumours were spread that he was a changeling and no true son of Edward I. Roger Mortimer escaped from the Tower to France. Adam Orleton,

Incapacity of Edward

bishop of Hereford, became on personal grounds a bitter enemy. The king himself by his petulance alienated the church.

Weakness at home meant weakness abroad. Edward was suddenly called on to do homage to Charles IV. of France for Gascony, or forfeit the province. But, for the sake of the Despensers, he dared not leave the kingdom. In an evil hour he allowed his wife Isabella, Charles's sister, a bad woman, and a bitter enemy of the Despensers, to go to Paris to intercede with her brother. He then agreed to give up Gascony to Charles, to be restored when he had done homage; and he paid the expenses of the war. Once more the Despensers forbade him to leave. Feigning illness, he sent his son Edward, at Isabella's suggestion, to do homage in his stead. Wife and child, with Roger Mortimer, joined in a league against the Despensers, Isabella declaring that she would wear widow's weeds until they were banished; while Orleton organised the conspiracy in England.

Isabella in France

Conspires with Mortimer

In **1326** Isabella sought the aid of Count William of Hainault. By the betrothal of young Edward to his daughter Philippa she secured a large force, and on September 24 the expedition landed at Harwich. With the queen, the prince, and Mortimer were the king's relatives the Earls of Kent and Richmond. They were joined by the Lancastrian lords and the Earl of Norfolk; by the primate, and several other prelates; by all the eastern barons; and by the great towns in the east and south, which had close commercial connections with Flanders and Hainault. Edward fled with the Despensers to the west, and the queen entered London. To stop all attempts at reconciliation Orleton preached on the text, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman.' Edward tried in vain to escape to Ireland. The Earl of Winchester, 90 years of age, was taken in Bristol, and executed with horrible barbarity. The son was captured shortly afterwards, and hung at Hereford, on a gallows 50 feet high, with a crown of nettles upon his head. Edward voluntarily gave himself up. Before a parliament[1] summoned by writs from the prince, the question was put, 'Will you have Edward or his son to reign?' Four bishops alone dissented from the general reply. 'The voice of the people,' said the primate, 'is the voice of God.' Orleton headed a deputation to Edward to receive his abdication, and his son was proclaimed king, January 24, **1327**. The dethroned monarch, with an allowance of 30*s*. a day, was placed in the care of Henry of Lancaster, brother of Earl Thomas.

Invades England

Death of the Despensers

Abdication and murder of Edward

[1] At this parliament the Welsh were represented for the last time until Henry VIII.

But Isabella's contempt had become hatred. Lancaster was removed for her creature Maltravers. Edward was taken from castle to castle, until he found his final dungeon at Berkeley. Here his keepers murdered him, on September 22, in a manner which left no trace but the agonized expression of the features. He was buried quietly at St. Peter's, at Gloucester.

Everything was now done to satisfy the Lancastrian party, the commons, and the church. A prayer was sent to the pope for the canonisation of Earl Thomas. Henry of Lancaster was made nominal guardian to the young king. But Isabella and Mortimer were sole rulers, and Orleton alone was in their confidence. A pension of 20,000*l.* was settled upon the queen; Mortimer was created Earl of March. And on January 25, **1328**, Edward III. was married to Philippa of Hainault.

Isabella and Mortimer

The inroads of the Scotch had at once to be met. Moray, Mar, and Douglas, poured over the border with 20,000 men in light marching order. In a night attack Douglas surprised the young king in his hut, and he was saved only by the presence of mind of his chaplain and servant, who covered him with their garments. A short and inglorious campaign was closed by the peace of Norham, March 1, **1328**. Robert, 'by God's grace King of Scotland,' was freed from all claims of homage on payment of 20,000*l.* annually for three years. The Scotch regalia and documents carried off by Edward I., except the coronation stone, were restored; and Isabella's daughter Joanna was married to David Bruce, Robert's son. His work accomplished, the old king died June 7, **1329**.

Independence of Scotland acknowledged

Death of Robert Bruce

Already a natural reaction threatened Mortimer. His arrogance, rapacity, and undisguised connexion with the queen, united with the compunction of the nobles for the king's death and disgust at the Scotch peace, told rapidly against him. For a time he maintained himself by violence and fraud. When Henry of Lancaster refused to attend the parliament, Mortimer marched against him, wasted his lands, and forced him to submit with the loss of half of his estates. Edmund of Kent, half brother of Edward II., was deliberately drawn into conspiracy, arrested, tried by his peers, and executed. But the young king was now a man. He felt the shame of his father's murder and of his mother's adultery. With the help of Henry of Lancaster and Lord William Montague he determined to rule alone. The blow was struck when parliament met at Nottingham, October **1330**. Edward and his friends made their way at night by an underground passage into

the castle, seized Mortimer amid the entreaties of Isabella, and brought him to trial on November 26. No defence was allowed; he was condemned and hung on the common gallows at Tyburn, November 29. Isabella was allowed to retire to Rising, with an allowance of 3,000*l.* a year; and neither she nor Orleton took any further part in public affairs. Through the wisdom of Henry of Lancaster and Montague, now made Earl of Salisbury, everything was done to heal the sores of past years. The memories of the Despensers, the Earl of Kent, and even Mortimer were alike honoured. The land at length had internal peace, and the actual reign of Edward III. began.

Execution of Mortimer

Restoration of peace

CHAPTER II

EDWARD III. THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. 1327-1377

Section 1.—*Crécy and the 'Black Death'*

For some years Edward was occupied chiefly with Scotland, where Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol, with Edward's connivance, invaded the coast of Fife in **1332**, and defeated the patriot party at Dupplin Moor; but was then driven over the border. Edward came to his aid, routed the Scots at Halidon Hill, near Berwick, July 18, **1333**, with the loss of 30,000 men, captured Berwick, planted it with London merchants, and allowed Baliol to be recognised as king by the Scotch parliament, on condition of the cession to England of all the rich part of the lowlands. But the Scotch as a nation never accepted these terms. In **1341** David Bruce returned to head the resistance. Edward Baliol was again driven out, and in **1342** Edward, now engaged in a mightier contest, made peace.

Battle of Halidon Hill. Peace with Scotland

There were three leading causes for the war which Edward now began with France, and which with slight interruptions lasted for nearly a century. They were the continued aid which the Scotch received from France, the danger of Gascony, and the state of Flanders. The friendship of the great cloth-working towns, such as Ghent and Bruges, was of vital importance to England, for they were the market for English wool, just as England is now the market for Australian wool; they were also the market for our malt, the great product of the eastern counties. Led by Jacob van Arteveldt, they had quarrelled with the Count of Flanders, their feudal lord, himself a vassal of France; and the French king was preparing to assist him in crushing them. The

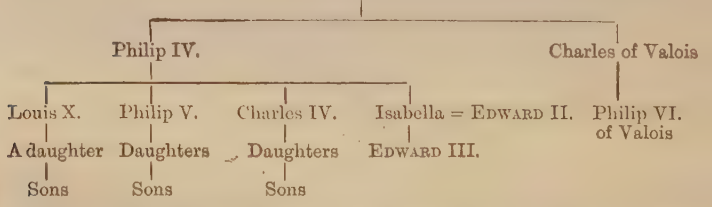
Real and ostensible causes of the 'Hundred Years' War'

English wool trade would then be at the mercy of France; and Edward was therefore determined to uphold them.

The ostensible ground of quarrel was totally different. Edward claimed the crown of France itself. Philip IV. had three sons—Louis, Philip, and Charles—each of whom came to the throne and left daughters, but no son. He had also a daughter—Isabella—the mother of Edward III. By what was known as the 'Salic Law,' no female could wear the French crown.[1] But Edward argued that, though his mother had no claim, she could transmit one to her son. The French rejected such a doctrine with ridicule. Even had it been admitted, there were prior claimants in the grandsons of Louis, Philip, and Charles. The male heir was Philip of Valois, son of Philip IV.'s brother, Charles of Valois, and he now became Philip VI. Each monarch gathered allies. Edward had his brother-in-law the emperor, with his great vassal princes of Brabant, Guelders, Hainault, Juliers, and Namur. Philip had the kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the dukes of Britanny, Austria, and Lorraine, and the lesser German princes. The English merchants were eager for war, for the French cruisers swept the Channel; the nobles, for they longed for spoil. Parliament gave lavish supplies, which the king supplemented by many irregular methods. The wool bore the chief burden: in **1338** Parliament gave the king half the wool in the realm. He acquired, too, the right of pre-emption, that is, of buying the wool himself before export. He then sold it to Flanders at a high price, and divided the profits with the merchants whom he employed in the transaction.

The nation eager for war

GENEALOGICAL TABLE VI



In July **1338** Edward landed at Antwerp, and in **1339** besieged Cambrai. But the apathy of the allies led to failure, and he came home laden with debt. Before he left he had assumed the title

[1] There was really no such thing as a Salic law, which was heard of for the first time under Philip 'the Tall,' 1316. But for more than three centuries every king of France had been succeeded by his own son, and thus the *custom* had become established. The *Salians* were a Frankish tribe.—Kitchin, *Hist. of France*, vol. i. pp. 72, 88, 385.

of King of France, by the advice of Van Arteveldt, with the motto of 'Dieu et mon droit,' and quartered the French lilies with the English lion. This was to give the Flemish towns a good excuse for openly joining him.

'Dieu et mon droit'

For the liberal supplies which they gave to enable Edward to begin a fresh campaign, the Commons[2] demanded many concessions. Edward was forced to surrender the right to exact tallage from the towns, which Edward I. had retained (p. 104, note), with irregular methods of taxation of all kinds.

In June **1340** he again sailed to Flanders, this time with the open assistance of the great Flemish towns. Philip had mustered a vast armament of vessels of unusual size in the harbour of Sluys. They carried turrets at their mastheads with huge stones to be dropped on an enemy's deck, and were fastened together by iron chains. Getting sun, wind, and tide at his back, Edward bore down undauntedly on their line, June 24.[3] The French fleet was utterly destroyed, and 28,000 men perished. The Channel was cleared of French cruisers, and for thirty years England was mistress of the seas. But there was no corresponding success on land. St. Omer and Tournai were both besieged, but without success.

Battle of Sluys

Without warning Edward suddenly appeared in London. He found the Tower unguarded and scarcely anyone at his post. He imprisoned the judges, deposed Stratford the primate from the chancellorship, and the treasurer, and filled the chief posts with laymen. A bitter quarrel ensued with Stratford, who claimed the right of answering charges brought against him in full parliament. He made his claim good, and an act was passed that peers, whether ministers of the crown or not, should not be brought to trial except before their peers in parliament. The Commons insisted also that the auditors of the public accounts should be appointed by king and parliament; that ministers should be chosen by the king and the lords, and should be sworn in parliament

Responsibility of ministers

[2] The term 'Commons' now includes both knights of the shire and burgesses. This is very important. The knights of the shire were, by birth and standing, more connected with the baronage. By being politically joined to the burgesses a bond of union was formed between all three classes, and the towns and country too had common interest.

[3] It must be clearly understood that there was no such thing as a 'Royal Navy,' as we understand it now. Edward III. did indeed support some ships, and in his reign the size of warships greatly increased; but they were few. The real naval force of the kingdom was that of the Cinque Ports (Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Hythe, with Winchelsea and Rye) which were the guardians of the narrow seas, and had very remarkable privileges. The 'Royal Navy of the Cinque Ports' was called out when needful.—Burrows, *The Cinque Ports* (especially chaps. v. and vi.), in 'English Historic Towns.'

to do right, and that they should resign and answer complaints at each new parliament. In other words, the doctrine of responsibility of ministers was clearly laid down.

The war was resumed in **1341** on a disputed succession in Britanny. To England it was important that Britanny should not be under French power, and Edward therefore espoused the cause of John de Montfort, the claimant opposed to Philip's nephew, Charles of Valois. Hostilities lasted until **1343**, when a truce was made.

But since Philip VI. maintained that England should hold Guienne as a fief of France only, and Edward that it was his in full sovereignty, the truce could not become a peace. The murder of Arteveldt in **1345**, and the consequent loss of Flemish support, compelled Edward to change his point of attack. He despatched two expeditions; one to Britanny, the other, under Henry of Lancaster, to Guienne. Lancaster was a brave and able man, and all Gascony was soon in his hands. In **1346** Philip sent an overwhelming force to crush him, and Edward made ready to go to the rescue. Suddenly, altering his plan, he threw himself with 40,000 men on the undefended coast of Normandy at La Hogue. Philip, taken by surprise, had but a small force with him; but by breaking down the bridges on the Seine he prevented Edward from attacking him until he had had time to collect a vastly superior army. When at length, out-manœuvring his enemy, Edward effected a crossing at Poissy on August 16, his only thought was escape. He turned northward, with the French hard in pursuit, and with a rapidly diminishing army reached the Somme, only to find the bridges there also broken down, except at Abbeville, where the defence was too strong to be forced. But a peasant guided him to a place below Abbeville, Blanchetaque, or 'White Shingle,' where at low tide the water was only knee-deep. There he fought his way across on the 24th, Philip's vanguard coming up just in time to capture some of his rearward line. The next day he reached the wood of Crécy, and turned to bay. A day's grace was given him by the unwillingness of the French to fight on the feast of St. Louis, and he used it well. At dawn on the 26th he and his son heard mass and took the sacrament, and then made them ready for battle.

The Crécy campaign

The English army was on high ground, the right covered by the village of Crécy and the stream La Maye, the left by the village of Wadicourt. It was in three divisions. Of these, two were in one line—the left under the prince and Warwick, the right under Arundel. Each division had archers on both wings, and doubtless on the slope in front, with the men-at-arms in the centre. The archers were arranged in the manner of the points of a harrow,

Battle of Crécy

so that each man in the second line could shoot between two of the first. Behind was Edward with the reserve. A fortification was made of the waggons on the left rear.

The French had marched confusedly from Abbeville, and attacked in the evening from the south-east. They had not intended to join battle until next morning, but the rear division pressed on the front, and all formation and restraint was lost. First came 15,000 Genoese crossbowmen, with the King of Bohemia and his son. Uttering three 'hurrahs,' they advanced up the slope. But a storm of rain broke in their faces, and then the level beams of the setting sun dazzled their eyes. Moreover, an English archer could shoot three arrows while a crossbowman discharged a single bolt. They wavered and fled. Then the second line of the French, riding down the crossbowmen, but falling by heaps before the flight of arrows, came on at a gallop. They reached the English line, and a desperate hand to hand fight took place. The prince, beaten to his knees, was saved only by the devotion of his standard bearer, and the timely succour of twenty knights sent by the king. At length the superior fighting qualities of the English prevailed. The French were hurled back with enormous loss. Neither Edward's reserve nor Philip's rearward line took part in the action. Philip fled first to La Broye, to the north-east, and thence to Amiens. The last hour's fighting had been by a clear moon, and it was deep night when the contest ceased.[4]

The final scene before next morning's pursuit was the meeting between the king and his son. Edward himself put on the spurs so worthily won, and gave the prince the honour of victory before the whole army. The next day the English fell upon a fresh body of French who, ignorant of the calamity, had marched during the night to join their comrades, and massacred them to a man; thousands of fugitives were butchered, and the second day's slaughter almost equalled that of the first.

The immediate result of the battle was the blockade of Calais. For nearly a year it made a brave but despairing resistance, and only surrendered August 4, **1347**, when reduced to the last extremity of famine. The inhabitants were driven out and were replaced—like those of Berwick—by English colonists. It was made the 'staple port' for English trade—that is, the only port at which English exported goods were sold; and thus the Flemish difficulty was overcome. Its capture, moreover, enabled an English

Capture of Calais

[4] It has always been said that the motto of the Prince of Wales, 'Ich dien,' with the three feathers, was taken from the crest of the old king of Bohemia, who fell in this fight. But both motto and sign belonged to the prince's mother, Philippa of Hainault, and it was doubtless from her that he derived it. The kings of Bohemia had no such crest.

army at any time to march right into the heart of France. A truce was now made, and in October **1347** Edward returned to England, the most famous warrior in Europe.

While Edward lay before Calais good news had poured in. In Guienne his armies had conquered not only that duchy but nearly all Aquitaine. David Bruce had been met on October 17th, **1346**, at Neville's Cross by the Archbishop of York and the great barons of the north, defeated with a loss of 20,000 men, and taken prisoner. He remained captive until **1359**, when he was recognised as vassal king.

Battle of Neville's Cross

England now grew wanton on her spoils. The war had created a population unfit for anything but war. All classes, even the clergy, became extravagant, dissolute, shameless. Edward III., the representative of chivalry,[5] with its follies, its fantastic codes of honour, and its immorality, joined to much that was noble and generous, led the general revel. It was now that he instituted the famous Order of the Garter. Tournaments were frequently held, which lasted for two or three weeks, and were scenes of prolonged debauchery. The nation seemed drunk with the glory it had won; and, like a drunken man, it had a rude awakening. In **1348** appeared that awful pestilence which, known as the 'Black Death,' had followed the western course of commerce from Asia. For two years England was a prey to its ravages. It is reckoned that more than one-third of the population perished.[6] All classes suffered alike. In London 200 died daily; in Norwich almost the whole population was swept away; in Bristol 'the living were scarce able to bury the dead.' Parliament could not meet, the law courts were closed, the churches were not served. A Scotch army, which assembled to ravage the north, was attacked by the plague in its camp, and before they could disband 5,000 men were dead.[7]

The Black Death

SECTION 2.—*Supremacy at Sea, Poitiers, and Treaty of Brétigny*

It was not for several years that war on a great scale could be thought of. One brilliant exploit there had been of Edward and the navy

[5] On chivalry see the last chapter of Hallam, *Middle Ages*.

[6] For a most graphic account of the destruction read Jessop, *The Black Death in East Anglia*.

[7] In the midst of these horrors appeared the 'Flagellants.' Their mission was to expiate in their own persons the national sins. For 33 days, the number of years in the Saviour's life, they every morning stripped to the waist and scourged themselves with knotted cords until the blood formed a pool in the street. Then, clad in sackcloth from the loins to the feet, and chaunting a penitential hymn, they marched through the towns, prostrating themselves with their hands in the shape of a cross, while the 'master' flogged their naked backs and shoulders as they lay. Warburton, 'Edward III.' in *Epochs of Modern History*.

BATTLE OF POITIERS 1356,

adapted from Baker's Chronicle, ed. by E. Maunde Thompson for the Clarendon Press.

-------- *Hedge and ditch with gap.* x x x x x x x x x x *English Archers.*

1. *Warwick* 2. *Salisbury.* 3. *First position of Pr. of Wales* 4. *Second position of Pr. of W.*
5. *Captal de Buch.* 6. *Andrehem.* 7. *Clermont.* 8. *The Dauphin.*
9. *Orléans.* 10. *King John.*

One English Mile.

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York. F. S. Weller.

in **1350**, the defeat of the Spanish fleet, in what was known as the battle of 'L'Espagnols sur mer,' fought between Sandwich and Sluys. The conduct of Edward himself describes the whole fight. At the first onset his ship, the 'Cogge Thomas,' the same in which he fought at Sluys, was run down by a huge Spaniard. Her mainmast went by the board, and she began to fill; but Edward and his knights swarmed on to the enemy's decks, and with sword and axe hewed down the crew. Then in their prize they bore down on the rest of the enemy, while their own ship sank. So fought the Prince of Wales and all the English crews. Of the Spanish ships 20 were captured and not a man in them left alive. It was this exploit which gave to Edward his title of 'King of the Sea.'[8]

The 'King of the Sea'

In **1355** Edward was ready for another invasion of France. The Black Prince sailed for Guienne, carried desolation from Bordeaux to the Mediterranean, and returned laden with spoil. Another force landed in Britanny. Edward himself marched from Calais to Amiens, but was recalled by a new inroad of the Scotch. Leaving the Duke of Lancaster, the son of Henry of Lancaster, now dead, to lead his men, he flew north, relieved Berwick, caused himself to be crowned King of Scotland at Bamborough, and then visited the Lothians with a devastation so fearful that February **1356** was ever afterwards known as 'Burnt Candlemas.'

'Burnt Candlemas'

Lancaster had meanwhile retired before King John into Britanny. The Black Prince, after a victorious and destructive raid from the Dordogne to the Loire, fell back towards Bordeaux. On Saturday, September 17th, near Poitiers, he found that John, with 50,000 men, was close upon him. He at once faced north, and got ready for fight with the confidence of unbroken victory, though he had less than 8,000 men. As at Crécy, a day's grace was given him by the accident of the next day being Sunday, which the cardinals persuaded John to keep unstained by bloodshed.

Poitiers

The English army was in three 'battles' under Warwick, the prince, and Salisbury. The position was a plateau sloping on the right into a marshy valley. A long hedge and ditch crossed the plateau and followed the slope into the marsh. Warwick's division was on the slope behind the hedge. Salisbury was to his left on the plateau, facing a gap in the hedge through which ran a road, flanked by the hedge on either side for a short distance into the English lines. The archers of both divisions lined the hedge and faced the gap. The prince's division took post on a hill on the opposite side of the marshy valley. The French were in three great

[8] Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, ch. vi. p. 144.

'battles, one behind the other, led by the Dauphin, Orleans, and King John. They were all on foot, either in imitation of Edward at Crécy, or because of the slaughter which the English archery worked among the horses. In front were two small bodies of cavalry under Clermont and Andrehem. These made for the gap, but were plied by Salisbury's archers on both sides and in front, and in the rear by some of Warwick's men who had moved on to the slope of the hill to the right, and were shot down to a man. Then the Dauphin with the first great 'battle' came on. The prince returned hastily from the hill on the right to strengthen Salisbury and Warwick, and a tremendous hand-to-hand struggle took place. It ended in the victory of the English, who, however, were carefully kept in hand, until not only the Dauphin's 'battle' was shattered, but the second division under Orleans had fled without a blow. Then King John, with 20,000 men and all the great nobles of France, advanced. One of the prince's officers, Captal de Buch, now led a small force of cavalry and archers round the hill to the right, unseen by the French; and, while all three divisions of the English dashed over the hedge and ditch and engaged John's force in front, rushed down upon his flank and rear with all the weight of man and horse, the archers doing frightful execution.

The king, with his little son Philip crouching behind him, fought valiantly. Twice wounded in the face, he was at length beaten down and made prisoner with his son. The Archbishop of Sens, 40 barons, and nearly 2,000 knights, were also taken; the greater part of the French nobles lay dead. A truce of two years was made with the Dauphin Charles, and the prince returned to England with his prisoners. He rode with John through the streets of London, amid a scene of enthusiasm never before witnessed, to where Edward sat upon his throne; according to the chivalrous courtesy of the age the prince himself was mounted on a pony, his prisoner on a splendid war-horse.

The state of France was terrible. The treasury was empty, the nation humiliated, the government demoralised. The disbanded soldiers formed themselves into free companies, who lived by plunder, and were ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder. Some of these were commanded by Englishmen, of whom Sir Robert Knowles was the most famous. The ransom of the prisoners was paid by the oppression of the serfs, who were reduced to the deepest misery. Civil war broke out in Paris; and this was followed by the appalling revolt of the famished and despairing peasants, known as the 'Jacquerie,' to the cry of 'Death to all the nobles!' and by the still more fearful vengeance taken by their masters when they could gather strength.

State of France

But France rallied gallantly. The extravagant conditions of peace demanded by Edward were rejected, and, though he marched right to the gates of Paris, he was there foiled. The Norman sailors swept the Channel once more, and attacked our coasts. At length peace was made at Brétigny **1360**. Aquitaine was ceded to England in full sovereignty, with Montreuil, Ponthieu, Calais, Guisnes, and their districts. Edward gave up his claim to the French crown and to all territories except those mentioned, *i.e.*, to all the possessions derived from Henry II. personally. The Black Prince at once took over the government of Aquitaine.

Treaty of Brétigny

Edward had meanwhile been strengthening himself at home by the marriages of his sons. The Black Prince married his cousin, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Kent, murdered by Mortimer; Lionel, the second brother, married Isabella, heiress of the Earl of Ulster, and part heiress of both the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford; he was made Duke of Clarence and governor of Ireland; John of Ghent, the third, married Blanche, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Lancaster, the grandson of the St. Thomas of Edward II.'s time, and when the duke died from a recurrence of the Plague, succeeded to his title and vast possessions. Edward's object was to get all the power and territory he could into the royal family, and thus make himself strong against the baronage. Thomas of Woodstock, his youngest son, afterwards Earl of Gloucester, married one of the daughters and heiresses of the Bohuns of Hereford, and John of Ghent's son Henry, afterwards Henry IV., the other. The importance of these alliances, as creating a powerful body of kinsmen of the king, will be seen later.

Edward's sons

Section 3.—*The Black Prince in Spain. Failure.*

Though there was now formal peace, fighting had not ceased. In Britanny it was especially severe, and the English fought several engagements and one pitched battle, Auray, to enable John de Montfort (p. 116) to secure his power there. Still more important was the conflict in Spain. The hatred aroused by the atrocities of Pedro the Cruel had enabled his illegitimate brother Henry of Trastamare to drive him from the throne of Castille. But Pedro was in close alliance with Edward III., while Charles V. of France—for John had died in England—supported Henry. In January **1367** the Black Prince led 10,000 veteran troops over the snow-clad Pyrenees, and won a great victory, April 3rd, in a bad cause, against Henry's vastly superior forces at Navarrete, in the plain of the Ebro. But a catastrophe followed. Upon Philip's pledge of repayment the

Campaign of Navarrete

prince had borne the expenses of the war, and Philip now failed him. He fell ill; his men were swept away by disease. Four out of every five died. Broken in spirits and constitution, and crippled with debt, he at length reached Bordeaux with the skeleton of his gallant force. In March **1369** Henry again raised the country upon Pedro, defeated him, and, in an angry interview, stabbed him dead. He then ascended the throne and founded a new dynasty.

To procure money the Black Prince taxed his subjects heavily. They appealed to Charles, who, since the formalities of the treaty of Brétigny had not been completed, was still technically the prince's overlord; and Charles, who had long been preparing the stroke, summoned him to Paris. In bitter wrath he replied that he would come, and at the head of 60,000 men. Charles formally declared war against England, May **1369**.

Edward was now old and enervated, and the country had lost enthusiasm for the war. Expeditions were indeed sent out to Gascony and Normandy, but to little purpose. The Black Prince rose from his bed, and, borne in a litter, set out for his last campaign. The mere knowledge that he was in the field roused consternation. He captured Limoges, which had been surprised by the French; but incurred the one blot on his fame by the massacre which, savage with illness and disappointment, he permitted of 3,000 unarmed inhabitants. In **1371**, leaving his eldest son dead behind him, he returned with his wife and second son Richard to England. Aquitaine slipped rapidly out of English hands.

The Black Prince at Limoges

A brilliant victory over the Flemish fleet in the French service was forgotten in the more signal disaster of **1372**. John of Ghent claimed the throne of Henry of Castille in right of his wife, one of the daughters of Pedro the Cruel. In June a large Spanish fleet intercepted the English under the Earl of Pembroke, and after two days' fighting, ruinously defeated them. In **1373** the French overran Britanny. A splendid army, under John of Ghent, wasted all the north of France in revenge. Charles the Wise refused a pitched battle, but waged an effective guerilla warfare; and as winter came on, John of Ghent, whose retreat was cut off, helplessly marched his force into the defiles of the Auvergne mountains. The sufferings endured were terrible. A few half-starving men reached Bordeaux in the spring, which, with Bayonne, Calais, and a few unimportant places, was all that remained to England. England, 'successful in battles,' had been 'thoroughly beaten in war.' The task of retaining a dominion in France was clearly hopeless. On June 27, **1375**,

Defeat at sea. Failure of John of Ghent

Truce of Bruges

a truce for a year was agreed to at Bruges. But Charles insisted upon the restoration of Calais and Guienne, and English pride refused a permanent peace on those terms.

Section 4.—*Effects of the War. Legislation. John Wiclif. John of Ghent and the Commons*

For forty years the constant demands of the king for money for the war had thrown more and more power into the hands of the Commons.

Anti-papal legislation

Equally important was the increasing strength of the anti-papal spirit. The exactions of the Pope roused growing resistance; especially since, as an exile at Avignon, he was under French protection, and money sent to him really went to help France. The influence of Rome had, as under all weak kings, revived during Edward II.'s reign. Edward III. himself had allowed the Papal Provisions, with the old abuses, to come into force again. By exacting from his nominees one, two, or three years' income, the Pope was draining England of money. The country swarmed with papal collectors and lawyers. But in **1351** was passed the *Statute of Provisors*, which enacted that all persons receiving papal provisions should be liable to imprisonment, and that all the preferments to which the Pope nominated should be forfeit for that turn to the king. This however was to a great extent evaded by a private compromise between the king—who did not, like Edward I., head the nation in the matter—and the Pope; and the latter retained the nomination to sees vacant by translation—a violation of the rights of the chapters which caused such dissatisfaction that a congress was held at Bruges in **1374** to settle the question; in **1375** Gregory XI. annulled such appointments by himself and his predecessor, and in **1377** gave a verbal promise to interfere in this way no further.

Statute of Provisors

In **1353**, and again in **1365** in a stronger form, was passed the first statute of *Præmunire* ('Præmunire, *i.e.* præmonere, facias'—'cause to be warned'). This was directed against the power of the papal courts, and inflicted forfeiture, outlawry, and imprisonment upon all who sued in foreign courts for matters cognisable in those of the king. In **1366** all three estates refused to pay John's tribute of 1,000 marks, declaring that he had no right thus to pledge his country. Even Peter's Pence (p. 42) were withheld for a time. In **1362** Edward was compelled to assent to a law that no tax should be laid on wool without consent of parliament, and to another by which the right of purveyance (p. 82) was given up.

Præmunire

The anti-papal spirit was stimulated, not only by papal aggression,

but by the greed, power, and ostentation of the prelates, who were now recruited largely from noble families, and still more by the fast rising antagonism to the Mendicant Friars (p. 92), who had supplanted the clergy and the monks as preachers, tutors, confessors, and office-holders in the universities, and who with prosperity had become ambitious, insolent, and hypocritical. To this feeling a voice was found in John Wiclif, Master of Baliol College, Oxford, and Doctor of Divinity. A learned, grave, simple, and earnest man, he was intensely national in spirit; he detested the friars, not only for their own faults, but as emissaries of Rome, and as representatives of a foreign system. He was equally severe upon the prelates. He was first employed to defend the course of parliament in the matter of the 1,000 marks; and in his pamphlet he laid down, nearly 200 years before it was recognised, the doctrine that king and parliament are supreme in all cases ecclesiastical as well as lay. His 'Poor Caitiff' was written 'to teach simple men and women the way to heaven.' He formed a brotherhood of 'Poor Priests,' dressed in russet gowns, with no settled abode—an anticipation of Wesley's lay preachers—who should counteract the friars. The Church of Rome, he declared, was no more head of Christendom than any other church. Wiclif is called the 'Day-Star of the Reformation,' because 'there is scarcely any doctrine now prominently set forth by the Church of England which was not insisted upon by him; scarcely an error against which the Church of England protests' against which he did not protest. He preached personal responsibility, the supreme authority of the Bible, salvation by faith; he denied the necessity of priestly mediation; he inveighed against pardons, indulgences, absolutions, pilgrimages, the worship of images or saints, in tract after tract, written in the tongue of the people. Finally he rejected the doctrine of 'Transubstantiation,' the cardinal doctrine of Rome—the miraculous change, that is, effected by consecration in the Lord's Supper—'the right to perform at which miracle raised the lowliest priest high above princes.'

John Wiclif

But Wiclif was a reforming politician before he was a reforming theologian, and in 1371 he earnestly supported the petition to the king to appoint none but laymen to any great office of State. The holding of secular offices by priests was as objectionable to him, as a degradation of the sacred office, as to Hildebrand, or to Innocent III. (pp. 41, 76). It was for a very different reason that John of Ghent, who, in the feebleness of Edward and the illness of the Black Prince, ruled the country in alliance with Alice Perrers, the old king's mistress, took the lead in this

In alliance with John of Ghent

question. He was the head of the reactionary aristocratic party, which looked with greedy eyes upon the riches of the prelates, and with hatred upon their power. In compliance with the petition, the celebrated William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, was superseded as chancellor by laymen.

The 'Good Parliament.' The Black Prince and John of Ghent

At the 'Good Parliament' of **1376** all the vexed questions came to the front. The Commons had found out that John of Ghent was the enemy of popular privileges. Encouraged by the Black Prince, who did perhaps his best service to the country by coming forward to neutralise his brother's influence, they retraced their late steps, and besought the king to employ churchmen again, and to do justice on those who misappropriated public money. Several of John's followers suffered in consequence, and Alice Perrers was forbidden, on pain of banishment and forfeiture, to appear as was her wont in the courts of law to browbeat the judges. But on June 8, **1376**, the Black Prince died. The alarm excited by the evident ambition of John of Ghent is shown by the petition of the Commons that Richard, the son of the prince, might be publicly recognised by the king before parliament as heir-apparent. Many other petitions were sent up, chiefly against the encroachments of the papacy. The dying king replied that what he wanted was not a further quarrel, but absolution.

Death of the Black Prince

The 'Good Parliament' was dissolved, and John of Ghent was master of the situation. He constrained the parliament of **1377** to revise all the measures of its predecessor, sent the late speaker to prison, and procured the deprivation of William of Wickham and his banishment from court. Wiclif was still his supporter, as the opponent of priestly influence. When the great reformer was summoned before the convocation at St. Paul's for heresy, John, with his principal supporters, went with him, insisted upon a seat being given him, and openly threatened the Bishop of London. But the next day the Londoners rose upon him so menacingly that he was compelled to flee to the protection of the widow of the Black Prince. That this outbreak was in no opposition to Wiclif is shown by the fact that when he was cited again before the primate for declaring that a church might justly be deprived by the king or lay lords of its property for neglect of duty, and that ecclesiastics should be subject to lay tribunals, it was the Londoners themselves who broke in and dissolved the sitting.

Edward III. died at Sheen, too late for his fame, on June 21, **1377**. He was sixty-six years old, and had reigned fifty years. The decadence of his later years, and the dreariness of his death, formed a sad

contrast to the gaiety and the movement of his career. Before life was extinct Alice Perrers had taken his jewels, even the ring from his finger, and had left the palace; the servants stripped the rooms; a single priest, who came unbidden, alone remained to give him the last consolations of religion.

Death of Edward III

As a ruler Edward has little claim to respect; like Richard I. he looked to England primarily as supplying the money needed for war. Constitutional liberty grew apace, but it was not of his making; it was won by the people taking advantage of his necessities. He was however a genuine Englishman in his confidence in his soldiers, and his bad qualities have been hidden under the barren glories of Crécy and Poitiers. Commerce received a marked stimulus in his reign. The prohibition of the export of wool caused the settlement of Flemish weavers on the eastern coast. Trade with the Baltic sprang up. The great herring fishery was founded in consequence of the failure of the fisheries on the northern coasts of Europe. Merchants flocked every September from all the nations of Europe to the great Sturbridge fair at Cambridge, which lasted for three weeks.

The English language was now practically formed. In **1357** it was ordered that the proceedings of the law courts should be in English. In the same year—it is said, by a priest named *Robert Langland*—was published 'The Vision of Piers Ploughman,' the first true English poem, the translation into poetry of the deep discontent of the lower classes.[9] Twenty years later *Geoffrey Chaucer* published 'The Canterbury Tales,' which illustrate the life of the time in every phase. Wiclif's Bible is the first great prose monument of the English tongue.

The English language

The Statute of Treasons of **1352** marks the necessity which the alternate executions of Edward II.'s reign had produced of defining the term. Treason was now interpreted to mean the compassing the death of the king, queen, or their eldest son; the violation of the queen, the king's eldest unmarried daughter, or his son's wife; levying war against the king in his realm; adhering to his enemies; counterfeiting his seal or money, or importing false coin; and the slaying of the lord chancellor, treasurer, or judges in the discharge of their duty. After the Peasants' Revolt, riot and rumour against the king were added. Further additions will be noticed in the reign of Richard II. (pp. 132-135), and especially in that of Henry VIII.

Statute of Treasons

[9] Gardiner, *Introduction*, p. 91.

CHAPTER III

RICHARD II

Section 1.—*Effects of the Black Death and of the War. The Peasants' Revolt*

Great dangers surrounded the beginning of the new reign. The State was impoverished, the king's relations ambitious and powerful (p. 121), the Commons aggressive. Wiclif's teaching was working among the people. The French were harrying the coasts; the Scotch were beginning to move once more. The council of regency which was appointed was a compromise between the party of John of Ghent and that of the Commons; but as soon as parliament met the latter showed their power. They granted money liberally, but on condition that its expenditure should be in the hands of two treasurers; and the first two were Walworth and Philpot, merchants of London. They insisted also that during the minority the great officers of state should be appointed by parliament. Alice Perrers was brought to trial, and condemned to forfeiture and banishment. But John of Ghent was not satisfied with any secondary part. He overrode these concessions to the parliament. He quarrelled with the Londoners by ousting Walworth and Philpot, and with the Church by his countenance of Wiclif and his open threats of spoliation. He showed the greatest incapacity in his conduct of the war, and led the country into vast expense. To meet this the Commons agreed, in April **1379**, upon a graduated poll-tax from both laity and clergy, from 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on John of Ghent to 4*d.* on the poorest man. A new demand in **1380** was agreed to upon condition that the council should be dismissed as corrupt or incapable, and a committee appointed to retrench the expense of the king's household. In November **1380** a sum of 160,000*l.* was still wanted. To meet it parliament fell back once more upon a poll-tax of a shilling upon everybody over fifteen; and the attempt to raise this was the signal for the Peasants' Revolt.

John of Ghent and the Commons

The causes of this great movement were far deeper than the mere incidence of a single tax. We have seen that a great lord cultivated his land by the labour of villeins, who gave such labour service in payment for their own holdings (p. 12). But in the course of time this labour rent had been very generally changed into a money rent, and the lord then cultivated his land by hired labour. The process of emancipation, too, had been continually going on, and even when this did not take place the practice of binding the villein to the soil had practically disappeared. Thus at

Causes of the Peasants' Revolt

the time of the Black Death there was a large peasant-farmer class, and a large class of free labourers.

The Black Death swept away at least one-third of each of these classes. This told upon the landowners in two ways. There were fewer farmers wanting farms, and therefore rents fell. On the other hand, there were fewer labourers to do the same amount of work as before, and therefore wages, and the price of everything which depended on wages, rose to double their former amount. Hired labour was now so difficult to get that the plan of commutation of labour-rent for money-rent, which had formerly been advantageous to the landlord, was now disadvantageous.[1] In **1349** therefore the landlords secured the passing of the *Statute of Labourers*, which obliged the labourers to take farm-work at the rate of wages which existed in **1347**, before the Black Death; heavy penalties were laid both upon any labourer who should demand, and any landlord who should grant, more. In the second place, an attempt was made to abolish the free labourer altogether by forbidding him to leave his parish for better employment; runaways were to be branded on the forehead. Further, since labour was now relatively more valuable than money, it was determined to bring back the peasant farmers into villenage, that is, to the old labour service. The lawyers were set to work to find flaws in the agreements of the villeins with their lords; and as all disputes were tried in the manor courts, where the lord himself practically decided the case, this went hard for the villeins. Thus, when the poll-tax was imposed, there were two classes ripe for revolt—the labourers, angry both at the lowering of wages and at being again tied to the soil; the villeins, who had paid money-rent, at being again compelled to pay labour-rent. Upon men in this state the teaching of the Lollards, who to Wiclif's advanced religious views had joined social and political views far more subversive than anything he had imagined, had enormous effect. John Ball and his fellows gave utterance to this spirit when they preached on the text, 'When Adam delved and Eve span, where was then the gentleman?' and poems like 'Piers the Ploughman,' and pamphlets which taught the equality of man before God, and inveighed against Rome, in whose monks the peasants saw their worst enemies—for the abbeys were great landlords—found eager readers. There was additional danger in the insolent bearing of the nobles who had returned from the war, unfitted for anything but war, and brutalised by conquest and slaughter, and in the swarms

Statute of Labourers

The labourer tied to the soil

Attempt to restore villenage with labour service

[1] Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, ch. viii. and ix. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry*, p. 355.

of discharged soldiers, who wandered through the country with ideas gathered from the Jacquerie of France and from the free democracies of Flanders. The causes of discontent were very various. In one place there was a cry against the clergy; in another against the monks; in another against the landlords. In London John of Ghent was the grievance; in other parts he was a favourite.

Rising in Essex

The rising began in Essex in May, when the people, led by Thomas the Baker of Fobbings, drove out the judge and slew the jury called to assess the tax. The flame spread like wildfire through the eastern and midland counties. Other leaders sprang up under such names as Jack the Miller, Jack Straw, Jack Trueman. How the revolt was organised, how communications could pass between the different sections with such rapidity, is a mystery.[2] In the east and midlands the cry was for the abolition of labour service. In Kent, where villenage was unknown, the people rose for the suppression of the poll-tax, the death of the nobles and upper clergy, and better government. But they sympathised with the men of Essex, adopted their cry, put to death all the lawyers they could catch, and destroyed the rolls of the manor courts.

Various cries

Rising in Kent

On June 5, in Dartford, John the Tiler (*i.e.* the bricklayer) struck down one of the collectors of the poll-tax who, in a coarse and brutal manner, attempted to prove that his daughter was over fifteen. On the 10th, under a certain Wat the Tiler, they took Canterbury, and released John Ball from the archbishop's prison; then, passing through Maidstone and Gravesend, crossed Blackheath to the number of 100,000 and occupied Southwark. Next day the London mob opened the bridge gates, and they poured into the city, broke open the wine cellars, set free the prisoners in Newgate, burned John of Ghent's palace at the Savoy, the Temple with its archives, and other buildings; and finally occupied Tower Hill. Meanwhile the Essex host reached Mile End; the Hertfordshire men lay at Highbury.

The Kentish insurgents in London

The next morning Richard left the Tower, rode to Mile End, and by a promise of full satisfaction of their chief demands induced the Essex men to disperse. In his absence Wat the Tiler and his men forced their way into the Tower, insulted the Princess of Wales, slew the archbishop—since, as chancellor, he was one of the hated lawyers—and the treasurer, who was chief commissioner for the poll-tax; foreign merchants also fell before their blind fury. Richard had taken refuge

[2] Possibly by Wiclif's poor priests; but there was a vast wandering population in England. See Jusserand's *Wayfaring Life in England in the Middle Ages.*

at Whitefriars. Thence, next day, he rode to parley with the rebels at Smithfield. So violent was Wat's behaviour that Walworth, then lord mayor, struck him dead with his dagger. The young king showed remarkable presence of mind. Riding up to the mob, who were bending their bows for vengeance, 'What, my friends!' he exclaimed, 'would you shoot your king? Do not grieve for the death of that traitor. Follow me; I will be your leader, and you shall have whatever you please to ask.' Upon his promises the men of Kent and those of Hertfordshire dispersed, and the danger was over.

Richard's conduct and promises

All coherence being at an end, the nobles were emboldened for vengeance. Like the gentlemen of France with the Jacquerie, they hung and slew throughout Kent, Essex, and the south. 'Society' had been scared, and now took its revenge. By the autumn it was reckoned that 8,000 insurgents had died in fight or on the gallows.

It seemed as if the peasants' revolt had failed. All tenants were ordered to perform labour service. The charters by which the insurgents had bought safety were repudiated by the king. Then the law courts were set to work, and 7,000 more died by their sentence.[3] Parliament met and declared that the king's concessions were invalid without its consent, since they altered the law. And yet the cause of the peasants was really won. The landlords had no mind for another revolt. Silently and gradually, and in spite of several reactionary attempts, all was granted; money-rent was accepted for labour; the free labourer was left free. The class of small holders grew continually during the next century, and wages rose.

Vengeance of the landowners

Practical gain

But for the moment the failure of this social reform discredited religious reform also. A strong conservative reaction, as we should say, set in. The support given to Wiclif had come from John of Ghent and the baronage, so long as both were attacking the church only. But when Wiclif and his followers taught the nobles too that they had duties, and when the revolt showed the effect of the teaching, the common danger brought church and baronage together. John of Ghent abandoned the reformer. His followers were banished from Oxford, and all Lollard books ordered to be burnt. Wiclif himself was allowed to retire to his living of Lutterworth, where, after opening the gateway of knowledge by his translation of the Bible, or, as his foes expressed it, causing the Gospel to be 'cast abroad and trodden under foot of swine,'

Conservative reaction

Wiclif translates the Bible

[3] Froude, 'Annals of an English Abbey,' in *Short Studies*, 3rd Series.

he died in **1384**. His followers, the Lollards—'Idle Babblers'—increased rapidly.

But the outbreak had another effect. The frightened Commons turned upon the government as well as upon the rebels. They imposed no further taxes, and in **1382**, so low had the credit of the crown sunk, the merchants refused to lend money except on the pledge of Lords and Commons—the first instance of parliamentary guarantee.

Parliamentary guarantee for loans to the crown

Section 2.—*Confusion*

In **1385** Richard created his uncles Edmund and Thomas dukes of York and Gloucester. Roger earl of March, grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, was named heir to the throne (p. 136). With John of Ghent the king was on bad terms. He succeeded in getting rid of him until **1389** by sending him with a large expedition to prosecute his old claim upon the crown of Castille. But John again proved an incompetent general, and this attempt failed as that of the Black Prince had failed. From the pressure of his other uncles he tried to escape, like Edward II., through a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he made governor and duke of Ireland; and through his able chancellor, Michael de la Pole, a man of merchant family, created earl of Suffolk.

Failure of John of Ghent in Spain

During the absence of John of Ghent, Thomas of Gloucester and Henry of Derby, John's son, reformed the baronial party. The failure of all foreign effort, the extravagance at court, the weight of taxation, were their cries. Backed by both clergy and Commons, they presented a long list of grievances in **1386**, and demanded the dismissal both of Suffolk and the treasurer. When Richard petulantly replied that he would not dismiss a scullion at their request, they quoted an old statute that 'if the king, from any malignant design, or contempt, or wanton wilfulness, should alienate himself from his people, or should not be willing to be governed by the laws of the realm with the advice of the peers, it should be lawful for the peers, with the assent of the people, to depose him'; and they sent for the Act of Deposition of Edward II. Richard was forced to give way. The Earl of Suffolk was impeached,[4] sentenced, and imprisoned. A commission of regency was appointed, with Gloucester at its head. But Richard began a counter-plot. In **1387** he summoned a council at Nottingham, and induced the judges to declare that the commission was unlawful, and its promoters guilty of 'treason' (p. 126); that parliament could proceed only at the

Baronial party reformed

Commission of regency

[4] *I.e.*, charged by the Commons before the Lords, who gave judgment.

king's command, and had no power to remove ministers; that the sentence on De la Pole was illegal. This was countersigned by the Archbishops of York and Dublin, the Duke of Ireland, De la Pole himself, and three bishops. Gloucester, with the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, at once led a force to London. Richard submitted; his friends fled. The Duke of Ireland escaped to the Welsh border, raised an army, but was defeated by Henry of Derby at Radcot Bridge on the Thames, and escaped to France. In February **1388** the 'appellants,' as they were called—Gloucester, Derby, Nottingham, Warwick, and Arundel—throwing down their gauntlets, accused five of the king's advisers of treason, and they were impeached before the peers. When the judges declared this impeachment contrary to law, the peers asserted that in such high concerns parliament was above law; and the king assented. It is the case of the Provisions of Oxford and the Ordinances over again, taking a parliamentary form; the tyranny of an aristocratic parliament instead of that of the baronage. The five were found guilty; the laymen were hanged, the prelates deprived of revenues. The judges who had given the opinion at Nottingham were exiled to Ireland. Other executions and banishments followed in this 'Merciless,' or 'Wonderful,' parliament; the triumph of Gloucester and the baronial party seemed complete. Among its acts was one which made it 'treason' to procure the repeal of any of its decrees. For a year there was peace at home; on the sea the skill and valour of Arundel redeemed the fame of England in a great victory over a combined fleet of French, Flemish, and Spanish. To the north the year was long famous for the bloody and dubious fight of Otterbourn (August 9), in which Henry Percy (Hotspur) and Lord James Douglas fought through a long moonlight night. Douglas was killed, and Hotspur carried off prisoner to Scotland.

The appellants

'Merciless,' or 'Wonderful' Parliament

Battle of Otterbourn

A dramatic change took place when Richard suddenly entered the council, May 3, **1389**, and demanded to be told his age. 'Your highness is in your 22nd year,' was the reply. 'Then,' said Richard, 'I am capable of managing my kingdom myself.' His uncles were dismissed and the council remodelled. Gloucester, taken by surprise, yielded; the people applauded this act of vigour; and the counter-stroke was carried out without a hand being raised against it. The attempt to rob the crown of authority had failed for the fourth time (p. 110).

Richard assumes the government

Still more surprising was Richard's moderation. He neither recalled the exiles nor persecuted his uncles or the appellants. The Earl of Arundel was placed in command of all the forces, and his brother

Thomas was made primate; John of Ghent was created duke of Aquitaine; and Edward, the son of Edmund of York, earl of Rutland. For six years Richard governed as a constitutional king. The country was in profound peace; taxation was light; parliaments were held with which no dispute arose, and to which the ministers owned their responsibility; many important laws were passed. In **1390** a more stringent Statute of Provisors was passed (p. 123); in **1391** the Statute of Mortmain or 'De Religiosis' (p. 94) was extended to all corporations, and guarded against evasions; in **1393** a fresh Statute of Præmunire (p. 123) imposed forfeiture of goods for obtaining bulls or other instruments from Rome. There was, too, an ordinance against 'maintenance' and 'livery' (p. 139), two formidable elements of confusion. The permanence of the social scare of **1381** is seen in two petitions of the Commons, which Richard rejected, that villeins might not acquire land or send their children to school, lest they should escape from their lords by becoming clerics (p. 67).

Constitutional government

In **1394** Richard's queen died childless. His whole mood seems to have changed at once. He quarrelled with Arundel, and went so far as to strike him in the face. In **1396** he was married again to Isabella, the daughter of the French king, a mere child. The court was crowded with French nobles, priests, and ladies; the king lived at reckless expense. John of Ghent, who was now reconciled to him, was also married again to his former mistress, Catherine Swynford, and the children she had already borne him were made legitimate under the name of Beaufort (p. 149), the eldest son being created earl of Somerset. Gloucester, jealous of this new family, threw himself again into opposition. But his old party was broken up, for Henry of Derby had joined his father in obedience to the crown. Richard now took his long-delayed vengeance. A parliament, carefully packed by the sheriffs, met at Shrewsbury in September **1397** in a mood to do whatever the king wished. The commission of regency of **1386** was repealed; Arundel, the primate, was impeached and banished. Then a fresh body of appellants demanded justice on Warwick, the Earl of Arundel, and Gloucester. A scene of violent recrimination took place. The Earl of Arundel was condemned and executed; Warwick was banished; Gloucester was secretly murdered at Calais, whither he had been sent. 'Treason' was made to include three fresh crimes: compassing the king's deposition, surrendering homage, or levying war against him. Then the king's friends were promoted in the peerage;

Sudden change

The Beauforts

Richard's vengeance

Parliament of Shrewsbury surrenders its power

the acts of the 'Merciless' parliament were reversed, and it was declared 'treason' to call this reversal in question; and parliament gave up both substance and form of power by granting to Richard the customs for life, and delegating its whole authority to eighteen members, special friends of the king.

Section 3.—*Despotism and fall of Richard*

The dramatic completeness of this triumph is matched only by the dramatic suddenness of its reversal. Henry of Derby, now duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, formerly earl of Nottingham, but now duke of Norfolk, mutually accused one another of treason. A court of chivalry decided that the quarrel should be settled by private combat. But Richard, glad of the opportunity of getting rid of two such powerful men, stopped the fight, and banished both—Norfolk for life, Hereford for ten years. This was his ruin. Norfolk indeed died in 1399, broken-hearted; but Henry lived, to watch and to plot.

Banishment of Norfolk and Henry of Lancaster

Richard now gave free rein to his despotic instincts. He exacted large sums from his uncle Gloucester's friends, raised money in many irregular ways, and quarrelled with the church and the Pope. When John of Ghent died in 1399, Richard shamelessly took his lands into his own keeping, in violation of a promise to Henry. He then, amid gathering storms of discontent, especially in London, where Henry was a favourite, sailed to Ireland, where Roger, earl of March, the recognised heir, had just been killed.

Folly of Richard

This was Henry's opportunity. He had long been plotting with the nobles in England. With the exiled primate Arundel he planned a descent upon England, sailed in July, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, with the son of the executed Earl of Arundel and a few other followers. Northumberland and Hotspur, Westmoreland and Lord Willoughby joined him at once, with 30,000 men. He swore to them that he came, not for a crown, but to regain his inheritance. Edmund, duke of York, submitted to him. He then marched on Bristol, where he took and beheaded Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, the king's most hated agent. Thence he went to Chester, to watch for Richard's return from Ireland.

Return of Henry

Adverse winds delayed Richard. When he landed he found himself without followers, and he fled, disguised as a Franciscan friar, to Conway. Enticed thence by Northumberland, he became Henry's prisoner. He was taken to Chester, and forced to issue writs for a parliament. From Chester he was led to the Tower, amid the jeers of the people. 'Long live the conqueror!'

Richard deserted and captured

was the cry that greeted Henry. 'Now we have our revenge on the bastard!'[5] was that which met the ears of Richard.

Hitherto Henry had put forward no claim to the throne, although the death of Roger earl of March left the field much more open. But London was for him, and Northumberland and Westmoreland, to whom he had pledged himself, had gone home. On September 29 Richard abdicated, 'as insufficient and useless, and for his notorious deserts not unworthy to be deposed.' Were it in his power, he said, to choose his successor, he would choose Henry, upon whose finger he himself placed the signet-ring.

Richard abdicates and is deposed

Next day parliament met. When Richard's deposition had been pronounced, Henry stood forward, and, after signing himself with the cross on breast and forehead, claimed the crown as descended in the right line of descent from Henry III. (p. 84), both by father and mother, and assent by God to recover his right, when the realm was nearly undone by bad government. He could not claim as rightful heir, for Roger Mortimer had left a son, Edmund (p. 136). He had intended, therefore, to claim only by conquest; but this caused alarm, and he therefore artfully combined the two claims. Parliament assenting, Arundel led him to the throne, and with his brother archbishop, Scrope of York, seated him upon it as Henry IV.

Henry is made king

Thus the descendant of Thomas of Lancaster, who had been murdered at Pontefract, entered upon the inheritance of Edward II. who had murdered him. The important thing was that the throne had been filled by a *parliamentary grant*. The old English custom of election had come back in another form.[6]

Summary of the Fourteenth Century

In the reign of Edward II. we seem suddenly to sink to a lower level, and to live among meaner men, exchanging Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort for Piers Gaveston and Thomas of Lancaster; the murder of Gaveston causes the murder of Lancaster, and starts an internecine warfare of two centuries. Then follows the long rule of Edward III., when the war dominates everything, giving opportunity for constitutional progress which is never lost; creating a society fostered upon war and unfitted for quiet life at home; causing infinite misery, but leaving England with a stronger sense of national unity. The Black Death alters all the relations between the land-owning and

[5] This referred to a rumour that he was not the true son of the Black Prince.

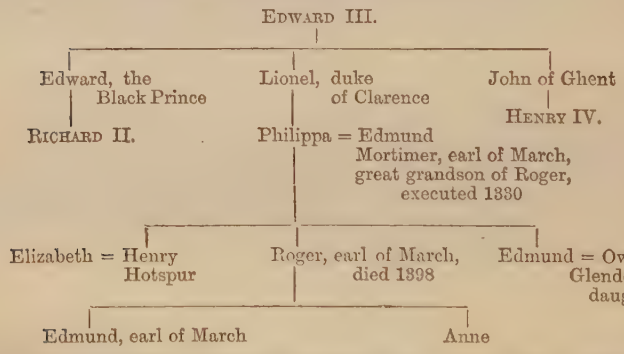
[6] The similarity between this revolution and that of 1688 should be noticed. A king, apparently very strong, suddenly finds himself friendless and is deposed. A faction of nobles and churchmen have prepared the revolution, and the country has acquiesced. An infant heir of higher claims is superseded.

the labouring classes; and the teaching of John Wiclif sinks deep into the hearts of the people. The reign of Richard II., perhaps the most dramatic in our history, brings long-standing causes, and especially the failure to understand the lessons of the Black Death, suddenly to a head in the Peasants' Revolt. We see the ambition of the king's uncles; the alternate vigour and weakness of Richard, and the alternate triumphs and defeats of the baronage; until, for the sake of order, all classes accept a king whose right is, according to old notions, absurd, and with whose accession the position of the kingship with regard to parliament is utterly changed. This century witnesses the practical assertion of parliamentary supremacy, as the thirteenth century had witnessed its theoretical assertion. The House of Commons becomes the foremost of the three estates.[7]

Fourteenth Century dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Scotch independence acknowledged	1328	Peace of Brétigny	1360
The Hundred Years' War begun	1338	Peasants' Revolt	1381
Black Death	1348	Deposition of Richard	1399

GENEALOGICAL TABLE VII


Edward III.
Edward, the Black Prince
Lionel, duke of Clarence
John of Ghent
Henry IV.
Richard II.
Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, great grandson of Roger, executed 1330
Elizabeth = Henry Hotspur
Roger, earl of March, died 1398
Edmund = Owen Glendower' daughter
Edmund, earl of March
Anne

[The line of the Black Prince being extinct, that of Lionel, the next brother, contained the legitimate heirs. Roger Mortimer, who had been named successor to Richard II., was killed in Ireland, 1398. Thus his son Edmund was rightful heir.]

[7] Stubbs, vol. ii. ch. xvi., but especially p. 307.

BOOK VI

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK. TESTING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

HENRY IV. OF LANCASTER. RESTORATION OF ORDER 1399–1413

THE weakness of Henry's title imposed moderation. The acts of the 'Merciless' parliament were re-confirmed, and many of the honours bestowed by Richard were taken away. But there was no general proscription of opponents. The obvious lessons of the past were acknowledged. The powers of parliament were not again to be delegated to a committee; treasons were henceforth to be decided in the law courts—not by appeals; the treason statute of 1351 was restored without the additions of the past reign.

Moderation of the new government

Henry's success had been largely owing to the primate Arundel and the church. To the church therefore he had been forced to promise many things, especially the suppression of heresy. This pledge he redeemed, in 1401, by the first persecuting statute, *De Heretico Comburendo*. The reaction against Lollardry caused by the Peasants' Revolt was strong in parliament. The bishops gained the right to fine or to imprison in their own prisons anyone convicted of heresy or of possessing heretical books. Any heretic refusing to abjure, or relapsing, was to be burnt in a public place. The first English martyr, William Sawtré, a clergyman of King's Lynn, was burnt at Smithfield.[1]

Religious persecution. William Sawtre, the first English martyr

The most important act of Henry's first parliament was the *Act of Livery*, which strengthened Richard's ordinance of 1393. The evil

[1] The charges against him show what were the views of intelligent Lollards. Among them were that he would not adore the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on it; that he would rather bow to a temporal king and worship a man, confessing and repentant, than the cross of Christ; that after the words of consecration in the Eucharist the bread remains bread, but bread plus the body of Christ, holy, true, and the bread of life. The whole list is in Wylie. — *History of England under Henry IV.* p. 183.

against which it was aimed had become very serious. The nobles gathered troops of men from the swarms of disbanded soldiers, to whom they gave their 'livery,' or distinguishing badge, whom they protected or maintained in their outrages, and who were ready to serve them in their private wars, or accomplish any wrong at their will. It was the worst feature of feudalism restored. The act now passed forbade any subject, of whatever rank, to give or wear any 'livery.' The king alone might give such a badge, to be worn only in his presence, or abroad, or in time of border war.

Act of Livery

The quiet of Henry's reign was soon broken. Richard's 'nurslings' began to move; many of them openly wore his badge, the white hart. A conspiracy to seize Henry was betrayed by the Earl of Rutland. The conspirators fled; but the country people rose upon them, captured the leaders, and executed them without trial—an act which called forth an ordinance forbidding such a summary process in future. This rising sealed the fate of Richard.[2] The Commons had already clamoured to have him brought to trial, and Henry had refused; but upon the petition of fifty-eight peers he had removed him from London to Pontefract. How he died, or whether Henry actually ordered his death, is not known. But a month after the rising his corpse was brought to London, with the face alone uncovered, and buried at Langley.

First conspiracy. Death of Richard II

The future was full of danger. The French king refused to give Henry the royal title, and was the more hostile because Henry would not send back Richard's child-wife, Isabella, whom he wished to marry to his own son. The Scotch were harrying the borders, and his counter-raid in **1400**, conducted with far more humanity than hitherto, had to be abandoned from want of provisions. He was then called to repel the ravages of Owen Glendower of Wales. But here too he failed against the obstacles of ground, weather, and Owen's guerilla warfare; and he could only leave Henry Percy (Hotspur) to guard the Welsh marches, while his father Northumberland faced the Scotch inroads in the north.

Failures in Scotland and Wales

Henry's constant difficulty was want of money: and this is the key to the action of the Commons. In **1401** was heard for the first time the demand that *redress of grievances should precede supply*. In **1404** the Commons insisted upon retrenchment in the household, and the dismissal of the foreigners who had come with the king's second wife Joan, the widowed duchess of Britanny. The money raised by a new land-tax was entrusted to four

Want of money

[2] As afterwards unsuccessful revolts brought about the deaths of Lady Jane Gray and Mary Queen of Scots.

'treasurers of war' chosen from the citizens of London. In the 'Unlearned' parliament of **1404**—so called because all lawyers, either as being chiefly ecclesiastics or because they used their position to favour their own clients, were excluded—a strong desire was evinced to rob the church by taking the whole land of the clergy for a year, and to resume all grants and pensions later than those made to Edward III.'s sons. In **1406** and **1407** the public audit of government accounts was again demanded; the sheriff was forbidden to have any part in the election of knights of the shire, in reference, no doubt, to the packing of the parliament of Shrewsbury (p. 133); and the fact that the *Commons were the source of all money grants* was emphatically recognised in the adoption of the following course. The two houses were to deliberate separately on the needs of the kingdom. The Commons were to make, and the Lords to assent to, all grants; and the report was to be made by the speaker of the Commons.

The 'Unlearned' parliament

The Commons the source of all money grants

The years **1401** and **1402** were times of great anxiety. Thrice Henry invaded Wales, and each time was driven back by the weather and poverty. In **1402** Owen Glendower inflicted serious defeats upon the English, capturing Hotspur's brother-in-law Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to Edmund, the heir to the crown (p. 136). Hotspur was grumbling at having to carry on the war at his own cost, and shortly resigned his post. A French invasion was impending. The king's popularity waned; the rumour spread that Richard was alive; risings took place. There was treachery in the household, and attempts were made upon his life. His nerves began to give way; he became suspicious and cruel. From the north, however, there came a gleam of success. The Percys gained a great victory over the Scots at Hambledon Hill, near Wooler, September 4, **1402**, through the prowess of the archers; Douglas and the nephew of the Scotch king being taken prisoners.

Failure and treachery

Battle of Hambledon Hill

The discontent of the Percys led to a great crisis. In the north they were almost irresponsible. Northumberland was, in fact, a rival king, and was a loyal Englishman, 'not from love to England, but from hatred to the Scot.' In spite of the fact that Henry won the crown in violation of the pledge upon which he had supported him, he had hitherto been faithful. But many quarrels had lately arisen, and Hotspur's refusal to give up Douglas had caused high words. When Henry, glad to keep so formidable a friend of the young Earl of March out of the way, refused to ransom Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had married Glendower's sister, Hotspur joined Glendower, and drew both his father and his uncle the Earl of Worcester into the plot. They

Revolt of the Percys

proclaimed the Earl of March, and went south with 14,000 men to join the Welsh. But Henry and the Prince of Wales intercepted their march at Shrewsbury, when a battle, lasting all day, and long remembered for its ferocity, was fought on July 21, **1403**. Hotspur was killed; Douglas, Worcester, and Northumberland were taken; 8,000 men were left on the field. Worcester was beheaded; Northumberland was pardoned, to plot again. In **1405**, with Mowbray, son of Henry's old rival the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Bardolph, Sir William Clifford, and Scrope, archbishop of York, brother of the executed Earl of Wiltshire (p. 138), he collected a large force. Henry went hastily northwards. Upon assurances in his name the insurgents dispersed, leaving Mowbray and Scrope in his hands. They were executed without trial, in spite of Arundel's pleading, and in violation of his own ordinance of **1399** (p. 138). The execution of Scrope was a great blunder. Such an act had not been done since the murder of Becket. It alienated the clergy, and Henry, though his throne was safe, was henceforth a weary and broken man. He was in desperate straits for money, and parliament was ever more aggressive. Disputes raged in his own family between his sons and his half-brothers the Beauforts.

Battle of Shrewsbury

Second revolt. Execution of the Archbishop of York

In **1408** there was a third and final revolt of Northumberland, who was defeated at Bramham Moor near Tadcaster, and killed. Indecisive war was carried on in France and Wales. With Scotland however Henry had obtained peace by the capture at sea, **1405**, of James, the heir of Robert of Scotland. Robert's brother, the duke of Albany, who had usurped the government, and was anxious that the young prince should be detained, was careful not to offend Henry. At home the anti-clerical party were so strong in the Commons that Arundel resigned the chancellorship in **1408**, and in **1410** it was proposed to confiscate the lands of the bishops and religious corporations, on the ground that the sum would support 15 earls, 1,500 knights, 6,000 squires, and 100 almshouses. As Henry grew weaker the government was left chiefly in the hands of the Prince of Wales. From June 12, **1411**, the king never left Westminster Palace. He died of an epileptic fit, March 20, **1413**, and was buried at Canterbury.

Third revolt, and death of Northumberland

Death and character of Henry IV

Henry was an honest and diligent man, of capacity scarcely equal to his task. Always an invalid, the strain of rule broke him down. With a purely parliamentary title, he had to bow to a parliament stronger than it had yet been or was to be for two centuries. He owed his throne in a great measure to Arundel, and he had therefore to become the first persecuting king of England He was never popular, and

his reign was a struggle to hold his own His failures were doubtless owing largely to the poverty in which he was kept. He ruled in a thoroughly constitutional manner, and his reward was that treason never broke out within the walls of parliament. He restored order, established his dynasty by honest means, and left England stronger than he found it.

In the first year of his reign Henry established the Order of the Bath, to strengthen his position by uniting his principal adherents, and to supersede that of the Garter, of which many of his opponents were members. The knights of this new order were called 'Knights Companions of the Bath' from the custom of washing the body on the eve of great religious ceremonies. There was no fixed number, and the order had no statutes. Its emblem consisted of three crowns with the motto, 'Tria juncta in uno.'

The Order of the Bath

CHAPTER II

HENRY V. (OF MONMOUTH). FOREIGN CONQUEST
1413–1422

Section 1.—*The Agincourt Campaign*

From the age of fourteen Henry V. had been actively employed on the Welsh marches; at sixteen he was in full command there, and his gallant conduct had done much to win the battle of Shrewsbury. He remained on this duty until **1408**. He was then made constable of Dover, warden of the Cinque Ports, and governor of Calais, all important posts. He was also appointed guardian to the young Earl of March. In **1406** the succession had been settled upon him and his heirs, and in **1411** he was thanked by parliament for his services.[1] This confidence was now shown by a grant of the revenue from wool for four years; while both his security and generosity appear in his granting the Earl of March full liberty, reinstating Hotspur's son, and giving Richard's body a magnificent burial in Westminster Abbey.

Early life of Henry V

Henry was convinced that he had two immediate duties—to win

[1] This disposes of the stories of a dissipated and vagabond youth, of which Shakespeare has drawn so vivid a picture. His chief friend was Sir John Oldcastle, a man of high repute, and a Lollard. The story of his striking the Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne appears to be drawn from a similar and probable account of Edward II., and it is certain that, so far from retaining office, Gascoigne resigned at the beginning of the new reign.

the crown of France and to expel heresy. The Lollards were showing themselves active. They had done much to place his father on the throne, and had been betrayed by him into Arundel's hands. One of their declarations, affixed to the doors of the London churches, asserted that 100,000 men were ready to rise in their cause. Their leader was the Sir John Oldcastle just mentioned. At Henry's accession he was dismissed from court, and, rejecting the king's private persuasions, was brought at last before Arundel. There he boldly upheld the doctrines of Wiclif, and ended by declaring the Pope to be the head, the prelates the members, and the mendicant friars the hinder parts, of Antichrist. He was sentenced as a heretic, but escaped from the Tower and reached Wales in safety. On January 4 a large body of Lollards met in St. Giles's Fields. It was given out that they purposed seizing Henry at Eltham during his new year's feast. Possibly the meeting was got up and the rumour spread by the church party to discredit the Lollards by showing that religious and political 'radicalism' were connected. Henry came upon them with an armed force; forty prisoners were hanged or burnt, and a price placed on Oldcastle's head. Fresh persecuting laws were passed; heresy was to be met by confiscation of the offender's goods; Lollard books were to be destroyed, and translations from the Latin were forbidden. In **1417** Oldcastle was at length captured. He was then taken to London, and executed by being hung in chains and a fire lighted beneath him. Henry himself had probably no part in this, as he was absent from the country at the time.

Persecution of the Lollards

Henry now turned to his second duty. France was torn with dissensions. Charles VI. was of deranged intellect, and, with the Dauphin, was under the influence of the Duke of Burgundy. Opposed to them were the king's nephew the Duke of Orleans, whose father Burgundy had murdered, and Charles's faithless wife, Isabel of Bavaria. This party were called Armagnacs, because Orleans had married a daughter of the Count of Armagnac. Henry strove to secure the Duke of Burgundy, who was lord of Flanders. He made the most extensive preparations, got money from every quarter, by gift, loan, and pawning the crown jewels, and hired ships from Holland and Zealand. Then he sent a splendid embassy to Charles, successively claiming, first the crown and territory of France, then all which had belonged to Henry II., and finally the territory ceded by the peace of Brétigny (p. 121), with the king's youngest daughter Catherine in marriage, and the unpaid ransom of King John. To the French envoys who came to make terms he replied that he would 'in no wise retire his army nor break

State of France. Burgundians and Armagnacs

Henry's demands

his journey, but would with all diligence enter France, and destroy the people, waste the country, and subvert the towns with blood, sword, and fire, and never cease till he had recovered his ancient right and lawful patrimony.' Upon the head of the usurper Charles would rest the guilt of all the misery which might follow. In the summer of **1415** a splendid army was collected at Southampton, to the equipment of which Henry gave his personal care in every detail, even to the newly organised medical service. As in Edward III.'s time, all classes welcomed the chance of enriching themselves. While Henry regarded the enterprise as a kind of religious crusade, the nobles looked upon it as a commercial undertaking. Every noble and every soldier received handsome pay—a fact which practically changed a feudal levy into a modern army. It was agreed that each leader should have for his own any prisoner, with certain exceptions, whom he or his men might take. Of the booty two-thirds were to go to his followers; the other third was to be divided between him and the king.[2]

Conspiracy against Henry V

On the eve of starting Henry was stopped by the discovery of a conspiracy among his own relatives and friends. Richard earl of Cambridge, the son of Edmund duke of York, younger son of Edward III. (p. 152), with Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, and Lord Scrope of Masham, his chamberlain and friend, had formed a plot in favour of the Earl of March, whose sister Anne Richard had married. The conspirators were brought to trial, and Richard, Grey, and Scrope executed.

Capture of Harfleur

On August 11 Henry set sail with 30,000 men, of whom 23,000 were archers. Upon landing he reverently knelt and prayed for success. The strictest discipline was maintained; violence to non-combatants was punished with death. The siege of Harfleur, then the chief seaport of France, was at once undertaken, and was pushed on night and day under Henry's personal supervision. On September 22 it surrendered. In a splendid tent, his crown borne beside him on a lance, the king received the keys. Then, barefooted, he walked through the streets to offer his thanks to heaven.

March from Harfleur

But his situation was one of extreme danger. Harfleur had been won at the cost of half his army from dysentery. A mighty force was being mustered on the Seine. His councillors advised a return to England. He replied that, with God's help, he would march to Calais, 150 miles distant. The artillery[3] was left

[2] One effect of these arrangements with the nobles was that the Statute of Liveries was entirely ignored; the results of this neglect were seen in the next reign.

[3] Cannon had been used at sea even before Crécy. They were now used in sieges. Hand-guns and arquebuses did not attain any efficiency until the end of the century.

behind; Harfleur was garrisoned, and on October 8, with but eight days' provisions, the desperate venture was begun.

Henry reached Abbeville on the 13th. But the bridges were broken down and Blanchetaque (p. 116) guarded. He was forced to march nearly one hundred miles up the river to Bethencourt before he found a ford, October 19. Then he made for the sea-coast. On the 24th his vanguard came upon the enemy blocking the Calais road in overwhelming force. That night, by Henry's orders, every man had double rations and straw to lie upon. Without fires, and hearing no sound but the drenching rain on the withered leaves, the little army lay down to rest. They were less than 12,000 hungry, shoeless, and wayworn men. In eighteen days they had marched 320 miles through an enemy's country in bad weather—one of the great forced marches of history.[4] But their armour was in perfect order, and 10,000 of them were the unconquered archers, men of noted strength, drawn from that class which, ever since Henry II.'s Assize of Arms, had learned to fight, to trust themselves and one another.

Battle of Agincourt

At daybreak on the 25th, the feast of St. Crispin and St. Crispian, the king with his whole army heard mass. Then, in a coat embroidered with the arms of England and France, and wearing his golden crown, he rode among his men with joyful words, and took his post in the centre of the foremost line. His ground was well chosen. The front, barely 1200 yards wide, was covered by woods on either flank. The archers were two deep in front and in the woods. Behind, and all on foot, was the small body of men-at-arms, with billmen and pikemen on the wings. The few horses and the baggage were in the rear under a small guard.

The French host of 50,000 men lay 300 yards away. Among them there was neither discipline nor generalship. As at Poitiers, the cavalry were dismounted and drawn up in two deep 'battles,' with a small force of mounted men on either wing. Between these, and so placed as to be useless, were 4,000 cross-bowmen. In the third and rearward line were 20,000 foot-soldiers. The fields between the two armies were thick in clay, sodden with several weeks of incessant rain.

At 11 A.M. the French moved forward, and Henry bade his men advance 'in the name of God.' First they all knelt and took a morsel of earth in their mouths, in token of receiving the Sacrament before death. Then the grey-haired marshal, Sir Thomas of Erpingham, threw his staff into the air. The archers rushed forward with a shout, and planted before them the sharpened stakes which they had carried with them throughout the march from Harfleur,

[4] Compare the march of Harold before Stamford Bridge.

to break the rush of the French. But the heavy-armed French could make no way through the clay. The archers pulled up the stakes, again rushed forward and planted them. At this close range began the deadly flight of arrows, both in front and from the woods on the flanks. A few of the French horse reached the stakes, to be shot down there; the knights on foot were slaughtered in heaps where they stood. The great mass staggered back upon the cross-bowmen and the second 'battle.' A terrible crush took place. As if moved by one impulse, the archers now flung their bows over their shoulders, and, taking their short axes, threw themselves upon the crowded mass, and, side by side with Henry and his knights, hewed their way by sheer superiority of physical strength through the press, 'beating upon the armour as though they were hammering upon anvils.' Henry and a few followers cut their way to where Alençon led the second line. The Duke of York (p. 153) was killed in the press; Alençon struck down Humphrey of Gloucester, Henry's younger brother; Henry himself was beaten to his knees by a blow from the Frenchman's sword which nearly crushed the helmet. But then Alençon fell, and the second line was routed. The third line fled without a blow. More than 10,000 French, of whom 8,000 were nobles, lay dead. Among them were two princes of the blood and the Constable and Admiral of France. The Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner. Of the English there had fallen 1,000 archers and 15 knights. One terrible event sullied the victory. In the midst of the fight a cry arose that the English were attacked in the rear, though it was only an attempt of some peasants to plunder the baggage. Henry, knowing how desperate was his chance, ordered the prisoners to be killed, that his men might have their hands free. The nobles flatly refused to kill any of gentle blood, because they looked for their ransoms (p. 144); and Henry was obliged to send 300 archers to do the bloody work. The common soldiers who were captured were killed at once, as being of no marketable value. The next day, after a solemn thanksgiving, when at the words, 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,' the army knelt again upon the plain, the march to Calais was resumed. On November 16 Henry landed at Dover, the crowd rushing into the sea to greet their hero king. He first went to pray at Canterbury; then, amid a scene of enthusiasm which excelled that which welcomed the Black Prince after Poitiers, he entered London. He himself was plainly dressed. Modestly he forbade his dinted armour or the cloven helmet, of which all England was talking, to be exhibited. His first act was to pay his devotion at St. Paul's and at Westminster.

Section 2.—*The Conquest of France. Treaty of Troyes. Death of Henry V*

But Henry's purpose was to conquer France. At present, besides part of Gascony, only Calais and Harfleur were in his hands. The French were attacking the coasts, and Harfleur was closely blockaded by land and sea. In August **1416** a fleet was sent to relieve the fainting garrison. On the 15th took place a desperate fight with the blockading fleet, which was won by the same tactics as those which won the victory of 'L'Espagnols sur mer' (p. 119), and Harfleur was saved. Henry now made alliances with Castille, Aragon, the German princes, the Hanse towns, and even the Genoese; and especially a treaty of neutrality with the Duke of Burgundy, which preserved the Flemish trade. Internally France was more distracted than ever. The Dauphin was dead, and the young Dauphin, Charles, was completely in the hands of the Armagnacs, who represented the party of national resistance to England, while the adulteress Isabella joined the Duke of Burgundy. In August **1417** Henry sailed with 16,000 men, equipped with the same care as before Before the year was out the greater part of Normandy was in his hands. In the spring heavy reinforcements reached him, and in July **1418**, having captured Pont-de-l'Arche above Rouen, he sat down before that great city. But the defence was as gallant as the attack was determined, and the siege went on through the winter. The English army, even the wild Welsh and Irish, were kept in the strictest discipline. The sorties were beaten back. Famine reigned in the city, and thousands were ejected to save provisions. But Henry, who shrank from nothing dictated by military necessity, refused to let them pass, and they died by hundreds in the ditches. New-born babes were drawn up to the walls for baptism, and then let down again to die on their dead mothers' breasts. At length a deputation came to Henry, declaring that unless he gave them terms the inhabitants were resolved to fire the town, fall upon the besiegers in one desperate mass, and cut their way through or die. He gave way, and the place surrendered on moderate conditions in January **1419**.

Naval victory at Harfleur

Siege and capture of Rouen

Henry now entered into negotiations with Isabella. But not even the charms of Catherine made him swerve from his original demands. The Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin therefore agreed to unite in resistance to him. He at once renewed the war and captured Pontoise, which opened the way to Paris; and in August **1419** his brother, the Duke of Clarence, appeared before the capital. The murder of the Duke of Burgundy at Montereau, before the eyes of the Dauphin,

threw upon Henry's side his son Philip and the whole Burgundian connection. The Dauphin was driven south of the Loire, and on May 21, 1420, the Treaty of Troyes was concluded, by which the insane king acknowledged Henry as his heir, appointing him regent until his death, and gave him Catherine in marriage. Town after town fell before Henry, and on December 1 he entered Paris. The wearied people were glad of peace on any terms, and Henry ruled them well. But in England, too, there was much exhaustion, for no fewer than 100,000 men had left for the war; and in February, yielding to the express wish of his people, Henry returned to England. Within a few weeks he was recalled by the news that his eldest brother Clarence had been defeated and killed at Beaugé on March 23, 1421, the Scotch contingent in the French service having the honour of the victory. Moreover, Paris was unsafe, and the Dauphin's party was making head in the north.

Treaty of Troyes

Henry returns to England, but is recalled by the defeat of Beaugé

In ten weeks Henry had regained all that was lost. But the Dauphin was not crushed; he held the centre of France, while the English held the north and south. Henry was again in the field in August 1422. But he was suddenly struck down by dysentery, aggravated by the intense heat. At Vincennes he took to his bed. Then he appointed his eldest brother, John, duke of Bedford, to be regent of France and Normandy if the Duke of Burgundy refused the office; and his youngest brother, Humphrey of Gloucester, to be regent of England, with his great uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and others as a council, and placed in their hands the care of his infant son, born in December 1421. He urged them to prosecute the war, to maintain the Burgundian alliance, and to keep the Duke of Orleans prisoner. Then he confessed, took the Sacrament, and received absolution. When the priest, reading the Psalms, uttered the words, 'Build thou the walls of Jerusalem,' he expressed for the last time the great desire of his life—to free the Holy City. In the early dawn of Monday, August 31, he passed away, as devoutly and courageously as he had lived. Just before death he was heard, as though challenging Satan, to exclaim, 'Thou liest! thou liest! My part is with my Lord Jesus Christ.' He was thirty-five years old.

Henry's illness and death

Henry was above the middle height, strongly but sparely built, with long neck and limbs. He excelled in every active exercise, and is said to have been so fleet of foot that he could run down a stag. He was never weary, on foot or in the saddle. His face was finely cut, his ears small, his teeth of remarkable whiteness. His hair was

brown and his complexion bright. His private life was without stain, his piety deep and sincere. He was liberal in alms-giving, careful to do justice to the poor and weak. To us the war on France and the persecution of the Lollards may seem evil deeds; to him they were the fulfilment of duties.[5]

Appearance and character

His reign is like a burst of triumphal music. Constitutional history there is scarcely any to record;[6] the nation was dazzled by his victories and ready to give him what supplies he wanted. His success was largely due to the distraction of his foes; but his capacity for war was splendid. He was no mere fighter. No one ever had a quicker eye in battle. No one ever gave keener attention to the details upon which the comfort and fighting spirit of an army depend. No one, until the time of Cromwell, ever maintained such discipline, without which Agincourt could not have been won or Rouen taken. His intense orthodoxy, thrown into war, gave the character of a crusade to aggression, and impressed upon a rapacious soldiery the bearing of an army of religious enthusiasts. His influence at the Council of Constance, **1415**, which had been called to put an end to schism in the papacy, was great; and it was an English bishop who nominated the new pope, Martin V., before whom the rivals gave way. At this council John Huss, the Bohemian follower of Wiclif, was treacherously burned, and an order, carried out by Henry, was issued that Wiclif's bones should be disinterred and burnt.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VI. 1422-1461

Section 1.—*The Loss of Normandy*

Scarcely was Henry V. dead when Charles VI. died also. The Dauphin was now joined by many who had hitherto acted with the English. On the other hand, the little Henry VI. was king of France by the Treaty of Troyes, and when Philip of Burgundy refused the office Bedford became regent. He secured both Burgundy and Britanny, by himself marrying one of Philip's sisters, while the brother of the Duke of Britanny married the other; thus the flanks of the English possessions

Bedford, regent of France. Battles of Crevant and Verneuil

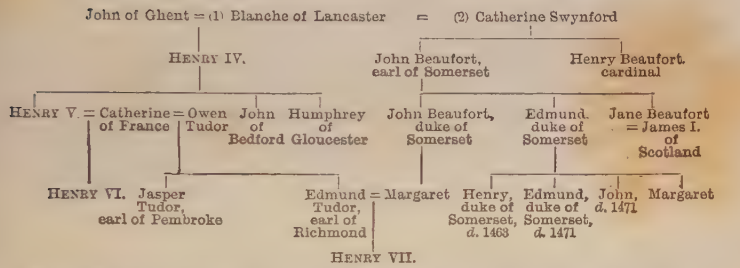
[5] For a comparison of the wars of Edward III. and Henry V., see Freeman, 'Edward III.,' in *Hist. Essays*, 1st series.

[6] Parliament obtained a confirmation of their claim that no statute should be valid unless enacted with their consent, and also that laws founded on their petitions should accurately reproduce the terms of these petitions.

were protected. The Dauphin held nothing north of the Loire, and in **1423** and **1424** was severely defeated in two great battles at Crevant and Verneuil. In each case the large Scotch contingent in Charles's service bore the brunt of the fight and fell almost to a man.[1] But dissensions at home prevented further progress, and the battle of Verneuil marks the high tide of English success.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE VIII

The Beauforts and the Tudors


John of Ghent = (1) Blanche of Lancaster = (2) Catherine Swynford
Henry IV.
John Beaufort, earl of Somerset
Henry Beaufort, cardinal
Henry V. = Catherine of France
= Owen Tudor
John of Bedford
Humphrey of Gloucester
John Beaufort, duke of Somerset
Edmund, duke of Somerset
Jane Beaufort = James I. of Scotland
Henry VI.
Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke
Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond
= Margaret
Henry, duke of Somerset, d. 1463
Edmund, duke of Somerset, d. 1471
John, d. 1471
Margaret
Henry VII.

Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John, duke of Somerset, married (1456) Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, the son of Henry V.'s widow, Catherine, and Owen Tudor. Their son was Henry VII. Margaret had previously, at the age of nine, been married to William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, but this marriage had been set aside. After Edmund Tudor's death (1456) she married (1) Lord Henry Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham, and (2) Lord Stanley, created Earl of Derby by Henry VII.

Bedford had inherited the steadfastness of Henry IV. with a strong sense of public duty. His brother Humphrey of Gloucester, on the other hand, with brilliant intellectual and social gifts, was selfish and unscrupulous. He had been named regent of England by Henry V. on his death bed; but the Lords refused to admit that a king might thus delegate his power after death. He was however named 'Protector of the Realm and Church,' and president of a mixed council of Lords and Commons. His ambition was steadfastly resisted by his uncle Bishop Beaufort of Winchester, the chancellor; and though the acceptance by Beaufort of a cardinalate and legatine authority gave Gloucester a temporary advantage, since he could now point to his rival as the servant, not of England, but of Rome, his ability and integrity finally prevailed;

Bedford, Gloucester, and Beaufort

[1] To neutralise the danger of this Scotch support to France, the young king James I., who had been kept in honourable captivity since the end of Henry IV.'s reign, and who had married one of the Beauforts, Jane, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, was set free, on payment of a ransom, and a treaty was made that neither country should henceforth help the enemies of the other.

and at the coronation in **1429** Gloucester resigned office. His selfish folly had meanwhile done much harm abroad. In **1426** he had, under scandalous circumstances, married Jacqueline of Hainault, an heiress whose claims were contested by the Duke of Burgundy, and had invaded Hainault to make them good. The result was that after the battle of Verneuil Philip withdrew his forces from France; and Bedford was obliged to make a great sacrifice of territory in order to maintain even the formal alliance.

In **1428** it was determined to drive Charles beyond the Loire. The siege of Orleans was undertaken and carried on throughout the winter by Salisbury, who surrounded the town with sixty forts. On February 12, **1429**, Sir John Fastolph was attacked by five times his numbers as he was convoying a train of salt-fish for the soldiers' Lenten rations to the camp. He entrenched his men behind the waggons, and the archers beat off the attack with murderous loss. This fight was known as the 'Battle of Herrings.' Charles now offered to give up the city to the Duke of Burgundy. In an evil hour Bedford replied that he was not the man to beat the bush that others might catch the birds. Orleans was about to be left to its fate, when the whole course of affairs was changed by one of the most remarkable events in history.

Siege of Orleans. 'Battle of Herrings'

Jeanne Darc, or Joan of Arc, as she is wrongly called, was a young peasant-girl of Domrémy. As servant at an inn she had listened with growing indignation to accounts of the English oppression, until she became convinced that heavenly voices were calling her to deliver her country. By her importunity she induced the officer of the district to send her to Charles at Chinon; and after a ride of eleven days in man's dress through a country swarming with English soldiers she was brought into his presence. She then declared her commission to relieve Orleans and to lead Charles to be crowned at Rheims. A commission of lawyers and divines pronounced her inspiration genuine. She was furnished with armour, a white charger, and a sacred banner, and was placed at the head of a relieving force. Before setting out she insisted upon the soldiers taking the Sacrament; the camp was purified of all loose characters; and she sent a letter to Suffolk, who had succeeded to the command upon Salisbury's death, warning him that he was fighting against God. The convoy reached Orleans in safety. Then Joan headed four desperate and successful sorties. In the last she was wounded in the neck by an arrow. She drew it out, staunched the blood, and led her men in the final rush. In deep despondency, and in the full belief that Heaven was really

Jeanne Darc

Siege of Orleans relieved

against them, the English raised the siege on May 8. The Maid gave them no rest. Fortress after fortress surrendered; Jargeau was carried by assault on June 12 after a siege of ten days, and Suffolk taken prisoner. On June 18 Talbot and Fastolph were badly beaten at Patray, and Talbot also captured. Then Joan called upon Charles to follow her through the enemy's country to Rheims. With 10,000 horsemen the enterprise was accomplished, and on July 17 Charles was crowned in the cathedral. By Joan's advice he next attacked Paris. The assault failed; the Maid was wounded and rescued with difficulty. In the spring of **1430** she flew to the relief of Compiègne, then besieged by the Burgundians. She succeeded in entering the town, and on May 25 headed a sortie. It was beaten back; Joan was separated from her party, and dragged from her horse. A few months later she was sold to Bedford by her captors.

Crowning of Charles VII

The disgrace of her treatment must be shared by all concerned. The French courtiers and generals were jealous of her influence, and Charles basely forbore to ransom or to try to rescue her. The churchmen were angry that her work had been done without their aid; the Inquisition claimed her as a heretic. Bedford, who appears to have honestly regarded her as an emissary of Satan, and Cardinal Beaufort, delivered her to Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, as a sorceress. The trial was conducted with treachery, meanness, and cruelty. The end was that, having been handed back as a relapsed heretic to the secular arm for punishment, she was burned in the market-place of Rouen by the English on May 30, **1431**, calling upon the Lord Jesus as she died.[2]

Capture and death of the Maid of Orleans

To balance the effect of Charles's coronation at Rheims, Henry VI. was brought by Beaufort to France and crowned at Paris in December **1431**. But the English power was doomed. In **1432** Bedford's wife, sister of the Duke of Burgundy, died, and his marriage next year to a vassal of the duke broke up the friendship between them. In **1435** a magnificent but fruitless congress was held at Arras. When Bedford refused to acknowledge Charles VII. as king of France, Burgundy made a separate treaty with the young monarch. Heart-broken at the failure of his policy—for the Burgundian alliance was the backbone of the English strength—Bedford fell ill and died, September **1435**. His successor was Richard, duke of York, son of the Earl of Cambridge, executed by Henry V., and of Anne, sister of Edmund, earl of March, who had died in the first year of the reign. An able leader, he re-

Loss of the Burgundian alliance, and death of Bedford

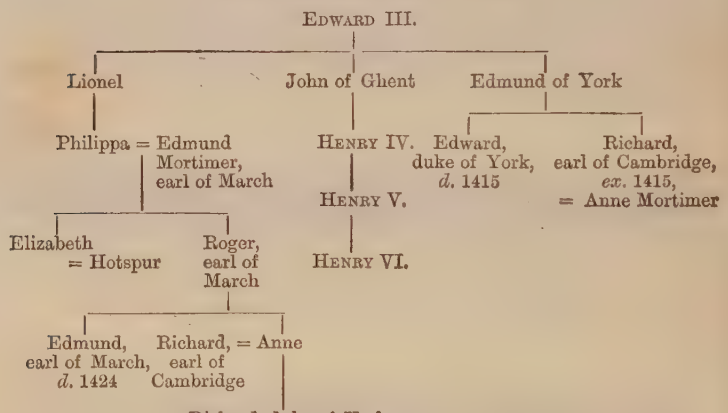
[2] Kitchin, *Hist. of France*, vol. i. p. 538.

covered much lost ground, and spread terror to the gates of Paris, which had returned to its allegiance to Charles VII. Through jealousy at court, he was recalled in **1437**; but was again sent out in **1441** to check the rapid progress of Charles both in Guienne and in the north. In **1444**, through the influence of the Duke of Orleans, who had been released for the purpose in spite of Henry V.'s dying command, a truce for two years was concluded.

Richard, duke of York

GENEALOGICAL TABLE IX

Descent of Richard of York



Anne, daughter of Roger, earl of March, and great-granddaughter of Lionel, elder brother of John of Ghent, married her cousin Richard, earl of Cambridge, executed by Henry V., son of Edmund of York. Their son was Richard, duke of York, who was thus descended from Lionel by his mother and from Edmund of York by his father.

Confidence in Bedford had kept down the spirit of discord. But at his death we enter the shadow of the Wars of the Roses. There were two parties, that of concession and peace, led by Beaufort and William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, a brave and experienced soldier, grandson of Richard II.'s chancellor, and the war party, led by Gloucester, who made the release of Orleans the occasion for a violent attack upon his rivals. But Gloucester was discredited by the scandals of his private life; the young king, whose life was a conspicuous example of the modest virtues, held him in aversion. Henry gladly listened to all the advocates

The peace and war policies

of peace. Suffolk's scheme was to marry Henry to Margaret, daughter of René of Anjou, a woman of great beauty and masculine temper. Her father's sister had married the king of France, and this alliance, therefore, promised peace, especially as another part of the scheme was to save Guienne and Normandy by ceding Maine and Anjou to France. The marriage took place in April **1445**. Suffolk became the confidant of the young queen, who speedily acquired complete control over her husband. But Gloucester was still dangerous, for the war party was in arms against the cession of Maine and Anjou. In **1447** therefore he was arrested at Suffolk's instigation, and died in prison a few days later. Popular feeling, which had always been in favour of the 'good Duke Humphrey,'[3] openly accused Suffolk of his murder. But Suffolk was sheltered by the court. He challenged inquiry into his conduct regarding the marriage treaty, was exonerated by the council, and created a duke **1448**. Scarcely six weeks after Gloucester's death he was followed by his rival Beaufort, who for forty years had been a great figure, with many faults and one deep disgrace, his share in the betrayal of Joan, but a faithful supporter of the Lancaster dynasty, lavish of his wealth in its cause, and a warm friend of peace.

The Earl of Suffolk and Margaret of Anjou

Death of Gloucester

and of Beaufort

The cession of Maine had been continually delayed. In March **1448**, Charles therefore suddenly broke the truce and captured Le Mans. Edmund Beaufort (p. 149), who had succeeded his brother as Duke of Somerset, was in command in Normandy; and he retaliated by suddenly seizing Fougères in Britanny. Charles straightway invaded Normandy. In quick succession Pont-de-l'Arche, Rouen, and other important towns fell before him; Fougères was recovered; an English army was disastrously defeated at Formigny[4] in an attempt to relieve Caen. In April **1450**, Cherbourg, the last English stronghold, surrendered, and all Normandy was lost for ever to England.

Loss of Normandy

Section 2.—*Disorder. Loss of Gascony and Guienne*

At home things were no better: 'maintenance' was rife[5] (p. 143, note); the Percies and Nevilles in the north were at open war. The parliament of **1449** met in anger at the incompetence of govern-

[3] This was his title among the lower classes, for whom an anti-concession policy had its usual charm. In opposing Beaufort, too, he seemed to be opposing papal influence. His grace of manner had much to do with his popularity.

[4] For a graphic account of this battle, and its place in the history of warfare, see Oman, *Art of War*, p. 113.

[5] For the *social* causes leading to the Wars of the Roses see Gairdner's Prefaces to the *Paston Letters*.

ment, demanded redress of grievances before supply, and discussed the state of the nation for a whole month. Mutinies broke out among soldiers and sailors. Bishop Moleyns, who had been employed in the negotiations regarding Maine and Anjou, was murdered at Portsmouth when he went to distribute pay. Suffolk was impeached. The charges against him were wildly improbable; but he shrank from trial, and threw himself on the king's mercy. Henry merely ordered him to leave the country for five years. But the people were not to be baulked. Narrowly escaping from their fury in London, Suffolk embarked at Ipswich for Flanders; but the crew of a ship of the royal navy overtook him, held a mock trial, and then beheaded him at sea, May 2, **1450**. His body was thrown on the Dover sands, and lay there until buried by Henry's orders.

Disturbances in England

Murder of Suffolk

The government was helpless, and disturbances took place in several counties. In Wiltshire Bishop Ayscough was killed. A formidable rising in Kent and Sussex was headed by Jack Cade, who gave himself out as a Mortimer and cousin to the Duke of York[6]. The rioters demanded the banishment of Suffolk's friends and the employment of the Duke of York[6]. Cade led a large force towards London, but withdrew before Henry. At Sevenoaks he turned upon a detachment of the royal troops, routed them and slew their commander. The king's army melted away, and he retired to Kenilworth, while London admitted Cade's men. Lord Say, the treasurer, and his son-in-law, the sheriff of Kent, were seized and beheaded in Cheapside. London was given up to pillage for three days. But on the fourth the citizens took heart; the commander of the Tower attacked the rebels on London Bridge, and a running fight went on through the night. The next morning Cade's force dispersed upon an offer of pardon. He himself forfeited it by further excesses, escaped to Rochester, and thence to Sussex, but was there captured by the new sheriff of Kent, Alexander Iden, and died of his wounds. This rising served to emphasise the need of a strong hand in the government. There were two claimants for power now that Suffolk and his friends were gone—the two nearest kinsmen of the king, York and Somerset; and from the badges of white and red roses worn by their followers the civil wars which followed took their name. Somerset, a grandson of John of Ghent, was the representative of the House of Lancaster after Henry VI. (p. 149).

Cade's rebellion

York and Somerset

[6] This rebellion was 'the first move in the struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster.'—Gairdner, 'Jack Cade's Rebellion' (*Fortnightly Review*, October 1870).

But Richard was the direct heir, both of Edmund, duke of York, and of Lionel, duke of Clarence (p. 152). Should Henry VI. leave no son, his succession was practically certain; even now he could claim the throne on the ground of the usurpation of Henry IV. As heir of the legitimate line he was not likely to yield to Somerset, the heir of the bastard, though legitimatised, Beauforts. For these reasons he was the object of Margaret's jealous hatred, while Somerset, who had been a conspicuous failure in Normandy, took Suffolk's place in her confidence. York was supported by the Nevilles, viz., the Earl of Salisbury his brother-in-law, Salisbury's sons the Earl of Warwick and Lord Montague, and his nephew Mowbray, the Duke of Norfolk. Somerset had on his side the rivals of the Nevilles in the north, the Percies and Cliffords.

Richard of York and the throne

Almost at the same moment Richard arrived from his government in Ireland, and Somerset from Normandy. Richard marched on London and forced Henry to promise a new council, of which he was to be a member. Somerset was attacked by the peers and arrested. But Margaret's influence soon released him, to be loaded with fresh honours; and for another year he was in control of the government.

But in **1451** Charles VII. conquered Gascony and Guienne almost without a blow, and by the end of the year Calais alone remained to England. All eyes were once more turned to Richard, whose claims began to be openly talked of. In **1452** he again marched towards London. Avoiding the royal troops, he crossed the Thames at Kingston, and reached Dartford with 17,000 men. But the country was not yet ripe for civil war. Henry again promised the dismissal of Somerset, and, as soon as Richard disbanded his force, again broke his word. Richard was saved from Somerset's revenge only by the advance of his son Edward with 10,000 men.

Loss of Gascony and Guienne

A final attempt was now made at reconquest in France. Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, retook Bordeaux and overran Guienne. But in **1453** Charles VII. set himself resolutely to drive out the English once more; and Talbot could offer no effectual resistance. At Castillon on the Dordogne he imprudently attacked a superior force in a strongly fortified camp, protected by artillery. His army was totally defeated; he himself, covered with wounds, fell in the thick of the fight. Bordeaux surrendered October 17, and Guienne and Gascony passed finally to France, which now reached the Pyrenees.

This ruined Somerset, as the loss of Normandy had ruined Suffolk.

Two other events hastened the crisis—the birth of Henry's son Edward, and the mental malady, doubtless inherited through his mother from Charles VI., which attacked the king and rendered him unfit to govern. Thus the peaceful accession of Richard after Henry's death was barred, while he was at once brought into competition with Margaret for the regency.

Birth of the Prince of Wales, and illness of the king

SECTION 3.—*Wars of the Roses. Triumph of House of York*

Strife began forthwith. Somerset was impeached, and for a year lay untried in the Tower, while Richard received a commission from parliament to act as the king's lieutenant, and, as Henry's derangement became more serious, was made Protector, an office revocable by the king, should he recover. At Christmas the king was well and Richard's power lapsed; Somerset was set free, and again became sole adviser. Richard was deprived of the government of Calais, and, with the Nevilles, driven from all power. This made war inevitable. In May **1455**, Richard, Salisbury, and Warwick marched to a council at Leicester, with 3,000 men. They were met at St. Alban's by Somerset and the king on May 22. A half-hour's struggle in the streets was decided by Richard's archers. Somerset, Northumberland, Stafford, Clifford, and other Lancastrian lords were slain and the king wounded. Henry then ruled by Richard's advice, until he again fell ill in November; Richard was reappointed Protector, the commission this time being revocable by parliament alone. In February **1456** the king again recovered; but Richard retained power. Warwick had the government of Calais; the primate, Bourchier, was secretly in Richard's interest. But the queen would not give way; she intrigued both with the King of Scotland, who as the son of Jane Beaufort (p. 149) favoured the Lancastrians, and with the King of France. The former ravaged the borders, the latter the southern shores. An agreement between the queen and York, or open war, could alone put an end to such a state of things. The former was first tried. In February **1458** the parties were reconciled at a great ceremony, in which Yorkists and Lancastrians walked in pairs, the queen leaning on the arm of the Duke of York. Peace was kept for a year. But the certainty of war paralysed government. The queen had no policy but hatred of York. No parliaments were held. The quarrel entered into every family, and even divided the monasteries. Livery and maintenance were rampant (p. 144, note), the country was swarming with disbanded soldiers, and the nobles, no longer able to plunder France, were ready to plunder one another.

Civil war begins; battle of St. Alban's and death of Somerset

Reconciliation

Margaret took the first overt step by sending a force to arrest Salisbury; but he overthrew it at Bloreheath on September 23, **1459**, and then joined Richard and Warwick on the Welsh borders.

War renewed. Bloreheath

Henry with unwonted energy marched upon them with 60,000 men, offering pardon to deserters. The Yorkists dispersed; the leaders fled: Richard and his second son, Edmund, earl of Rutland, to Ireland; Edward, with Warwick and Salisbury, to Calais. In November **1459** the whole Yorkist party was *attainted*[7] of treason, and an oath taken to support the king's infant son as heir to the throne.

Attainder of the Yorkists

This sweeping attainder compelled the Yorkists to fight on. Communication was kept up between Ireland and Calais; the field was prepared by the harsh measures of the government at home, and in June **1460** Edward, Salisbury, and Warwick landed at Sandwich, and were welcomed by London and by the primate. Marching straight upon the king, they defeated him with great slaughter on July 10 at Northampton in another half-hour's battle. The future character of the war was settled by Warwick's orders to spare the common soldiers, but to give no quarter to the nobles. Buckingham, Shrewsbury, and many others fell in the fight; Henry was taken and brought to London; the queen fled to Scotland; the attainders were reversed; and Richard came over in haste from Ireland. On October 16 he formally made a claim before the Lords to the crown. The Lords referred it to Henry himself, and he referred it back to them. They then declared that Richard's title could not be gainsaid. But they would not deprive Henry of his crown. The case of Stephen and Henry II. furnished a precedent. Henry was to remain king for life, and Richard and his heirs were to succeed. Large grants of lands were made them to support their new dignity.

Battle of Northampton

Richard's claim acknowledged

But Margaret fiercely repudiated this arrangement, and the North rallied to her call. A great force was collected at Wakefield, and Richard, attacking at disadvantage, December 30, **1460**, was routed and slain. The example set by Warwick at Northampton was improved upon. The 'black' Lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death at St. Alban's, murdered Edmund, earl of Rutland, a boy of eighteen, in cold blood after the battle. Salisbury was captured and beheaded next day. The head of Richard, by Margaret's orders, was adorned with a paper crown and

Battle of Wakefield. Death of Richard of York

[7] 'Attainting' means corrupting the blood, and deprived the attainted person of the right to possess or to transmit property. It entailed forfeiture to the crown, and, as a rule, death.

placed on the walls of York. It is even said that the prisoners were paraded before the Prince of Wales, who was bidden to choose the death which each should die.

But never was victory more barren. Margaret indeed reached St. Alban's, where on February 17 she defeated Warwick and regained the king; the usual executions followed. London was now within her grasp. But her wild northern followers thought only of pillage. Meanwhile Richard's son Edward had marched from Gloucester to Shrewsbury, turned aside to crush the king's half-brother, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, in a bloody battle at Mortimer's Cross, February 2, **1461**, and retaliated for the Wakefield murders by that of his father, Sir Owen Tudor. While Margaret lingered he slipped past, entered the capital, where the citizens were furious at the ravages of Margaret's men, summoned a council, and claimed the throne. Henry was deposed, and on March 4 Edward was proclaimed king. There was no parliamentary recognition. The election was in the old fashion. The people came together in the open air, and were asked whether they would accept Edward as their king. They answered with shouts of 'Yea! yea! King Edward!' It was a 'legitimist' restoration, as would have been that of the Stuarts, had the young chevalier hunted George II. from the throne.

Second battle of St. Alban's

Battle of Mortimer's Cross.

Defeat of Lancastrians

Deposition of Henry VI. Edward IV. elected

Henry VI. was deposed, as Stephen, Edward II., and Richard II. had been deposed, for incompetence. The House of Lancaster had deserved well of the country; it had restored order and constitutional government; it had made England illustrious in war; its kings had been pious and pure. But the need for order outweighed all else, and Richard of York, with the great houses of Neville and Mowbray at his back, had seemed the only guarantee for order. London and the wealthy counties, which had in former times upheld Simon de Montfort against Henry III., and Henry IV. against Richard II., now upheld the House of York on this ground; while the turbulent and half-civilised north and west supported Margaret, who, by her intrigues with France and Scotland, had presented the Yorkists not merely as the party of order, but as the national party.

Causes of triumph of the Yorkists

In this reign the Commons obtained a law exempting members from arrest while parliament was sitting. The conservative social reaction was illustrated by the restriction of the franchise to freeholders of the yearly value of 40*s.*; hitherto all freemen had voted for knights of the shire. This lasted until the Reform Bill of **1832**. Candidates had in future to be knights or of knights' wealth.

Restriction of the franchise

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD IV. TRIUMPH OF THE HOUSE OF YORK. 1461–1483

EDWARD had yet to fight for his crown. He marched with Warwick forthwith against Margaret. A skirmish at Ferrybridge on the Aire, near Pontefract, on March 27, was followed by the murderous struggle at Towton, about 10 miles from York, which closes the first period of the Civil War. Each side had about 80,000 men. From four in the afternoon of March 29, all through the night and until the next afternoon, the fight hung in the balance. Then the Yorkists were reinforced, and the Lancastrians broke and fled. No quarter was given; the ground was strewn with the dead to the gates of York. On the field itself 28,000 corpses were counted. Snow had fallen heavily, and, as it melted, every furrow ran with a crimson stream. Of the Lancastrian lords, Northumberland and Dacre, with many more, fell in the fight; others were executed. Henry and Margaret fled to Scotland. On June 28 Edward was crowned, and his brothers, George and Richard, were created dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Parliament confirmed his claim in November, and an act of attainder was passed against the whole Lancastrian party. The queen alone refused to accept defeat. She purchased French aid by promising to restore Calais as soon as it should be in her power, and that of the Scots by giving up Berwick. She twice invaded England, once by sea and once from Scotland; but Edward and Warwick were too strong for her, and she fled to Philip of Burgundy. By the beginning of **1463** Harlech in Wales alone held out for Henry VI. One more effort was made in **1464** by the young Duke of Northumberland at the head of a body of Scots, while Henry and Somerset, the son of the late duke, also crossed the border. But Montague successively defeated Northumberland at Hedgely Moor, April 25, where the duke was killed, and Henry and Somerset at Hexham, May 14. Henry was captured next year and placed in the Tower. Somerset also, with many others, was taken and put to death. Montague was rewarded with the earldom of Northumberland and the Percy estates.

Battle of Towton

Attainder of the Lancastrians

Battles of Hedgely Moor and Hexham

Edward had won his crown mainly by the help of the Nevilles, who in turn expected him to be ruled by their advice. But at the outset he showed his intention of shaking off an irksome tie and of raising up a circle of friends dependent only on himself. The widow

of the regent Bedford had married Woodville, Lord Rivers. Their beautiful daughter Elizabeth, the widow of an attainted Lancastrian, Sir John Gray, threw herself at the king's feet, and prayed that the attainder might be removed. Edward was fascinated by her attractions, and secretly married her, May 1, **1465**. He shortly acknowledged her as queen, and showered wealth and honours on all her relations. Her father was created an earl, lord treasurer, and high constable; her brothers and sisters married into the most powerful and wealthy families in the country. But the Earl of Warwick was the greatest nobleman in England. His retainers were numbered by thousands, and he was popular from his vast wealth and unbounded hospitality. One of his brothers was Earl of Northumberland, another Archbishop of York and chancellor. His idea was to strengthen the crown and secure European peace by an alliance with France. But Edward followed the traditional English policy of favouring Flanders, England's best market, and for that purpose he offered his sister Margaret to Charles the Bold, son of Philip of Burgundy, the overlord of Flanders. The marriage took place on the death of Philip, to the delight of the London merchants and the bitter disappointment of Warwick, from whom Edward had carefully concealed his design.

Edward's marriage

The Earl of Warwick

Marriage of Edward's sister to Charles the Bold of Burgundy

The jealousy caused by the elevation of the Woodvilles, the estrangement of Warwick, and the disloyalty of Edward's brother, Clarence—who now married Warwick's eldest daughter, Isabella, and joined his father-in-law—revived the hopes of the Lancastrians. Ever since **1466** the shrine of St. Thomas of Lancaster (p. 110) had been sweating blood and working miracles. An insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, fomented though not avowed by Warwick. The insurgents routed the royal troops at Edgecote near Banbury with the loss of 5,000 men, captured Earl Rivers and one of his sons, and put them to death. Upon the news of this success Warwick and Clarence threw off the mask, and by a sudden surprise took Edward himself prisoner. He was released upon condition of a general pardon, and of the future marriage of his infant daughter Elizabeth to George Neville, Warwick's nephew. But in March, **1470**, Sir Robert Welles, again at Warwick's instigation, raised Lincolnshire for Henry VI. Edward treacherously put his father, Lord Welles, to death, and then fell upon the rebels at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire. In their haste to escape they flung away their coats, and the fight became known as 'Lose-coat Field.' Warwick and Clarence, implicated in the con-

Lancastrian revolt

Edward captured by Warwick

'Lose-coat Field'

fessions of the leaders, escaped with difficulty. They first went to Calais, but were refused admission by Warwick's own deputy. They then sought refuge with Louis XI. at Paris, where Margaret was residing; and Louis easily brought about a reconciliation between the former enemies. Warwick agreed to lead an army into England to restore the Lancastrian dynasty, if Henry's son Edward would marry his second daughter, Anne. Failing issue to this marriage, Clarence was to succeed to the throne. With a fleet provided by Louis XI. they landed on the south coast on October 3. Edward, given up to self-indulgence, had foolishly entrusted the royal forces to Warwick's brother Montague, who had a private grievance of his own; for Edward had compelled him to restore the earldom of Northumberland and its estates to the Percies, and to accept a barren marquisate in return. A rising in the north, arranged by Warwick for the purpose, drew Edward from London. Montague and his men threw off the white rose—the badge of the House of York. Left with but 800 men, Edward rode hastily to Lynn, and, with a small following, reached the court of his brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy; while his queen took sanctuary at Westminster, where she gave birth to the future Edward V. Warwick had fairly earned his title of 'king-maker.' Parliament restored Henry VI., settled the succession upon his male heirs, or, in default, upon Clarence, and repealed the attainder of the Lancastrians. Clarence was also made heir to Richard of York, instead of Edward IV., and appointed Protector conjointly with Warwick.

Invasion of Warwick and Clarence

Flight of Edward. Restoration of Henry VI

But Burgundy, the enemy of Louis, was as ready to help Edward as Louis had been to help Edward's foes. The story of Henry IV. was almost literally repeated. On March 14, 1471, Edward landed at Ravenspur, where Henry had landed, declaring, like Henry, that he had come for his dukedom—not for the crown; and at York he expressly abjured any intention of claiming the throne. But when he found himself at the head of 60,000 men he renounced his oath and marched upon London, offering Warwick and Montague battle at Coventry. He was joined on the route by 'false, fleeting, perjured' Clarence, whose prospects of the succession were too vague to keep him steadfast to Warwick. London was for him, and he again obtained possession of the person of Henry VI. Taking him in his train he marched north, and fought Warwick and Montague at Barnet on Easter Sunday, April 14. Both armies were enveloped in a dense fog. One portion of Warwick's army mistook another for the enemy, and fired upon it. A panic spread through his ranks, and after six hours' carnage the brothers were

Return of Edward

Battle of Barnet

killed. No quarter was given even to the common soldiers; many nobles were taken and put to death.

On the same day Margaret landed at Weymouth with a French force, and was welcomed by the south-west. The battle of Barnet made any advance upon London hopeless, and she therefore marched north, intending to gain Wales. But at Tewkesbury Edward caught her, and won a decisive victory (May 4). Margaret was taken prisoner; the Prince of Wales was either slain in the fight or murdered directly afterwards. Many Lancastrians, including the male survivors of the Beaufort family, took sanctuary; but Edward after two days broke open the church, dragged them out, and slew them all. An attempt upon London by one of Warwick's sea-captains was beaten off by the citizens; and, on May 21, Edward again entered in triumph. On that same night Henry VI. died in the Tower—whether by murder or of natural causes is unknown. There now remained but one possible Lancastrian claimant. This was Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond (p. 150), grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine, the widow of Henry V.—who had fled with his uncle, Jasper Tudor, the earl of Pembroke, to Britanny. His mother was Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John, duke of Somerset, who, with her cousin of the same name, alone represented the great Beaufort family.

Battle of Tewkesbury

Death of Henry VI.

Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond

That Edward and Charles the Bold should make war on France was the natural result of what had happened; and a treaty was made by which they were to have respectively the northern and southern portions of the kingdom. Parliament supplied the king with pay for 13,000 archers, and he obtained still larger supplies by subscriptions from the rich—nominally voluntary, but really compulsory—called 'benevolences.' These were an evasion of the law that there should be no taxation without parliamentary consent (p. 99). Probably the people who lent the money acquired monopolies, that is, the sole right to sell certain articles, in return. Vast sums were acquired by attainders and fines from the defeated Lancastrians. With a splendid army Edward set sail in June 1475. But Charles was at the time fully occupied with difficulties nearer home; and Edward soon found he had no mind to play the part of Henry V. Louis XI. was lavish with his money. The end of all this preparation was a truce for seven years, a large payment with an annual pension to Edward, and gifts to each of his advisers. The Dauphin was to marry Edward's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, so soon as she should be of fit age; and Edward released Margaret.

Benevolences

Edward sails for France

Truce with Louis XI.

Triumphant over dynastic foes, the House of York was now a prey

to domestic dissension. A fierce quarrel arose between Clarence and Gloucester, the latter of whom married Warwick's younger daughter, Anne (p. 160). But then Clarence quarrelled with Edward himself. His wife had died, and he asked for the hand of Mary, stepdaughter of Edward's sister Margaret, and heiress of Charles the Bold, who had fallen at Nancy, **1477**. Edward, jealous lest his brother should become a great Continental prince, with Flanders in his hands, and remembering that by Act of Parliament he had been made heir after the late Prince of Wales (p. 161), suddenly arrested Clarence in **1478**, and impeached him for his former treason in **1470**. He was found guilty by the Lords, attainted, and killed in the Tower in some mysterious way.

Quarrels in the royal family. Execution of Clarence

The country now had rest. Edward was popular from the good order he kept, the absence of extraordinary taxation, his encouragement of commerce, and not least for his handsome person, affability, and gallantry. His chief maxim was to favour the people at the expense of the nobles. But debauchery rendered him incapable of becoming a really great king. In many ways—in his occasional fits of vigour, his customary sloth, his shrewdness, and his immorality—he may be compared with Charles II.

Popularity of Edward IV

The intrigues of Louis brought about war with Scotland in **1480**. Gloucester marched as Edward's lieutenant to Edinburgh, conducting his operations with great skill, and peace was made in **1482** upon the restoration of Berwick to England. The war is notable because the establishment of relays of couriers to carry the despatches between Gloucester and Edinburgh seems to have been the germ of a postal system.

In **1482** Edward was completely outwitted by Louis. That king, it has been seen, had gained peace by promising that the Dauphin should marry Edward's daughter; but he now evaded the promise, and secured for the Dauphin the hand of Margaret, daughter of Mary of Burgundy, who had married Maximilian of Austria, with a large dowry of Burgundian territory. The disappointment sunk deep into Edward's mind, and he died suddenly, April 9, **1483**, at the age of forty-one. Edward had secured his throne by unsparing slaughter, and he was a selfish and cruel man. He comes down to us with an evil reputation for every kind of baseness. But it must be remembered that the chroniclers who wrote his story were chroniclers of the Tudor dynasty, and therefore favourable to the Lancastrians.

Death of Edward IV

CHAPTER V

FALL OF THE HOUSE OF YORK

SECTION 1.—*Edward V. (so-called)*

THE young prince was at Ludlow, among his mother's relations. But of them the old nobility was intensely jealous, and an order from the council forbade him to be attended to London by more than 2,000 men. His uncle Gloucester especially was bent upon getting rid of the Woodville influence. He came in haste from the north to overtake the prince, who sent back Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Gray to compliment him. In concert with Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the head of the English nobility, descended from Edward III.'s youngest son Thomas and the Beauforts (p. 165), Richard arrested them and Lord Dorset, a son of Elizabeth by her first marriage, accused them before their nephew of a design to usurp the government, and in spite of the boy's tears lodged them in Pontefract castle. The queen fled to sanctuary at Westminster. Richard was declared protector, and a parliament summoned for June 20. In the interval he filled London with his adherents; and on June 13 suddenly arrested Lord Hastings, the chief friend of Edward IV., for showing his dissatisfaction at the duke's evident ambition, and beheaded him on the spot without trial. Rivers and Gray were executed at Pontefract on the same day, and Bishop Morton of Ely, the tutor of Edward's sons, and Archbishop Rotherham of York, were imprisoned.

Richard of Gloucester declared protector

Gloucester's object was now to secure both the young princes. The little Edward V. was already in his power. The primate was sent to the queen to demand his brother Richard. With tears and forebodings the poor woman gave up the boy, and he was at once placed with Edward in the Tower. The duke's aim was soon made clearer. On June 22 a sermon was preached at his command from St. Paul's Cross on the text (Wisdom iv. 3): 'Bastard slips shall not take deep root.' It was here asserted that Edward IV. had been contracted to another woman before his marriage with Elizabeth, and that her children by him were therefore illegitimate; and a hint was given that Edward IV. himself was no child of Richard of York. Two days later Buckingham addressed a meeting of citizens in the same sense, and claimed the throne for Richard; and the following day, with several lords, gentlemen, and citizens, he carried a petition to Richard, asking him to accept the crown, and declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children. After an affectation of reluctance and of loyalty to his nephew, he yielded 'to the voice of the people.'

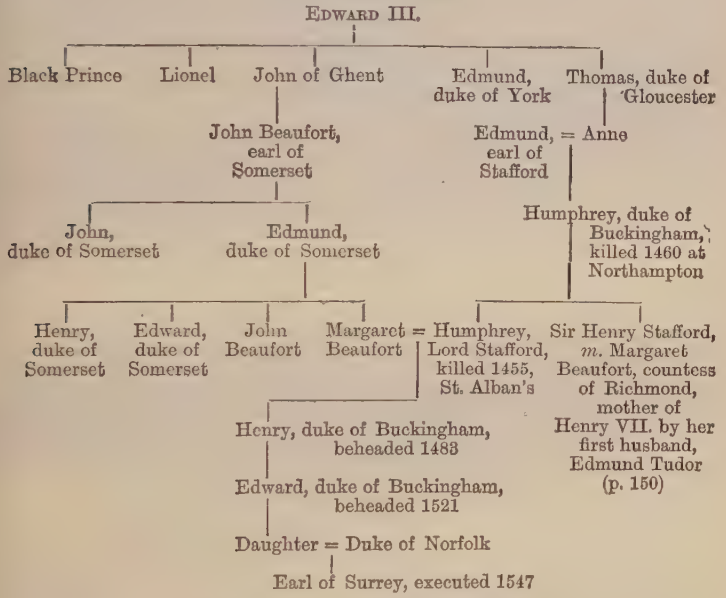
Claims the crown

The next day, June 26, he took his seat in Westminster Hall, asserted his right as hereditary and elected king, and proclaimed forgiveness of all previous offences; thence he went to St. Paul's, where he was received by a procession of the clergy, and on that day began to reign.

Informal election

GENEALOGICAL TABLE X

The Staffords


Edward III.
Black Prince
Lionel
John of Ghent
Edmund, duke of York
Thomas, duke of Gloucester
John Beaufort, earl of Somerset
Edmund, earl of Stafford
Anne
John, duke of Somerset
Edmund, duke of Somerset
Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, killed 1460 at Northampton
Henry, duke of Somerset
Edward, duke of Somerset
John Beaufort
Margaret Beaufort
Humphrey, Lord Stafford, killed 1455, St. Alban's
Sir Henry Stafford, m. Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. by her first husband, Edmund Tudor (p. 150)
Henry, duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1483
Edward, duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1521
Daughter
Duke of Norfolk
Earl of Surrey, executed 1547

Section 2.—*Richard III.* 1483–1485

Richard III. was abundantly endowed with intellectual gifts, though, from his nickname of 'crookback,' he appears to have been afflicted with some slight deformity of person; and he was brave, resolute, and clear sighted. His government of the north during the past years of Edward's reign had marked him out as the one man of ability in the country. But of moral virtues he was destitute. He was crafty and unscrupulous; the disregard of human life or of family ties, of mercy or of faith, which the Wars of the Roses had engendered, reached their climax in him. He was at once calculating and ferocious; he never showed love or gratitude or trust; he never made a friend, or conciliated an enemy.

Character of Richard III

Jealousy of the Woodvilles, and the desire to see a strong man in power, not love for himself, had given Richard the throne. He indeed affected to believe the latter; in his progress he refused benevolences, declaring that he would rather have his subjects' hearts than their money. But already there were signs that while the young princes lived he was not secure; even Buckingham was at the head of a movement for their liberation. Richard therefore went resolutely on in the career of murder. The innocent boys were killed in their sleep, and buried at the foot of a staircase in the Tower; and Richard himself proclaimed their death. What had been his part in this black deed was not known until twenty years later; but enough was guessed to cause grief and indignation. Bishop Morton, who had been placed in Buckingham's custody, had formed a plan for the removal of the dynastic rivalries, by marrying Henry Tudor (p. 168) to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.; and Buckingham entered eagerly into the scheme, which was approved by the mothers of both Henry and Elizabeth. Henry was urged to make a descent from Britanny on England, while his friends raised insurrections in the south and west.

Murder of the sons of Edward IV

Bishop Morton's scheme

On the appointed day risings took place; Buckingham himself raised his standard in Brecknockshire. But Richard had been forewarned, and in a few days was at the head of a large force at Grantham. Unsupported by Henry, who sailed too late and was obliged to return to Britanny, the revolt collapsed. The Bishops of Salisbury, Exeter, and Ely escaped; Buckingham was betrayed into Richard's hands, and put to death, **1483**.

Revolt and death of Buckingham

For the moment Richard was safe. Parliament confirmed his title, January **1484**, and passed an attainder on Richmond and all his friends. The lords took an oath to the king, and to his son as heir-apparent. A few months later this son died, and Richard named his nephew, John de la Pole (p. 168), son of his sister and the Duke of Suffolk, in his place. To win general support he sanctioned an act declaring the illegality of benevolences.

Benevolences declared illegal

Meanwhile Richmond was busily gathering strength. All the personal enemies of the king, all the Lancastrians, all who believed him the murderer of Clarence and the princes, all the friends of Hastings and Buckingham, the whole Gray and Woodville connection, and all who, to whatever party they belonged, wished like Morton to see the civil troubles at an end, flocked to him. At Christmas he swore to them in the cathedral of Rennes to marry Elizabeth when he had secured the crown. To meet the coming danger Richard intrigued with the Duke of Britanny for the betrayal of Henry, who, forewarned, fled

Henry Tudor in Britanny. Swears to carry out Morton's scheme

to Paris; and he won over the mother of the murdered princes. He endeavoured to excite popular feeling against Henry by declaring that he had promised to surrender Calais should he become king. He was indeed in great straits. He had not a friend upon whom he could rely; his treasury was empty, and he had recourse to the hated benevolences which he had himself condemned. And thus, when

Henry's invasion

Henry landed with a small fleet equipped with Louis's help at Milford Haven on August 7, **1485**, in a country always favourable to the Lancastrian cause, and especially to the house of Tudor, he found the ground well prepared.

Richard was on the alert, and expressed delight that at last he should meet his foe face to face. But desertions became ominously frequent; the loyalty of Lord Stanley, the steward of his household, who had married Richmond's mother, was so doubtful that Richard detained his son as hostage. Henry meanwhile reached Shrewsbury with 5,000 men. Richard, advancing from Nottingham, encamped at Bosworth on August 21 with twice that number. But Lord Stanley and Sir William Stanley his brother secretly assured Henry of their support when battle was joined, though to save the life of young Stanley

Battle of Bosworth

they held off to the last moment. On the 22nd Richard harangued his troops with well-assumed confidence in a certain victory. But he knew that treason was busy. On the previous night the Duke of Norfolk had received a rude scrawl which ran thus:—'Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold, for Diccon thy master is bought and sold.' The battle which followed was for a long time doubtful. But in the heat of conflict Lord Stanley joined Henry, while Percy, earl of Northumberland, looked on without taking part. Norfolk was slain; his son Surrey taken prisoner. Still Richard felt that if he could strike Henry down victory might still be his. Savage

Death of Richard III

at the desertion of Stanley, he flew alone, and with desperate courage, upon Henry's body-guard, slew two with his own hand, and had almost reached his foe, when Sir William Stanley, at the last moment, interposed with a fresh force. Fighting desperately, and shrieking 'Treason!' he at length fell, covered with wounds. Stanley picked up the crown and placed it on Henry's head. The body of Richard, stripped naked, was thrown across a horse, with a halter round the neck, and so taken to Leicester, where it was buried without honour in the church of the Grey Friars.

Summary.—The thirteenth century had seen the winning of the Charter. The fourteenth had seen the successful struggle to maintain the Charter and the establishment of the power of the House of Commons. The fifteenth has seen this power constantly making itself more definite; but it does not witness expansion so much as reassertion

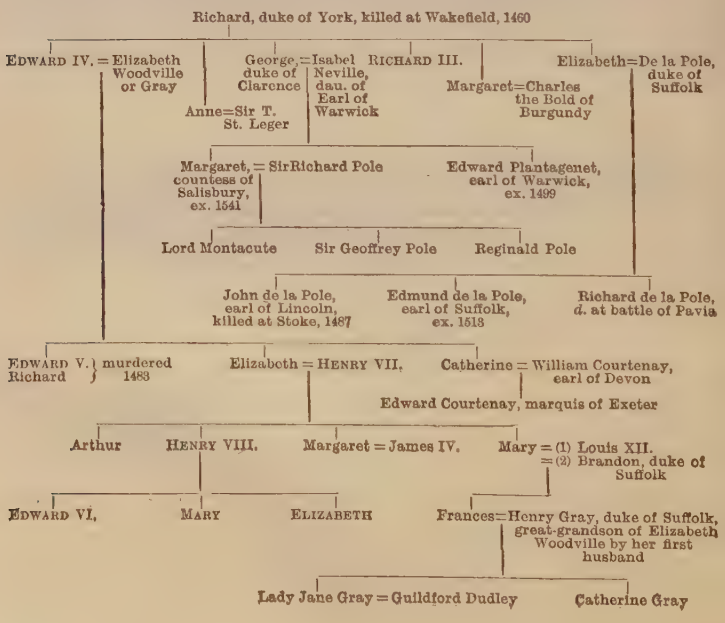
of it. The reign of Henry IV. contains the restoration of order and of constitutional government, and the beginning of religious persecution; that of Henry V. the conquest of France. Then come a minority and a weak king. France is lost again; dynastic rivalry works itself out in bloodshed until Richard III. falls dead at Bosworth. The nation, longing above all for order, willingly gives power to a strong king, without altering the form of government, and unconsciously accepts a despotism.

Principal dates. Lancaster and York

	A.D.		A.D.
Act *De Heretico Comburendo*	1401	Loss of Gascony and Guienne	1453
Act against livery and maintenance	1401	First battle of the Civil War	1455
Commons originate money grants	1406	Battle of Towton	1461
Battle of Agincourt	1415	Marriage of Edward	1463
Treaty of Troyes	1420	Battle of Barnet	1471
Siege of Orleans	1428	Richard III. proclaimed king	1483
Loss of Normandy	1450	Battle of Bosworth	1485

GENEALOGICAL TABLE XI

The Houses of York and Tudor


Richard, duke of York, killed at Wakefield, 1460
Edward IV. = Elizabeth Woodville or Gray
George, duke of Clarence = Isabel Neville, dau. of Earl of Warwick
Richard III.
Elizabeth = De la Pole, duke of Suffolk
Anne = Sir T. St. Leger
Margaret = Charles the Bold of Burgundy
Margaret, countess of Salisbury, ex. 1541 = Sir Richard Pole
Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, ex. 1499
Lord Montacute
Sir Geoffrey Pole
Reginald Pole
John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, killed at Stoke, 1487
Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, ex. 1513
Richard de la Pole, d. at battle of Pavia
Edward V. } murdered
Richard } 1483
Elizabeth = Henry VII.
Catherine = William Courtenay, earl of Devon
Edward Courtenay, marquis of Exeter
Arthur
Henry VIII.
Margaret = James IV.
Mary = (1) Louis XII. = (2) Brandon, duke of Suffolk
Edward VI.
Mary
Elizabeth
Frances = Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, great-grandson of Elizabeth Woodville by her first husband
Lady Jane Gray = Guildford Dudley
Catherine Gray

BOOK VII

THE TUDOR DESPOTISM

CHAPTER I

HENRY VII. AND ORDER. DESPOTISM CREATED

1485–1509

SECTION 1.—*The Struggle to keep the Throne*

HENRY VII. recalls to us Henry I. He was a steadfast, patient man, ruthless in carrying out his purposes, though never wantonly cruel; a true Lancastrian in the virtues of his private life; straightforward in action and careless of popular applause; severely economical, and persuaded that money means power; filled above all with the spirit of order. Such a character was exactly suited to the work. The nation longed above everything for order, an end to feudal riot and oppression; and it was glad to place vast power in the hands of any ruler who would give them these things. The past anarchy had taught people to think little of the constitution which had permitted it. The great nobles were hated by the rapidly rising middle class, and parliamentary government was discredited. Thus Henry entered upon a vigorous prerogative, willingly granted; illegal imprisonments and forced loans were lightly regarded when they came with real and efficient rule.

Character and position of Henry VII

On the question of the succession, however, parliament took a memorable step. In his address to the speaker of the Commons Henry claimed the throne by inheritance and the judgment of God. But parliament wisely ignored claims which were of course contested by the whole Yorkist party; and they gave him his title by parliamentary grant alone. They declared 'that the inheritance should be, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord, King Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully coming . . . and in none other;' and they prayed him at once to marry Elizabeth, whose bastardy (p. 164) was repealed. This he did in January **1486**. The Pope indeed acknowledged Henry's right by war and inheritance; but, so far as England was concerned, the right of the people to elect their king had again been asserted,

Parliamentary title to the throne

The Commons had granted Henry tonnage and poundage, with the customs on leather, for life. To gain immediate funds thirty Yorkists were attainted, the reign being antedated one day in order to include those who fought at Bosworth; and all grants made since the capture of Henry VI. at St. Alban's were resumed by the crown. For the safety of his person, and for the impression it conveyed, a select body of 50 archers, under the name of the 'Yeomen of the guard,' was formed as a permanent guard for the king's person; and they were the only armed men receiving pay in England. For his chief ministers he chose churchmen—Morton of Ely, the author of the marriage scheme, who next year became primate, and Fox of Exeter—a prudent and economical step, since churchmen were less moved by personal ambition than laymen, and could be rewarded by richer bishoprics without expense to the treasury. His stepfather Lord Stanley was made Earl of Derby; his uncle Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford; and Sir William Courtenay, his brother-in-law, Earl of Devon. Henry then made a progress through the northern counties, which were strongly Yorkist, and near York met and dispersed a body of insurgents under Lord Lovel, who escaped. The two Staffords (p. 165), who attempted a rising in Worcestershire, were taken prisoners, and Humphrey, the elder, executed.[1]

Early measures

In three quarters there was danger to the new reign. Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., was eager for revenge. Edward, earl of Warwick, son of Clarence and nephew of Edward IV., was the heir favoured by the Yorkist party; he had been placed by Henry in the Tower, and the king secured the vast Warwick estates which he had inherited through his mother. There were also the De la Poles, the sons of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV., of whom the eldest, John, earl of Lincoln, had been recognised by Richard III. as heir (p. 166). So long as Henry had no child the Yorkists kept quiet; but the birth of Arthur in September **1486** was the signal for the first serious disturbance. Ireland, where the people, and especially the Earl of Kildare, the deputy, were strongly Yorkist, on account of the gentle rule of Richard of York in **1459** and of the Duke of Clarence from **1461**, was made the scene of the first enterprise. A priest named Richard Simons landed at Dublin with a boy of eleven, whom he gave out to be the Earl of Warwick, escaped from

Dangers to the new reign

[1] The strong Yorkist feeling in the country, and especially in the north and in London, arose from the discredit of the loss of foreign empire under the Lancastrians, and from Edward IV.'s favour to commercial interests. Richard III. lost his crown because of his crimes, not because of any popularity of Henry VII. or the cause of Lancaster.

the Tower, but who was really the son of a mechanic, and was named Lambert Simnel. Kildare accepted the story without enquiry, and the boy was proclaimed as Edward VI. He was speedily joined by the Earl of Lincoln, who used him as a stalking-horse for his own designs, with 2,000 Germans provided by Margaret, under the command of Martin Schwartz. To expose the cheat, Henry had the real Earl of Warwick brought from the Tower and shown to the citizens of London; he was then kept with the court. The queen dowager and her son Lord Dorset were placed in confinement; a full pardon was issued for all former offences; and Henry fixed his headquarters at Nottingham, like Richard III. before Bosworth, to command the roads from the north, the new spirit of order being shown by the severe discipline maintained in his army. Meanwhile Lincoln, Schwartz, and the pretender, with Kildare and his Irish, had landed at Furness. At Stoke, near Newark, they were met by Henry, June 16, **1487**, and utterly routed; Lincoln, Schwartz, and half their army were killed; Lovel again escaped, but was no more heard of. Simons and Lambert Simnel were taken. The priest died in prison; Lambert was wisely treated with compassionate ridicule; he was placed in some menial post in the household, and in time rose to be falconer. Henry then conciliated Yorkist feeling by the public coronation of Elizabeth, which he had hitherto delayed from the same feeling as that which made William III. afterwards refuse to rule in England as his wife's 'gentleman usher.'

Lambert Simnel. Battle of Stoke

Besides a large grant and a fresh attainder which still further enriched him, Henry obtained the most important act of his reign. This was the establishment of the Star Chamber, a court which afterwards earned an evil fame as itself the engine of tyranny and extortion, but which at the time struck heavily against the various forms of oppression exercised by powerful men upon their weaker neighbours. It recognised that the king, as the fountain of justice might act not only through the ordinary courts, but through the privy council. The chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, or any two of them, along with a bishop, a lay peer, and two judges, formed a court from which there was no appeal. This court gained its name, though at what period is uncertain, from the *Camera Stellata*, or room decorated with stars, in which its deliberations were held. The chief danger to the public peace arose from the general disregard of the law of maintenance and livery (p. 139), which had begun under Henry V. (p. 144, note); from the partiality of the sheriffs, and the browbeating of juries by powerful nobles. The new court had power,

The Star Chamber

which it exercised freely, to summon delinquents from the remotest parts of the country to Westminster, and it showed the determination of the government to make itself supreme over every form of lawlessness. Its scope was constantly extended until by Henry's last parliament in **1504** almost every kind of crime had come under its cognisance. Other laws were passed in the same spirit. It was made a capital crime to carry off heiresses or rich widows; trials for murder were to follow the crime at once, instead of being delayed a year and a day; power was given to justices of the peace to decide summarily and without a jury all offences except treason, murder, and felony.[2]

War in Britanny

Henry's attention was now called to Britanny, which Charles VIII. was seeking to incorporate with his kingdom. Parliament urged him to give active help to its young duchess Anne; for Britanny was our market for linen and canvas, and there was no wish to see French power extended along the coast. But Henry did not intend to impoverish himself by foreign war. He cleverly used the outcry to secure large grants from successive parliaments; and when the clamour for war increased after an English volunteer force had been cut to pieces at St. Aubyn, he landed 6,000 men in Britanny, and another body of 2,000 men in the north-east of France. These were carefully kept in inaction until peace was made, and the supplies of parliament, swelled by gifts both from Charles and Anne, safely stowed away. But in **1489** Charles gained his object, and excited the bitterest feeling in England, by a forced marriage with Anne. Henry hereupon formed an alliance with Ferdinand of Arragon, of which one condition was that his son Arthur should in due time marry Ferdinand's daughter Catherine; he joined a great league formed by Spain, the Pope, and the emperor against France, and he again affected to be bent upon war. To gain supplies he first had recourse to benevolences, sanctioned, not by parliament, but by a great council of lords and leading commoners, on the plea that the statutes of Richard III. (p. 166) were illegal, since he was a usurper.

'Morton's fork'

Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, is famous for the device known as 'Morton's fork.' 'If a man lived at great expense he was,' said Morton, 'clearly able to subscribe handsomely; if he lived sparingly he must have saved, and could afford to pay out of his savings.' Parliament, in addition, laid heavy taxes for the expected war. In **1492** Henry landed in France with 1,600 men-at-arms and

[2] Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ch. i. The power of the Star Chamber in later reigns silently fell into the hands of the whole council, which sat as a separate court under that name.

25,000 infantry, the first genuine 'regular army' ever raised by a king of England; the strictest rules were made both for its discipline and for the punctual payment of the men, at the rate of sixpence (now six shillings) a day. This expedition was, however, again a mere feint, for terms had been already made with Charles. By the treaty of Étaples, November **1492**, peace was guaranteed until a year after the death of the survivor, while Charles promised Henry a payment of 150,000*l.* in half-yearly sums. Discontent at taxation was now the chief danger. Both in **1489** and **1492** risings took place. But government now was not what it had been at the time of Jack Cade, and they were easily crushed. The case was more serious when a handsome youth, who gave himself out as Richard, duke of York, the younger of the two sons of Edward IV., landed in Cork in **1491**, and was welcomed by the citizens. Thence he went to France, where he was acknowledged as rightful king. By the treaty of Étaples Henry secured his dismissal. He then went to Margaret of Burgundy, who had a practically independent government in her jointure lands. She treated him as her nephew, and gave him the title of the 'White Rose of England.' He in return promised to repay all the expenses she had already incurred when he had secured the throne, and to restore her lost property in England. He was supported too by the Pope, by James IV. of Scotland, by Charles VIII. of France, and by the Duke of Savoy. But Henry's spies had found out that his real name was Perkin Warbeck, and that he was the son of poor parents at Tournai; and he demanded his surrender from Philip, who had inherited Burgundy and the Netherlands from his mother Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold by Isabella of Bourbon. But Warbeck had promised to hold England under Philip, and he refused. Henry hereupon made Calais instead of Antwerp the staple port for the cloth trade, which had now so much developed in England as to allow of export. His spies had discovered also Warbeck's friends in England. They were arrested, and the chief of them put to death: among them were Sir William Stanley, who had placed the crown upon Henry's head at Bosworth; his enormous wealth, with that of twenty others who were attainted in the next parliament, went to the royal treasury.[3]

Peace with France

Perkin Warbeck

Philip was now anxious to rid himself of a guest whose presence had caused so great a loss to the trade of his subjects. Warbeck therefore made an attempt upon Deal, but was driven off, and forced to return to Flanders; 169 prisoners were hung on the sea-shore. Before Warbeck could attempt anything more Henry had done much to

[3] Gairdner, 'Henry VIII.,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*, p. 108.

secure the stability of his power. The success of two pretenders in Ireland led to the appointment of Sir Edward Poynings as deputy, with a strong force, in the place of Kildare, who was arrested and attainted. Poynings called a parliament at Drogheda, at which an act was passed, known as Poynings' law, which remained in force for three centuries, by which no law could be submitted to the Irish parliament until the king had approved of it, a practice already tacitly sanctioned in England. This act placed the Irish parliament completely under the control of the crown. Henry also suppressed the 'Fraternity of St. George,' a body of soldiers supported partly by voluntary effort, partly by the government, which had been established to deal with the anarchy caused by the Wars of the Roses, but which the king now thought dangerous to his authority. Another law of extreme importance, both now and in the future, was that which, taking account of the alternate attainders and executions of many years, and of the consequent unwillingness of the nobles to serve the king, lest by a fresh revolution they should lose their lives and fortunes, enacted that a king *de facto* was henceforth to be king *de jure* as well; that no one who should attend the king for the time being should on that account, whatever might be the fortune of war, incur the penalties of high treason.

Poynings' law

King *de facto* is king *de jure*

Henry and Philip now came to terms. On condition that no rebel should find protection either with Philip or Margaret, Henry re-established the trade with Flanders by the *Intercursus Magnus*, or Great Treaty of Commerce,[4] which secured freedom of trade in all commodities, without passports or licences, between the two countries, so closely united since the days of Edward III. Warbeck at once sailed to Cork, and attempted the siege of Waterford. But the king's measures had already borne fruit; and the adventurer crossed to Scotland, where he was warmly welcomed by James IV., who gave him his relative, Catherine Gordon, in marriage. They made a raid across the border together in **1496**, on the understanding that Berwick should be given up to James, but returned after some fruitless ravages. As usual, Henry took the opportunity to levy fresh taxes, and this was again followed by revolt. The miners of Cornwall rose, and marched tumultuously, to the number of 16,000, under Lord Audley and Thomas Flammock, to Kent, where, remembering Cade's rebellion, they hoped to find friends (June **1497**). On Blackheath they were attacked by the royal forces and dispersed with the slaughter of 2,000 men. The leaders were executed. But the lesson was not lost upon Henry,

Warbeck in Scotland

Cornish revolt

[4] Moberly, 'The Early Tudors,' in *Epochs of Modern History*, p. 40.

and this was the last time that he applied to parliament for a tax of importance.

Warbeck in Cornwall

Once more James and Warbeck ravaged the north, but retired at the approach of Surrey with 20,000 men, and a truce was then made for seven years. Warbeck left Scotland, touched again at Cork, and finally landed in Cornwall. There he gathered 6,000 men, and attempted to carry Exeter by assault. At Taunton he was met by Henry. His heart failed him, and on the night before the battle he fled to sanctuary at Beaulieu, in Hampshire. His followers dispersed; the leaders were taken and hung; his wife was made an attendant on the queen. Upon promise of his life Warbeck gave himself up. But in June **1498** he escaped, was recaptured, and was forced to sit in the stocks on successive days at Westminster and Cheapside, and there to read his confession aloud. He was then lodged in the Tower with the Earl of Warwick. A renewed attempt at escape enabled Henry to rid himself of both,

Execution of Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick

Warbeck suffered on November 16, **1499**, and Warwick, the last dangerous representative of the Plantagenets, twelve days later. This severity was prompted by a fresh plot hatched in the French court, in which a boy named Walford, tutored by a friar called Patrick, had again personated Warwick. They were arrested in Kent. Walford was put to death; Patrick died in prison. The Tudor dynasty was now safe, and Tudor despotism could begin. Henceforward Henry ruled without parliaments until **1504**.

Section 2.—*Beginning of the Tudor Despotism*

Secure at home, Henry now established a great European position. Both Spain and France were, through mutual jealousy, eager for his alliance. Louis XII. of France, who wished to be free to attack Spain in her Italian dominions, made a fresh treaty and paid the Étaples subsidy punctually. Spain was united to England in **1501** by the marriage of Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. Catherine brought a dowry of 200,000 crowns, which she resigned to the king, and of which half was paid down. As Philip of Burgundy had married Mad Joan, Catherine's eldest sister, this alliance brought with it a closer friendship with Philip's dominions in the Netherlands, and, upon the death of Joan's mother Isabella, with Castille, which Joan inherited from her. Four months later Arthur died; at the desire of Ferdinand, who wished to have England on his side in case of war with France, she was contracted to Arthur's younger brother, Henry. But Ferdinand refused to pay the second half of the dowry, and Henry therefore

would not allow the marriage to take place, though he detained Catherine in England. In **1503** the friendship of Scotland, and the possible future union of the two countries -realised when James I. succeeded Elizabeth—was secured by the marriage of Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, to James IV. Meanwhile Elizabeth had followed her son to the grave. Henry at once looked out for a second, and a wealthy, wife. He even proposed to marry his own son's widow; but her mother, Isabella, declared that such a marriage was 'too wicked to be so much as named in Christian ears.' Finally he turned his eyes on Margaret of Savoy, sister of the Archduke Philip. A storm drove Philip and his wife Joan on to the English coast, and Henry detained them, under hospitable pretence, until Philip had promised his sister, with 300,000 crowns, to himself; had consented to the marriage of his infant son Charles—destined to rule over half the known world—to his youngest daughter, Mary; had signed a new treaty of commerce, so favourable to England that in the Netherlands it went by the name of the *Intercursus Malus*; and had agreed to give up Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, brother of the Earl of Lincoln who fell at Stoke, and the last possible claimant to the throne (p. 168), on condition that his life was spared.[5] Shortly afterwards Philip died. Henry at once proposed to marry his widow, Joan; but her pronounced insanity, and Ferdinand's jealousy lest Henry should thus acquire Castille, as well as great influence in the Netherlands, prevented their union.

Marriage projects of Henry

Henry had, meanwhile, never ceased to amass wealth. He sold court offices, bishoprics, and pardons to the Cornish rebels; in **1503**, three years after Arthur's death, he exacted an aid due on making him a knight, and another for the marriage of Margaret to James IV.—feudal dues which had not been heard of since the knighting of the Black Prince. His chief agents for extortion were Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, two barons of the exchequer. Their method was twofold. They revived all the dormant and obsolete claims of the crown under the feudal system,[6] and extended the feudal services unconstitutionally. Secondly, they revived old statutes which had created many offences punishable by fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture, and exacted penalties from officials who had failed to take notice of violations of these statutes. This created a host of informers; hundreds of persons were brought before Empson and Dudley, and, if they refused to pay a fine, a packed jury at once gave a verdict against them for the crown; if they did not appear,

Empson and Dudley

[5] Henry did not break his word, but he left orders at his death that Suffolk should be executed by his son.

[6] Moberly, *The Early Tudors*, p. 61.

they were outlawed, and the outlawry reversed only upon heavy payment. In many cases Empson and Dudley committed persons to prison on their sole authority. The judges—the guardians of liberty under the Plantagenets—became now the mere tools of the crown. It illustrates the strength which Henry had acquired, and the dread of a return to anarchy, that although discontent rose so high in 1504 that the king was forced to forgive many offences and to disavow his agents, yet no actual disturbance began; nor, although the course of oppression was soon resumed, was there any until his death, when he had amassed the enormous sum of 1,800,000*l*. Henry himself, if the story be true, actively seconded Empson and Dudley. Upon leaving the Castle of Hemmingham, where he had been entertained by the Earl of Oxford, one of his warmest partisans, he noticed a number of men in the earl's livery drawn up to do him honour. Upon his inquiry, his host told him that they were his retainers. 'By my faith,' returned the king, 'I thank you for your good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you;' and the earl was fined 100,000*l*. It is very probable, however, that this was collusion, that it was done to impress others, and that the fine was not intended to be exacted.

This constant acquiring of money was not mere avarice. Henry knew that to be secure he must be rich, and that money would enable him to rule without a parliament. He kept his own household with frugality, and, for the first time since the accession of Henry III., the expenses of the crown were less than the income. But when necessary he spent freely. He erected and endowed many religious institutions; and the chapel at Westminster remains to show his taste, wealth, and munificence. Henry did not try to make England great, but safe and prosperous; it was no light matter that under him food was plentiful and cheap. He kept as far as possible out of foreign war, while he asserted England's right to take part in Continental affairs. He found England in confusion, isolated, and weak; he left her orderly, strong, and a European power. In every way he favoured commerce, not only for the sake of the prosperity it brought, but because Edward IV.'s policy in that direction had made the merchant class Yorkist.[7] Merchant shipping was greatly encouraged by an act insisting that wine should come in by English vessels only. His reign closes the period of feudal riot, and begins that of strong monarchy—a monarchy strong because of the previous riot, and because of the weakening of the nobles by death and attainder—which was to test to breaking point the parliamentary system. But, if it was

[7] Moberly, *The Early Tudors*, p. 71.

an epoch for England, it was still more so for Europe at large, and may be said to be the beginning of modern history. It saw the consolidation of the great European monarchies; the disappearance of the old methods of warfare through the use of gunpowder; the rapid spread, from Italy, of the revival of classical learning which followed the sack of Constantinople in **1453**, and of which the development of colleges at Cambridge and Oxford were one symptom; above all, it saw the development of the art of printing and the discovery of the New World. Gutenberg of Maintz had already found out the method of printing by movable types in **1442**. In this reign Caxton set up his press in England; 'Robin Hood' (**1489**), 'Chevy Chace,' 'The Nut-browne Mayde,' and 'The Ship of Fooles' (**1508**), were the earliest triumphs of the art. In **1492** Columbus discovered the West Indian Islands; in **1497** Cabot, sailing in an English ship from Bristol, reached America, and Vasco de Gama found the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope. In this way the great trading centres of Europe were transferred from the shores of the Mediterranean to Spain, Portugal, England, and Holland.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII. 1509–1547. *TUDOR DESPOTISM CONFIRMED BY PARLIAMENT*

SECTION 1.—*Henry and the Continent. Wolsey and the 'Balance of Power'*

HENRY VIII. was eighteen years old when he ascended the throne on April 22, **1509**. In person he was said to resemble his grandfather, Edward IV., the handsomest man in Europe. He was tall and strong, with bright complexion and short golden hair. He was an adept in all manly exercises and highly educated. His state papers show keen perception and great power of expression. He spoke four languages; he knew much of music, medicine, engineering, and shipbuilding; he was widely read in theology. An intense love of pleasure and high spirits concealed during two years' revelry an invincible self-will and an inexorable temper which no thought of mercy or justice could affect.[1]

Person and character

[1] 'He is sure a prince of a royal courage,' said Wolsey, on his deathbed, 'and rather than he will want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one-half of his realm in danger,'

Almost his first act was to arrest Empson and Dudley. They pleaded legal justification for their acts. But they were attainted upon the charge of conspiring to seize the government at the death of Henry VII., and Henry was forced to yield to the popular cry for their blood. The Star Chamber was kept in vigorous action against all forms of riot and violence; gambling and games of skill were forbidden to all except those of noble birth by a law which is still in force; rough games, such as football, were forbidden as tending to violence; but in their stead everyone between the ages of seven and sixty was ordered to practise archery at the range of 220 yards at stated times. To the navy Henry gave much personal attention.[2]

Execution of Empson and Dudley

But the young monarch soon began to long for distinction in actual warfare. An opportunity came when the pretensions of Louis XII. to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, and his attack upon the Pope, brought about the 'Holy League' of **1511**. Henry joined it; he was proud of his orthodoxy; flattered by the titles of 'Head of the Italian League' and 'Most Christian King'; and his affection for Catherine of Aragon, whom he had married two months after his accession, placed him under the influence of Ferdinand. Urged on by the national hatred of France, and in spite of the warning of his council that the use of firearms had robbed England of the advantage of her supremacy in archery, he formed a separate treaty with Ferdinand for a joint invasion of Guienne. The failure of the expedition caused him the deepest discouragement, from which, however, he was roused by a gallant feat of arms off Brest by his fleet under Sir Edward Howard. In **1513** he made a second treaty with Ferdinand and the Emperor Maximilian, whom he took into his pay, and he landed in France with 25,000 men. Catherine was left regent, and, to secure her against disturbance, Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, was executed in accordance with the will of Henry VII. Terouenne was besieged, and an action took place, August 22, which, from the precipitate flight of the relieving force of French cavalry, ever afterwards bore the name of the 'Battle of Spurs.' The place surrendered, and in September Henry captured Tournai. It was then agreed that for 200,000 crowns the emperor should renew the war in June **1514**, and should consent to carry out the marriage of his grandson Charles and Henry's sister Mary (p. 177): an insignificant result for an expenditure equal to seven and a half millions of our money.

The Holy League against France

Battle of Spurs

[2] Moberly, *The Early Tudors*, p. 100.

It was in the preparations for this war that Thomas Wolsey first came into prominence. He was born at Ipswich in **1471** of well-to-do parents, and was sent to Oxford at eleven, taking his bachelor's degree four years later. Favour and ability rapidly raised him to a royal chaplaincy under Henry VII.; he was employed in delicate missions to Maximilian and James IV., became dean of Lincoln in **1508**, and was introduced by Fox to Henry VIII., in the hope that he would succeed in leading him to adopt peaceful councils. His knowledge of foreign politics, his versatility, his ability for business, his learning and wit, and his ready companionship in the king's more frivolous pleasures, soon gave him commanding influence. His great idea was that in the quarrels of the Continent England should preserve an armed neutrality so strong that she might at any moment reap the utmost advantage from the rivalry between France and Spain which he saw must henceforward be a chief factor in Continental politics. He was the first diplomatist England had produced, the first who realised the idea of allowing no one power to gain overwhelming strength, expressed in the modern phrase 'the balance of power.' At home he saw in the royal strength the only guarantee for national union and for stability in the changes which were coming; in his eyes the king alone could give expression to the national will.

Thomas Wolsey

'Balance of power'

While Henry was still before Tournai great news reached him. In August **1513**, James IV., now the active ally of France, invaded England with 100,000 men. He crossed the Tweed at its confluence with the Till, and when the Earl of Surrey advanced to meet him took up an impregnable position on Flodden Edge. Surrey hereupon crossed the Till, followed its right bank until he was between the Scots and their own country, then recrossed at Twissel Bridge, and marched against James from the north. The Scots thereupon, unperceived by Surrey, took up a fresh position on Branxton Hill, further to the north. The day was misty, and on a sudden the English found themselves at the foot of the hill, with the Scots barely a quarter of a mile off, rushing down the steep slope to the attack. Each army was in four distinct bodies. The extreme English right under Edmund Howard was broken by the charge of Home's spearmen; but it rallied and a dubious fight was at length determined for the English by the charge of Lord Dacre and 1,500 horse. Next to the left, Thomas Howard, Lord High Admiral, after a desperate struggle routed the 7,000 Scots who assailed him. Surrey was attacked by James himself, who had hewn his way to within a few yards of the royal standard, when Sir Edward Stanley, who on the extreme left had broken

Battle of Flodden

the Highlanders of Lennox and Argyle, and had chased them over the hill, turned about and charged down upon James in rear. This decided the fight. It had lasted barely an hour; but James himself, nearly the whole Scottish peerage, and 10,000 men had fallen. For a long time the dread of Flodden lay so heavy upon the Scots that, although they made one or two expeditions over the border, the news of the approach of an English force was alone needed to send them hastily home. Surrey, the son of the Duke of Norfolk who fell at Bosworth, was now restored to his father's title; his son, Lord Thomas Howard, became earl of Surrey in his place; Brandon, the king's intimate friend, was made duke of Suffolk; Herbert, earl of Somerset; Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle. Wolsey received the rich bishoprics of Tournai and Lincoln, and was shortly afterwards created archbishop of York. His position was now extraordinary. His wealth was enormous, for Henry was a lavish master, and Charles, Francis, and the pope gave handsome presents to secure his favour. He appeared abroad with the utmost pomp, and maintained a household rivalling that of the king himself, in which young nobles were proud to serve. The whole business of the country was in his hands. Henry had persuaded the pope to make him first cardinal and then legate; and as such he was superior even to the primate. As chancellor he presided both at the Chancery and the Star Chamber, and showed himself an upright judge. There was nothing more for him to aim at but the papacy. When Leo X. died in **1522**, Henry, who hoped to use Wolsey in Christendom as Henry II. had hoped to use Becket in England, pressed for his election, but Charles secured that of his own tutor Adrian; and he was again disappointed when Adrian in turn died and was succeeded by Clement III. All absorbing as it was, Wolsey's power hung by a thread, the caprice of his master; it contained indeed the seeds of its own destruction. Immersed in business, he was forced to give up that intimacy with the king in his lighter pleasures by which he had largely acquired his influence. Henry began to choose his intimates among the nobles, and the nobles to a man were the jealous enemies of the middle-class upstart. Meanwhile the policy of the balance of power was steadily maintained by Wolsey.

Position of Wolsey

In August **1514**, when Maximilian and Ferdinand both refused to continue the war, it led to the marriage of Louis XII., fifty-three years old, with Henry's sister Mary, then sixteen. But Louis died in the following January, and Mary, who had married him to please Henry, now declared that she would please herself, and became the wife of her former lover Brandon, the duke of Suffolk, and by him the ancestress of Lady

Marriage of Mary, Henry's sister, to the Duke of Suffolk

Jane Gray. In **1519**, by the deaths of Ferdinand and the Emperor Maximilian, Charles became master of Austria, Germany, Spain and her colonies, Italy, the Netherlands, Sicily, Artois, and Franche-Compté. Three despots—Charles, Francis I., and Henry—the eldest of whom was not yet thirty years of age, divided Europe between them. They became competitors for the vacant imperial title, and Charles secured it. Francis, who was bent upon gaining northern Italy for France, at once sought Henry's alliance, and a meeting took place between the two monarchs near Calais, ever since known as the 'Cloth of Gold,' from the extravagant magnificence displayed. But Charles had not been idle; he had already secretly visited Henry at Canterbury, had overcome the jealousy caused by his elevation, and had arranged terms with him which made the treaty with Francis a mere farce. War broke out between Charles and Francis in **1521**, and Henry was asked to arbitrate. Wolsey had charge of the negotiations; but Henry's keen jealousy of Francis, in whom he saw a rival in every form of personal prowess, Catherine's affection for her nephew Charles, and the intense anti-French feeling of the whole nation, dictated the decision. Wolsey's policy of armed neutrality was swept to the winds, and Henry agreed with Charles to attack Francis in concert, on receiving his promise to marry the little Princess Mary when twelve years old.[3] Two desolating but futile raids were made in the autumn of **1522** through the north and north-east of France. The war then went on between Charles and Francis; but in February **1525** Francis was disastrously defeated and captured at Pavia; among the slain was Richard de la Pole, the last Yorkist claimant, brother of the Earl of Lincoln who fell at Stoke, and of the murdered Duke of Suffolk (p. 179). Henry now proposed to Charles that they should meet at Paris and divide the kingdom, he himself becoming king of France, while Charles took the Burgundian provinces.

'Cloth of Gold'

War in France

But money was sorely needed, for the treasure of Henry VII. had long been exhausted. In April **1524** the king called a parliament, and Wolsey came down in state and demanded 800,000*l*. But the Commons behaved with spirit. They refused to discuss the matter until Wolsey left the house; and after a debate of fifteen days they

[3] As Catherine had no son, Mary was the destined successor. To show the earnestness of his alliance, Henry now struck down the Duke of Buckingham, the head of the English nobility, and allied to other great houses, who, as descended from Edward III. by his younger son, Thomas of Woodstock (p. 165), would be heir to the throne if her succession were denied. For a long time he had been carefully watched, and at length it was declared that he had used words which showed his purpose to seize the crown on Henry's death. In 1521 he was suddenly arrested, condemned by his peers, and beheaded.

and the clergy made such limited offers that Henry determined to raise the money by prerogative. He demanded, as an 'amicable loan,' from the clergy a quarter, from the laity a sixth, of their property. But the clergy resisted obstinately; Magna Carta was appealed to; in Kent 4,000 men rose in arms, and Henry was obliged to give way.

The needs of Charles were equally great. Other causes of difference arose, and he refused to co-operate in the suggested enterprise. Henry's self-love was wounded, and he allowed the policy of the balance of power to be revived. For his offer of an active alliance the French government, in their king's captivity, promised an enormous subsidy, the repayment of Mary's dowry, and a large present to Wolsey; the Dauphin, instead of Charles, was to marry Henry's daughter Mary; Boulogne was to pass into the hands of England, and war was to be made jointly upon Charles. Francis secretly ratified these terms both in captivity and after he had, with the utmost duplicity, secured his release by promises to Charles in exactly the opposite sense.

Alliance with France

GENEALOGICAL TABLE XII

The Howards

John Howard, duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth 1485

Thomas, earl of Surrey; at Flodden 1513; duke of Norfolk 1514

- Thomas, duke of Norfolk
  - Henry, earl of Surrey, ex. 1547
    - Thomas, duke of Norfolk, ex. 1572
- Edmund
  - Catherine = Henry VIII.
- William, Lord Howard of Effingham
  - Charles, earl of Nottingham
- Elizabeth = Thomas Boleyn
  - Anne Boleyn = Henry VIII.
    - Queen Elizabeth

Section 2.—*The Revival of Learning, and Luther. The Divorce, and Fall of Wolsey*

Meanwhile two great intellectual movements were preparing the way for wide political change. The revival of the study of the Latin writers and Greek philosophers, as opposed to the only study of the middle ages, that of theology, was widening the bounds of mental knowledge, as the discovery of America widened those of physical knowledge. The revolt against monkish asceticism was complete. Every form of art was keenly cultivated; to make the present life enjoyable became the great object. Discovery led to

Revival of learning

curiosity, to inquiry and criticism. On the Continent this brought about a rapid decrease in the strength of the old religious beliefs, far more rapid than in England. The English 'humanists,' as they were called—men like Colet, Sir Thomas More, Archbishop Warham, Bishop Fisher, and, to a great degree, Wolsey—were men of deep religion, and welcomed the new learning as helping to raise the general standard of life and duty. The great chief of the humanists, Erasmus, came to England in the reign of Henry VI., and it was under his influence that Fox founded grammar schools instead of monasteries, and that the Lady Margaret, Henry VII.'s mother, established colleges at Cambridge.

Protestantism

Closely connected with this movement, as part of the general attack upon old modes of thought, was the great 'protest' of Luther in **1517** against the corruptions of Rome, from which Protestantism takes its name. His doctrines soon excited attention in England; but they received no favour at court. His books were publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross. Wolsey, as pope's legate, of course opposed them. Henry earned from Clement the title ever since borne by our sovereigns of 'Defender of the Faith,' by his treatise against Luther in **1521**, and an angry correspondence passed between them. Nothing seemed less likely than that the king should waver in his orthodoxy. But at this moment other influences began to act decisively upon his mind.

Divorce of Catherine of Aragon

The plain facts were that he was tired of his wife, and had been captivated by the sparkling beauty of Anne Boleyn, a granddaughter of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who, when earl of Surrey, had won the battle of Flodden (p. 180). Catherine's conduct had been blameless, but she was now over forty, she had borne Henry no son, and she had not concealed her anger at the breaking off of the alliance with her nephew Charles. Wolsey, though it was known that he utterly disapproved of Henry's intention, was not great enough to oppose it, and he shamefully lent himself to one device after another for securing a divorce, on the ground that Henry's marriage with his brother's wife was against the Levitical law. But public opinion ran vehemently in favour of Catherine and of the alliance with Charles, as master of the Netherlands; and an appeal for a favourable decision from the English divines had little success. Francis also, whose son was to marry Mary, Catherine's daughter, was not likely to favour what would make his destined bride illegitimate.

Difficulties of the pope

The pope, the final arbiter, was in great straits. He was practically in the power of Charles; he had just witnessed the sack of Rome by his troops, and he dared not risk his further anger by such an

outrage on his aunt. On the other hand, he did not wish to drive Henry to an open breach with the papacy by a refusal of his application for a commission with power to decide the matter. He compromised by appointing his legate, Campeggio, to act with Wolsey, but without plenary power.

Campeggio tried to induce first Henry and then Catherine to give way. Failing with both, and having exhausted all methods of delay, he opened his court in June **1529**. Catherine protested against the jurisdiction of the court. Henry then demanded judgment. After a dignified appeal to his better feelings, Catherine appealed to Rome. On July 23 Campeggio found an excuse for adjourning the commission for two months. Before the interval expired the pope was freed from the need of conciliating Henry by the agreement of Charles and Francis at the Peace of Cambrai, August **1529**, to support him. He recalled Campeggio, and summoned the cause to Rome.

Campeggio

To Wolsey this meant ruin. He had only maintained his position by subservience to Henry and Anne. All the king's wrath at the failure of his design was vented upon him. He stood alone. Anne regarded him as the author of the delay in her elevation, and, with the old nobility, headed by Norfolk, did all in her power to maintain Henry's resentment. He was suddenly served with a writ of *præmunire* (p. 123) for exercising legatine authority derogatory to that of the king, though this had been in direct obedience to Henry's command. On October 16 the great seal was taken from him, and he was banished the court. He made an abject submission, and gave up all his temporal possessions to the king, leaving himself destitute. Sir Thomas More[4] became chancellor; Gardiner, Anne Boleyn's chief agent, took his bishopric of Winchester; and Norfolk and Suffolk were placed at the head of the council. Their incapacity caused a partial restoration of Wolsey; in February **1530** he was pardoned and replaced in his archbishopric. But Anne and his other enemies were unsatisfied. The funds he had collected for his college at his native town of Ipswich were forfeited, and he barely succeeded in saving that which he had established at Oxford, called Cardinal College, now Christ Church. It was found out that he had applied to Francis for his intercession, and this led to his final disgrace. On November 4 he was arrested and brought on his way to London. At Leicester, worn out with disease and disappointment, he

Fall of Wolsey

[4] His celebrated work, the 'Utopia,' or 'Nowhere,' conveys, under the form of a description of an ideal commonwealth, the bitterest satire upon the actual state of things in England.

died, November 1530, a lonely and unlamented man. His best epitaph is that 'it would be difficult to find in modern Europe an instance of a country worse governed than England was during the generation that elapsed between the fall of Wolsey and the death of Mary.'

Section 3.—*Separation from Rome. The Commons the Instrument of Despotism*

But before Wolsey died he had seen momentous changes. He knew that the church needed reform, and he had hoped to reform it without injuring its framework. But the nobles were as eager as they had been under John of Ghent (p. 125) to see the power of the church swept away, and to spoil it of its revenues. By their side was a body of politicians with still more drastic aims, of whom Thomas Cromwell[5] was the guiding spirit. Cromwell, a man of low origin, had, after a life of obscure adventure, become Wolsey's confidential agent. He had lived long in Italy, and had imbibed the principles of political statecraft set forth in Machiavelli's 'Prince.' He had won golden opinion by his spirited defence of his master in his last days, and it was upon Wolsey's recommendation that he had been taken into similar confidence by Henry. He soon became the king's secretary and government leader in the House of Commons; and, as his advice fell in more and more with Henry's bent, he rapidly acquired, like Wolsey, the whole administrative power. His principle simply was, as with Richelieu in France in later days, to raise the king to absolute authority upon the ruin of every rival influence, and in especial to abolish all independence on the part of the church—so often the great check to despotism. This he intended to do by the hands of parliament itself; parliament was to be the tool of the crown, no longer a check or a danger to it. Of the church, as owning allegiance to Rome, the layman Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and the monks of the Charterhouse were the representatives. There were also the doctrinal Protestants,[6] among whom Wiclif's principles were still maintained, and against whom the other parties were united, and who were known only as heretics, scanty in number, powerless for political action, a mark for abuse, scorn, and unsparing persecution. Since the reign of Henry IV. the laws against heresy had been strictly enforced. Several persons had died at the stake under Henry VII.; it was death to be

Thomas Cromwell

Protestants in England

[5] For the whole career of Thomas Cromwell, read Green, *Hist. of England*, book v. ch. iv.; or *Short Hist.* ch. vi. sec. vi.

[6] Neither Henry nor anyone else except the Protestants had any idea of change in the *doctrines* of the church.

detected reading Wiclif's Bible (p. 130), of which a few copies were secretly treasured up. But about **1525** an Oxford student, named William Tyndale, fled to the Continent, where, under Luther's direction, he translated and annotated the New Testament in **1526**; and he sent an edition of 3,000, with other Protestant books and tracts, to England, to distribute which a few poor men and lower clergy formed the 'Christian brotherhood.' Wolsey, though not of a persecuting spirit, did his best to put them down. Many fled abroad; the universities were purged of the heretics; and Tyndale's works were solemnly burnt at St. Paul's cross. Wolsey's fall brought no relief. The Protestants were regarded as common enemies; the bishops increased their activity; Sir Thomas More, who had accepted office in hopes of carrying out conservative church reform, was merciless, enlightened as he was; and burnings became a common sight at Smithfield.

Tyndale's New Testament

In **1529** Henry called a parliament, whose work, lasting until **1536**, was to be memorable. The House of Commons was carefully packed with crown nominees; while the abbots, who formed about a third of the Lords, were 'excused' from attendance. Henry appeared before them a bankrupt, and their first act was to release him from the repayment of all the money he had borrowed.[7] Then they fell to their chief work—the absolute destruction of the church system. Englishmen generally, who had always fought against papal assumptions, were now especially bitter when they saw their king cited to Rome (p. 187), and were more than ever ready to enforce the independence of the crown. Convocation and the church courts were first attacked, and acts were passed against their power and abuses. Excessive fees for religious services, lay employments of clergy, pluralities, non-residence, and benefit of clergy were forbidden, and the law of mortmain (p. 94) strengthened. The church resisted, and Henry wavered. But Cromwell was ready to point out that while the church was independent, England was a 'monster with two heads.' He had already urged Henry to settle the divorce, which underlay the whole controversy, by his own supremacy. He now advised him to threaten the whole clergy with a *præmunire*—the weapon with which he had already overthrown Wolsey—for having acknowledged Wolsey's legatine authority. Panic-stricken, convocation, early in **1531**, offered 120,000*l.* to wipe out its offence, and then reluctantly admitted the claim of Henry to be 'the singular protector and only supreme governor of the

Parliament of 1529–1536

Henry the supreme head of the church

7 This was repeated in 1544, with the provision that if he had repaid any the creditor or his heirs should refund.

English church, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, its supreme head.'

The threat of *præmunire* had fairly opened the campaign against the pope. In May **1531** Henry was summoned to Rome for the trial of the divorce. He replied by an act—for which he had forced convocation itself to petition—utterly abolishing all power of independent legislation on its part; by another forbidding appeals to Rome; and by a third suspending the payments to Rome of first-fruits and tenths—the whole income, that is, of the first, and a tenth of each succeeding year's income. Thus all judicial and financial connection with Rome was broken off. Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship in protest.

Appeals and payments to Rome forbidden

Henry was vigorously seconded not only by Cromwell but by Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman whose time-serving character has been forgotten in the pathetic greatness of his end, and who, by writing in favour of the divorce, contending for it at Rome, and obtaining opinions in its favour from the English and foreign universities, had become king's chaplain, and in **1533**, though married, archbishop of Canterbury. He had taken the oath of obedience to the pope—who was bribed into sanctioning the appointment by a half promise that the annates should, after all, be paid—but only after promising to uphold the royal authority and the desired reforms. In November **1532** Clement had threatened Henry with excommunication if he did not restore Catherine: but, in January **1533**, the king secretly married Anne. Convocation was forced to declare his first marriage illegal, and in May Cranmer held a court at Dunstable, at which the marriage with Anne Boleyn was declared valid. In July the pope reversed Cranmer's decision. The conflict went on with increasing vehemence until, in **1534**, the admission of convocation was followed up by the *Act of Supremacy*, which made the king 'the only supreme head on earth of the church of England,' and vested all ecclesiastical authority solely in the crown. In **1535** he took the title, 'On earth supreme head of the church of England,' and made Cromwell his vicar-general, who thus, since he was also chancellor, was absolutely supreme. In **1534** the 'Nun of Kent'—a peasant-girl named Elizabeth Barton—who in her true or pretended trances denounced Henry's measures, had been executed, with a number of monks; while More, Fisher, and the Countess of Salisbury—the niece of Edward IV. (p. 168)—had been thrown into prison for corresponding with her. Another act in **1534** still further subjected the church. Nominally bishops were elected by the chapters of the cathedrals; really their appointment had for a long time been

Thomas Cranmer

Act of Supremacy

made by the pope on the nomination of the crown. But now the pope's power ceased; the freedom of election, *congé d'élire*, was nominally re-

Election of bishops given to the crown

stored to the chapters; but the chapters were forced to choose the candidate nominated by the king under pain of *præmunire*, and this continues to the present day. All authority over monasteries was taken from the bishops and handed over to the crown. Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Anne Boleyn, born September **1533**, was then declared successor, and an oath to her succession imposed on all subjects. Finally it was declared that England did not 'decline or vary from the articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom, or from anything declared in the Word of God to be necessary for salvation.' The church remained Catholic, while it became anti-papal and purely national; the change was one of allegiance, not doctrine; the legislation which began with the Constitutions of Clarendon, and had been carried on by the acts of Edward III., reached its climax in **1534**. This great change and the growing ruthlessness of Henry, sup-

Execution of More, Fisher, and the monks of the Charterhouse

ported by the determination of Cromwell, were emphasised in a terrible way. In May **1535** Haughton, the prior of the Charterhouse, and many of his monks, suffered the terrible death of traitors for refusing the oath of succession. Two of the best of living Englishmen, More and Fisher—the latter a cardinal—who refused to acknowledge the royal supremacy as defined in **1534**, and who, though they were ready to acknowledge the power of altering the succession, would not swear to the invalidity of Catherine's marriage, also died in June and July of the same year.

This was the work of Cromwell. Bloodshed without a purpose was as foolish as any other act of policy without a purpose; but, with

Cromwell's system of terror and spies

a purpose, it gave him no scruples. In carrying out his reign of terror he struck, utterly without passion or personal feeling, wherever his blows could have most effect. 'If he struck at the church, it was through the Carthusians, the holiest and most renowned of English churchmen. If he struck at the baronage, it was through Lady Salisbury, in whose veins flowed the blood of kings. If he struck at the new learning, it was through the murder of Sir Thomas More.' Upon the king he kept his hold by working upon his dread of conspiracy. Plots, genuine or feigned, were constantly discovered and suppressed by his care. His spies were everywhere. In the words of Erasmus, it was 'as if a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone.' Not an idle word or murmur escaped his vigilance. Even in silence there was no safety; a law was passed which obliged men to reveal their very *thoughts* on pain of their silence being punished as treason. Under the same terror juries and judges

were coerced into giving the verdicts and sentences which he desired. When this failed, the terrible weapon of attainder was used without mercy, nor was the accused permitted to defend himself. Never before or since did England pass through so terrible a time.[8]

Section 4.—*The Dissolution of the Monasteries*

But danger was now threatening Henry. Conspiracy was detected in the north; Ireland broke out in rebellion. Charles V. and Francis were likely to attack him in concert; and he knew that the Pope had drawn up a bull for his deposition. He was anxious to conciliate the Catholics, and, as Catherine was dead, he might do so if Anne were out of the way. Cromwell therefore made up his mind to sacrifice Anne to the political exigency. He was glad to be free of a rival influence. Henry was tired of her, and she had borne him no son. In April **1536** she was suddenly brought before a packed court on charges of adultery, incest, and conspiring against the king. The charges were manifestly false; but on May 15 she was found guilty, her uncle Norfolk being one of her judges. Cranmer declared the marriage null and void from the first, which, of course, made the charge of adultery absurd; and, on May 19, the unfortunate woman was beheaded. The next day Henry married Jane Seymour, who bore him a son in **1537**, but died a few days later. But his unpopularity with the Catholics was undiminished, while he seemed now ready, under Cromwell's influence, to break with them doctrinally. He had planned an anti-papal league in northern Europe; in **1535** he had thought of joining the 'Confession of Augsburg,' the embodiment of Lutheran views. But the momentous step was the order that in every church in England there should be placed a copy of the Bible, which, when the bishops demurred, he employed Miles Coverdale to translate. For this, after his habit, he secured a petition from convocation itself. No blow had been struck for individual freedom which could compare with this since the Assize of Arms of Henry II. (p. 71). In **1536** he published the 'Articles to establish Christian quietness,' in which he leans to the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, and attacks those of purgatory and indulgences. To the pope's bull of deposition he had already replied by the dissolution of the monasteries.

Execution of Anne Boleyn

Bibles in the churches

This idea was as old as the Lollards. Henry V. had confiscated the alien priories—those subordinate to abbeys on the Continent. Henry VII., Wolsey, and Henry VIII. had also, with the pope's sanction, dissolved a large number of insignificant priories, convents,

[8] Green, *History of the English People*, vol. ii. p. 164; or *Short Hist.* p. 341.

and monasteries, the funds of which had gone to the foundation of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and of Eton. Many more were swept away in **1529** to provide for the building of new cathedrals.

Cromwell's visitation of the monasteries

Cromwell now made use of the power of visitation which had been surrendered to the crown in **1534**. In **1535** he sent visitors to every religious house in England. Their reports were laid before parliament, amid shouts of 'Down with them!' and, in February **1536**, Henry was prayed to confiscate to the crown the revenues of all the houses with an income of less than 200*l.* a year. The remainder were placed under rules so onerous that many surrendered of their own accord.

The real object of this suppression, on the part both of Henry and the courtiers, was to get money; the ostensible ground was that the monasteries had become the homes of corruption and immorality. Undoubtedly, they had grievously fallen from their former standard of purity and industry; though, since the commissioners were expected to make out a case against them, and since in four months they were expected to examine into the state of more than a thousand houses, no fair estimate can be formed. But they performed so many functions in English life that this sudden destruction caused widespread confusion and distress. From their superior education, the 'religious' had almost all the practice of business in their hands. 'The advisers and teachers of all, they had the work now undertaken by the guardians, the relieving officer, the parish doctor, and the schoolmaster.' They held free schools within their walls, supported scholars at the universities, and young clerics up to ordination. They formed the only agents of poor relief. By the almsgiving, which was the fundamental religious duty, they may have created mendicancy, but they also relieved genuine distress. They established hospitals; no sick man, however loathsome might be his disease, was turned away; the peasant woman in labour could go for her time of peril to be nursed in a nunnery (p. 15). To the poor the change must have been terrible. Those who were before poor now became paupers. Their ranks were swelled by the monks and nuns and servants who were turned adrift. For one beggar in the early years of Henry there were a hundred in the early years of Elizabeth. As if foreseeing the distress, an act was passed to collect voluntary subscriptions in each parish for the relief of the poor. Moreover, the monasteries had been kindly and indulgent landlords. The new owners rack-rented the farms and enclosed the common lands, upon which a poor man had been able to keep a cow or a few sheep, or to grow a little corn. The rich grew richer, the poor poorer; class feeling was

Use of monasteries in England

embittered. Many convents had appropriated benefices, and derived their revenues from parochial tithes. These now became the property of those to whom the dissolved houses were granted; and thus began the system of lay rectorships. These lay patrons for the most part kept the money, and made no provision for the spiritual needs of the parishes. The old schools for the poor were turned into upper-class schools. In every way the poor suffered.[9]

Lay patronage

It is not surprising, therefore—though Cromwell had prepared the way by appointing preachers to persuade the people that the monks were bad men and worse landlords, and that if their revenues were taken taxation would be lightened—that fierce resistance was made by the people. At Hexham the commissioners were driven off by the monks themselves. At Louth, in Lincolnshire, a serious rising took place. But upon the arrival of Suffolk, with an overwhelming force, the insurgents dispersed; fifty of them were hung, with two abbots and many priests. Their chief complaints had been that the king had kept for himself the payments formerly made to Rome; that a commission had been appointed to inquire into the life of every priest and dismiss him at will; that Cromwell and others 'of poor birth and small repute,' with Cranmer and such as 'subverted the faith of Christ,' had been promoted. At the same time the reaction against Cromwell and his policy came to a head in the great movement in Yorkshire known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' Under the command of a young lawyer named Robert Aske, 30,000 men of the better classes marched to York and restored the monks; and soon all Yorkshire, except Skipton and Scarborough castles, was in their hands. They demanded simply the undoing of what had been done, with the punishment of Cromwell, Cranmer, and the reforming bishops. Upon large promises from Henry, however, they dispersed. Cromwell then struck hard at the northern nobility, the highest among them were hanged or beheaded; six abbots, with many priests and rebels of lower degree, were hanged; Lady Bulmer was burnt. An important result was the institution of a Lord President and a Council of the North, which sat for four months each year at York, Newcastle, Durham, and Hull. The recurrence of partial risings in **1537** gave Henry an excuse for severity; and all the larger abbeys which had been spared in **1536** were suppressed, the friaries following in **1538**. The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester were hung for treason. The dissolution was completed by an act vesting the lands in the king and his grantees, and declaring

Resistance. The Pilgrimage of Grace

[9] See Gasquet, *Monasteries under Henry VIII.*, for the account of their uses and destruction, from the Catholic side.

that they had been surrendered voluntarily. The bent of Henry's mind at the moment is shown by the authorised publication of the 'Institution of a Christian Man'—a work strongly Protestant in character, drawn up by Cranmer and Fox, and known as the 'Bishop's Book.' In this the idea of passive obedience—obeying the king as God's representative—was first expressed.

From these confiscations Henry realised a sum equal to fifteen millions of our money, as well as all the plate and ornaments. About 34,000*l.* was given in pensions to ejected 'religious,' who had submitted quietly. Five new bishoprics were formed, and a few schools endowed; the ships, harbours, and royal palaces were repaired; more than half a million went ostensibly for military purposes; and nearly 300,000*l.* for the household. But it seems certain that the greater part was given to the nobles—which accounts for their willing concurrence—or sold at an absurdly low price. Large numbers of our wealthiest families first became wealthy then. During the last eight years of his life Henry gave 420 monasteries to courtiers. Two effects of the utmost importance resulted, neither desired nor foreseen. The large decrease in the number of the lords consequent upon the exclusion of abbots, made them less able to withstand the course of the Reformation; while the establishment of a new territorial aristocracy out of the spoil,[1] pledged to support the antipapal policy which had enriched them, reformed the barrier against the royal prerogative which the Wars of the Roses had swept away.

Spending of the money

Section 5.—*Reaction. Fall of Cromwell*

The church had acknowledged the royal supremacy, and had surrendered the power of making laws and canons by her own authority. The election of bishops was in the hands of the crown, and the monasteries were dissolved. The parish clergy alone remained, and Cromwell, recognising the power of the pulpit, now put out a series of injunctions which turned them into mere mouth-pieces of the royal will. No priest might preach without Cromwell's licence. Even then both the topics of his sermons and the method of treatment were clearly prescribed. Theological controversy was utterly forbidden; but every bishop and parish priest was required to preach against the papal claims and in support of the royal supremacy. The bishop was held responsible for the clergy, and the sheriffs for the bishops.

But though Henry had thus enslaved the church, several things made him anxious once more to conciliate Catholic opinion. A general break-up of religious observances, a flood of ribaldry and violence, had

[1] Such as the Cavendishes, Russells, Seymours, Cecils, Dudleys.

followed the late measures. He set to work to show that he was no 'patron of heretics,' and himself pronounced sentence of death upon them. In **1538** a plot broke out in which were concerned the last representatives of the House of York, Edward Courtenay, the Marquis of Exeter, grandson of Edward IV., the Countess of Salisbury, Clarence's daughter, and her three sons, Lord Montacute, Geoffrey Pole, who betrayed the plot, and Reginald Pole, a priest, who shortly became cardinal, and who, in his book on 'The Unity of the Church,' had attacked Henry's policy. Montacute and Exeter were executed in **1539**, and the aged Countess of Salisbury in **1541**. But it appeared that both Charles V. and the pope were cognisant of this plot, and Henry became the more anxious to make his orthodoxy clear. He issued an exhortation for 'decency in externals,' and then made parliament impose the famous 'Six Articles,' the complete negation of Protestantism. The first of these imposed death for the denial of Transubstantiation.[2] Open speech against either of the others was felony; the publication of contrary opinions in writing entailed imprisonment and confiscation for the first and death for the second offence, and severe penalties were enjoined against any breach of the third and fourth acts. Under these acts, though Henry said more than he meant, and though Cromwell was opposed to them, some thirty lives were taken. Men went to death on the one hand for denying the royal supremacy, on the other for denying Transubstantiation. Cranmer was forced to dismiss his wife; bishop Latimer lost his see.

Conspiracy against Henry

The 'Six Articles'

Henry's despotism was uncontrolled. He had reduced parliament to absolute subservience; and parliament now crowned all by an act giving to his proclamation the force of laws. None the less, it must never be forgotten that it *was* parliament which did all this; the law of Edward III. (p. 126) was widened to include many new treasons; men were murdered by attainders without trial; Cromwell could order persons 'to be tried and executed;' life and property were without any practical safeguard; but all this was nominally by the will of parliament. The substance of liberty was gone, but the form and machinery remained; and thus, when times came more favourable for liberty, there was no difficulty

Despotism through parliament

[2] The others were, (2) The communion was to be 'in one kind' to laymen—*i.e.* the cup was not to be given, as the Protestants wished. (3) Priests were to be unmarried. (4) Vows of chastity were to be observed—*i.e.* monks and nuns were to remain so, although monasteries and nunneries had disappeared. (5) Private masses were to be maintained. (6) Auricular confession was expedient and necessary.

in restoring it. Had parliament been less corrupt, it would probably have been swept away, and a permanent despotism established.

Cromwell had now to fall, like the vizier of some Oriental despot, at a breath of caprice. The old nobility whom he had eclipsed were headed by his bitter foe, the duke of Norfolk. All whom the Reformation had injured were his enemies. The courtiers, gorged with plunder, had no further interest in supporting him; Henry, incapable of gratitude, had no further work for him as in the past. He fell like Wolsey, though his fall was even more dramatically sudden, at the first moment when his advice clashed with his master's passion. Honestly attached to Protestantism, he urged Henry to marry Anne, sister to the powerful Protestant Duke of Cleves; to unite with France and the German princes against Charles V., and thus to stop the Catholic reaction in Europe. But on her arrival Henry took a profound disgust to her person. The alliance, too, was unpopular as threatening our trade with Flanders. But he dared not draw back for fear of driving the duke into alliance with Charles and Francis against him; and the marriage took place, January 6, **1540**. As late as June Cromwell's favour seemed firm; he was created earl of Essex and knight of the Garter. But on June 10 he was suddenly arrested at the council table. Norfolk, expressing in that one action the whole aristocratic hatred, leaped up and tore the order of St. George from his breast. The garter was taken from him; he was lodged in the Tower, and charged with encroaching on the royal authority, protecting heresy, and conspiracy. The reign of terror had left him without a friend. He had 'tortured words into treason,' and he was treated now with the same measures. He was forbidden, according to the law he had himself secured, to make any defence. 'He shall be judged by the bloody laws he has himself made!' was the cry. The terrible weapon of attainder which he had perfected was used against him, and he was executed on July 1. The last marriage was then annulled as extorted by external circumstances; Anne was divorced by act of parliament, and remained in England with 3,000*l.* a year. On the day of Cromwell's death Norfolk carried a bill for the better observance of the Six Articles; several who opposed them were burnt; while at the same time several priests who would not acknowledge the supremacy were hanged. Parliament brought the doctrine of the supremacy to its logical conclusion by an act enabling the king to declare the judgment of the English church on all theological questions, and in **1543** it was made death to disagree with his opinions. In the same year it was ordered that the Bible should be printed without note or comment

Marriage with Anne of Cleves

Fall and death of Cromwell

and many restrictions, enforced with heavy penalties, were laid upon reading it. In **1544** Cranmer, though protected by Henry, was vehemently attacked, and 'The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man,' generally called 'The King's Book,' as Catholic in tone as the 'Bishops' Book' (p. 193) was Protestant, was published, and remained the only standard of orthodoxy until the next reign.

Section 6.—*The Close of the Reign*

In Scotland, as in England, the Reformation had been supported by the nobles through greed for the church lands. They looked for support to England against their king, James V., who, having married Mary of Guise, was in alliance with France, and was the champion of the church. War thus came about between the two countries. The burden of Flodden still lay upon the Scots, and at Solway Moss, November 25, **1542**, 10,000 of them fled in confusion before the charge of a few hundred English borderers, leaving behind them all their baggage and artillery. The blow killed James V.; on his death-bed he heard of the birth, December 7, **1542**, of a daughter, the ill-fated Mary. Henry determined to secure her for his son, and he made a treaty to that effect with Arran, the leader of the reformers. But Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the French Catholic party, carried the child off; a great reaction took place, and Arran deserted his party. Beaton, however, was murdered in **1546**, and an English force entered Scotland, burnt Edinburgh and Leith, and ravaged Fifeshire.

War in Scotland

Solway Moss

In **1536** Wales was legally joined to England, divided into counties, and sent thirty-seven members to parliament. A committee of the privy council, like that for the north (p. 192), was established for Wales, and sat at Ludlow. In Ireland a Catholic revolt broke out, in which demands were made similar to those made by the insurgents in the Pilgrimage of Grace, but was easily suppressed, and in **1542** Henry took the title of 'King and Emperor of the realm of England and of the land of Ireland,' instead of the former one of 'Lord of Ireland.'

Wales and Ireland

In **1541** Henry married Catherine Howard, cousin of Anne Boleyn, and, like her, grand-daughter of the victor of Flodden. But it was discovered that her life before marriage had been licentious, and she, with her friend, Lady Rochford, was attainted of high treason and executed February 12, **1542**. In **1543** took place Henry's last foreign war. He had once more joined Charles V. against Francis, having agreed that Mary, his daughter by Catherine of Aragon, should be restored to the succession in place of

Catherine Howard

Elizabeth, and the old scheme (p. 182) was brought forward of dividing France. In **1544** he landed in France with 40,000 men and took Boulogne, but then returned to England, and Charles and Francis made peace. Charles died a few months later. The French retaliated by attacking Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, and peace was not made until **1547**, when Francis promised the arrears of the **1525** pension, and the cost of maintaining Boulogne for eight years. To pay for this war forced loans were again resorted to, and stern measures taken with recalcitrants. Reed, an eminent citizen of London, for instance, was sent to the border, with directions to the commander to use him according to the 'sharp discipline militar of the northern wars.' From **1543** to **1546** the coinage was debased until it represented one-third of its proper value; all the 'chantries,' or private religious endowments, were confiscated, with 500 hospitals, or almhouses. Worst of all, the guilds, or voluntary associations, partly trades unions, partly benefit clubs, to the number of 30,000, were robbed of their funds; 'the whole machinery of self-help, which had been at work from time immemorial, was absolutely extinguished,' and pauperism again vastly increased.[3] Enormous subsidies were exacted in **1543** and the two following years. That all this was borne without clamour points at once to the subservience and prosperity of the people.

War against France

Suppression of the guilds

The reign closed, as it had begun, in blood. Henry's nature was rendered still more savage by illnesses so painful that he was unable even to sign his name. Norfolk's son, the Earl of Surrey, grandson, by his mother, of Buckingham, and thus of royal descent (p. 165), a faithful servant, and one of the most brilliant scholars of his day, the first of modern English verse writers, and the inventor of English blank verse, who had been guilty of offences similar to those which had brought his grandfather to the block, suffered the same fate (p. 182, note). His father also was condemned, but was saved by Henry's death, January 27, **1547**, a few hours before his execution. Catherine Parr, a widow whom Henry took for his last wife, and who was a kind stepmother and a patient nurse, saved herself from a heretic's death only by shrewdness and good sense; she told Henry that when she had differed in opinion from him it was because she saw that in argument he forgot his pains, and in order that she might herself be instructed.

Execution of Surrey

Death of Henry

By Henry's will Mary was named successor after Edward, and then Elizabeth, provided they married only with the royal consent. Next were to come the heirs of Mary of Suffolk (p. 181); lastly those

[3] Jessop, 'Something about Village Almshouses,' *Nineteenth Century*, June 1890.

of Margaret of Scotland. The government was left in the hands of a council of regency headed by Cranmer.

Dates of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

	A.D.		A.D.
Revolt of Lambert Simnel	1487	Fall of Wolsey	1530
Establishment of Star Chamber; Treaty of Étaples	1492	Divorce of Catherine of Aragon	1529–1532
Poyning's law	1494	Act of Supremacy	1534
Revolt of Perkin Warbeck	1491–1497	Execution of More and Fisher	1535
'De Facto' law	1497	Dissolution of the monasteries and Pilgrimage of Grace	1536
Marriage of James IV. and Margaret	1503	The Six Articles and fall of Cromwell	1540
Accession of Henry VIII.	1509	Battle of Solway Moss	1542
Battle of Spurs; battle of Flodden	1513	Death of Henry VIII.	1547
Royal Supremacy declared	1529		

CHAPTER III

DESPOTISM IN ABEYANCE

Section 1.—*Edward VI.* 1547–1553.—*Nominal Protestantism discredited by bad government*

By Henry's will the members of the council, 'new men' with a few conservative churchmen, were to have been equal in authority. But the majority took for their chief Seymour, earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, and he was made Protector. He was popular with the masses, had complete control over Edward, acted in full accord with Cranmer, and soon drove from power everyone who opposed him. Under a schedule, declared to have been drawn up by Henry, he and his friends helped themselves liberally, not only to titles,[1] but to ample portions of church lands.

The Duke of Somerset

Edward VI. was the first of our kings who succeeded not by election, but by an act of parliament passed before his accession. At the coronation an important change was made in the form. Hitherto the king had sworn before election to preserve the liberties of the realm. The order was now reversed, and Edward was told by Cranmer that his oath in no way affected his right, which came from God alone. Cranmer and many of the bishops

Divine right

[1] Hertford made himself duke of Somerset, and his brother lord Seymour; Lord Parr, marquis of Northampton; John Dudley, lord Lisle, earl of Warwick; Russell, earl of Bedford; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton. Many of their supporters also had peerages, and thus the House of Lords was in their hands.

asked for new commissions, an emphatic statement of the supreme headship of the church.

The doctrinal reformation went on apace. The clergy were placed under a fresh set of royal injunctions, rigorously enforced. Ceremonies were simplified, the painted windows broken, images pulled down, frescoes whitewashed. Cranmer's anti-Catholic homilies were read in every church, and each parish was bidden to provide a copy of Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament. The sacrament was administered in English, the stone altars were broken up and replaced by wooden tables in the middle of the church, the distinctive doctrines of the Roman church were forbidden themes in the pulpit. Gardiner, the ablest of the conservative prelates, and Bonner, bishop of London, were imprisoned; they took their stand upon Henry's settlement, and resolutely opposed, as invalid, changes made during a minority, though ready to agree to any further settlement made by a king of full age.

Progress of the Reformation

A parliament, so carefully packed that there was no need to change it throughout the reign, met in November 1547. It at once overthrew much of Henry's legislation. The cruel laws of treason and felony, with the Six Articles, and the prohibition against reading the scriptures, and printing or selling Protestant writings, were repealed; royal proclamations were no longer to have the force of laws. The old heresy laws disappeared; but a denial of the royal supremacy was made felony and treason. The election of bishops (pp. 79, 189) was now transferred completely to the crown, and all documents which formerly ran in the names of the prelates ran henceforward in that of the king. Further confiscation of church property took place, and that of the guilds (p. 197), except in London and in one or two other places where they were very strong,[2] was now carried out. A part of the funds thus obtained was spent upon grammar schools, but by far the greater part went, as before, to the enriching of the courtiers.

Repeal of Henry VIII.'s legislation

Cranmer now published his Catechism and the 'Book of Common Prayer,'[3] founded upon the Catholic missals and breviaries, but avoiding the superstitions most obnoxious to the reformers. In spite of revisions, the Prayer Book now in use is practically the same book. An Act of Uniformity, January 7, 1549, abolished all other forms, under penalty of imprisonment for life for the third offence. Though the heresy

The Catechism and Prayer Book. Act of Uniformity

[2] Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 460.

[3] On the significance of this title see Green, *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 266.

statutes had been repealed, burning for heresy still remained the common law, and Cranmer showed little mercy. Joan Boacher of Kent was burnt for denying the incarnation, and a Dutchman named Van Paris for denying the divinity of Christ. Many foreign divines, both Lutheran and Calvinistic, driven out by the triumph of Catholicism in Germany, settled at this time in England. The chief were Peter Martyr and Bucer, appointed to teach theology at the universities, while John Knox had a commission to preach in the north. The Lutherans rapidly succumbed to the greater aggressiveness of their rivals.[4]

The foreign divines

Somerset had secured from the Scotch reformers a renewed promise (p. 196) that Mary should marry Edward, and they agreed to surrender some castles in pledge. But Arran, at the head of the French Catholic party, rejected the scheme. Somerset thereupon invaded Scotland with 20,000 men, of whom a large part were foreign mercenaries.[5] On September 10, **1547**, a battle was fought at Pinkiecleugh, on the Eske, six miles east of Edinburgh. The Scots, though for a time they had the upper hand, could not contend against the improved arms of the mercenaries, and were completely routed, with the loss of 8,000 men, of whom a large part were nobles. But the Scotch, fearful lest Scotland should become a dependency of England, still refused to agree to the suggested marriage, and sent Mary to France instead, with the offer of her hand to the dauphin. Barbarous but ineffective war went on until **1549**. Meanwhile the power of Somerset was being rapidly undermined. He had incurred just odium by the attainder and execution of his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral, who aspired to the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, had supplanted him in the affection of the young king, and was engaged in treasonable conspiracy. The mass of the people looked with distaste upon the violent course of the Reformation, with its wanton destruction of so much that they had deemed sacred. The debasing of the coinage, and the influx of gold and silver from America, had caused a general rise in prices, but neither the wages of the poor nor the rents of the landowners rose in proportion. The conversion of arable land into grass land for sheep rearing had thrown large numbers out of work. The absorption of the common lands,

Battle of Pinkiecleugh

Discontent

[4] The sources of future controversy appeared in the opposition of the more advanced reformers to the wearing of the old priestly robes; John Hooper consented to accept a bishopric only on condition that he should not wear what he called the livery of the 'Harlot of Babylon' at his consecration.

[5] Henry VIII. had begun this system. They wore better armour than was known in England, and were armed with the modern arquebuse.

which Somerset had in vain attempted to stop, the rackrenting by the new owners of church property, and the abolition of the guilds, added to the distress. In many counties the people rose in formidable strength. In Devonshire and Cornwall the rising was on the religious question;[6] in the east it was agrarian. In Norfolk, Ket, a tanner, was at the head of 20,000 men. Under the Oak of Reformation, on Moushold Hill, near Norwich, he summoned obnoxious landlords to answer before his Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas. But the Devonshire men were cut to pieces at St. Mary's Clyst, near Exeter, and 4,000 died in the fight or on the scaffold. Warwick fell upon Ket, and slew more than 3,000. Ket and ten other leaders were hung.[7] The mercenaries had saved the government, but their use only increased Somerset's unpopularity.

Revolt

The country, too, was humiliated at seeing Henry II. of France capture every English post but Calais and Boulogne. The erection of Somerset House[8] brought the protector's rapacity and extravagance prominently before the people, and his arrogance in council alienated his colleagues. In October, **1549**, Dudley, earl of Warwick, son of Henry VII.'s minister, accused him of fomenting discord and of intending to make himself supreme. Finding himself without a friend, he yielded at once to the blow, and retired from the council with the loss of property and office. His power passed into the hands of Warwick.[9]

Fall of Somerset

Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, at once made peace with France, upon humiliating terms. Boulogne was given up for a small sum. At the French demand the Scotch castles held by England were restored, and Scotland was admitted as a party to the treaty. Edward was betrothed to a slenderly dowered French princess. The coinage was again debased, and fresh loans exacted. Gardiner, Bonner, and two other bishops, were deprived, and the revenues of several other sees diminished, the spoil going to Northumberland and his friends. He was of course dependent upon the reformers for his power. The Princess Mary alone made head against them. Until the French peace she had been left unmolested, lest her cousin, the emperor, should join France in her support. She was now called upon to obey the law, and she refused. When her chaplains were forbidden to say mass, she simply said that

Government of Northumberland

[6] The insurgents demanded the old church service, the six articles, Cardinal Pole in the council, and the erection of two abbeys in each county.

[7] It was this danger which gave rise to the institution of lords-lieutenant of counties (p. 58, note).

[8] Compare Wolsey and Hampton Court, and Clarendon and 'Dunkirk' House.

[9] In January 1552 he was executed upon a charge of conspiracy to kill Warwick.

in that case she would have no service at all, for she would not listen to the reformed one. The probability that she would soon be queen prevented further pressure. But great severity was used with those who outstripped the lines laid down.[1] The idea of toleration of heresy was as foreign to the Reformers as to the Catholics.

In **1552** parliament, still further packed by the creation of new constituencies for Northumberland's nominees, passed three important measures. An attempt to stem the growth of vagabondage (p. 191) had already been made in **1529**, by an act of terrible severity.[2] This was now followed by one empowering churchwardens to exact collections in their parishes for the support of the poor.[3] The Prayer Book was revised to meet the views of the Calvinist foreign divines. The result is known as the 'Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.'[4] A fresh Act of Uniformity accompanied it. The grosser injustices of trials for treason were removed. Hitherto the prisoner had not met his accusers. It was now ordained that two witnesses on oath should be necessary, and should be brought face to face with the prisoner. To give a final form to the faith of the Church of England, Cranmer set forth the forty-two 'Articles of Religion.' Part of these deal with doctrine, part with ceremonies and discipline, a distinction which must be borne in mind. The Prayer Book had been a link with Catholicism; the Articles were a link with the reformed churches of the Continent. Every clergyman, churchwarden, and schoolmaster was compelled to subscribe them. The final seal had been placed upon the Reformation.

Vagabondage

The second Prayer Book

Imprisonment in trials for treason

The 'Articles'

The health of Edward was now visibly failing. Warwick, aware that from Mary he could expect nothing but disfavour, made up his mind to a bold game. By the marriage of his children he had allied himself with several of the great families. His fourth son, Guildford Dudley, had married Jane Gray, granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister, Mary, duchess of Suffolk. He induced Edward to sign a document annulling Henry VIII.'s will in favour of Mary and Elizabeth, and settling the succession upon Jane. He dared not ask

Ambition of Warwick

[1] Green, *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 234.

[2] The vagabond was branded on the breast with a V, and given to the informer as a slave for two years; he was to be fed on bread, water, small drink, and refuse meat, and made to work by beating or chaining. If he ran away he was branded on cheek and forehead with an S, to show that he was a slave for ever. A second attempt was felony. Somewhat lighter terms were imposed upon 'religious' vagabonds. This law, however, was repealed two years later.

[3] Nominally voluntary, but practically compulsory; under Elizabeth, failure to comply was punished by the justices.

[4] In it the priest has become 'minister,' the altar is the 'table,' the eucharist is a 'commemoration' only, and the sign of the cross is omitted in the consecration of the elements.

for parliamentary sanction, but by bribery and coercion he induced the judges, the council (who were moved by the same fear as himself, but who would have preferred Elizabeth), the law officers, and even Cranmer, to sign the deed, and he awaited with confidence the death of Edward, which took place on July 6, **1553**.

The state of England throughout this reign was pitiable. The nation was brought low in the eyes of Europe. All sympathy between rich and poor had gone, through the fault of the former. Old institutions had been overthrown with heartless violence; new men had made enormous fortunes by unchecked robbery; an amount equal to five millions of our money had gone to the friends of Warwick and Somerset; religious, political, and financial chaos reigned throughout.

Probability of reaction

Somerset's administration had been bad, that of Northumberland was worse. The people saw in their leaders only vile adventurers, who held their power by foreign soldiers. The bishops, men of humble origin, were the noblest element in the nation. Cranmer pleaded for grammar schools; Ridley for the guilds; Latimer preached to a grasping nobility on 'Restitution or Damnation.' The majority of the people were still attached to Henry's system, mass without the pope. They had yet to learn that mass without the pope was impossible. Thus everything pointed to a great reaction should the opportunity occur.

Section 2.—*Mary*, 1553–1558. *Nominal Catholicism, discredited by Cruelty and National Disgrace*

Northumberland immediately secured the Tower, and coerced the lord mayor and city council to swear to maintain Edward's will. He

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen

then caused Lady Jane Gray to be proclaimed. But the attempted *coup d'état* was frustrated by Mary's promptness. Riding night and day, she reached Kenninghall, in Norfolk. The Earls of Bath and Sussex, the squadron in Yarmouth Roads, and the people in the east, declared for her. Northumberland, indeed, marched hastily against her with 10,000 good troops. But at Bury this force melted away, and he fell back upon Cambridge. Then he learned that the council had deserted him, and had proclaimed Mary amid great enthusiasm; a letter followed ordering him to disband. Seeing the game was up, he himself proclaimed Mary in the market-place. The next day he was arrested.

Failure of Northumberland

On August 3 Mary entered London. She was met by Elizabeth, whose right had been equally threatened, with 500 followers, and the half-sisters, between whom it was impossible that either affection

or confidence could exist,[5] rode side by side through the shouting streets. Mary was now thirty-seven years old; her figure was short and not graceful, her face dark and sallow, her features sharpened by bad health; but her eyes were piercing and full of intelligence, her voice peculiarly deep and masculine, her bearing dignified. Elizabeth, only half her age, was tall, well made, and handsome.

Gardiner and Paget

Mary's council was formed from her own friends, and from those who had deserted Northumberland. Gardiner, created chancellor, led the old Church party. He wished to see a Catholic, but exclusively English, church, triumphant over all forms of dissent. Lord Paget, a man of conspicuous ability, led the lay nobility.

Three matters were foremost for settlement—the punishment of the conspirators, the queen's marriage, and the restoration of Catholicism. On all these Mary sought the advice of her cousin, Charles V., whose agent, Renard, was her chief confidant. Northumberland and his eldest son, the Earl of Warwick, Northampton, and four others, were brought to trial. All pleaded guilty, and Northumberland and Warwick were executed. They died expressing their devotion to the Catholic church; and their apostasy so discredited the Protestants that Mary was able with safety to hear mass in St. Paul's.

Punishment of the conspirators

There were two serious pretenders to Mary's hand. The first was Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, the representative of the Plantagenet line (p. 168). The second was Philip of Spain, the son of Charles V. Her Spanish blood and intense Catholicism were at once his advocates. Moreover, the political danger of the marriage of Mary of Scots and the dauphin was in favour of this counter-alliance. Charles was eager for a match which must throw England decisively upon his side against France. To remove English objections he promised to give Flanders to the issue of the marriage. But Gardiner remonstrated on the ground taken by the Scots against the marriage of their queen to Edward VI.; England would be dragged into dependence upon Spain. Moreover, it would probably lead to war with France; it would need a papal dispensation, and interference from Rome would not be heard of. As the head of conservative England, he wished to preserve the anti-papal attitude, and the system of Henry VIII. He urged Mary to marry Courtenay, imprison the Protestant Elizabeth, and extirpate heresy. Paget and his party, equally bent against foreign interference,

Plans for Mary's marriage

[5] Mary was not likely to forget that Elizabeth's mother had supplanted her own, and that when Elizabeth was born she had been forced to act as attendant upon the child.

wished to leave her choice open so long as Elizabeth's succession were secured. But Mary took neither advice. Her mind was made up to marry Philip, to acknowledge the papal supremacy, and never to recognise Elizabeth's right to succeed.

Restoration of the Catholic service

The restoration of Catholicism began forthwith. The deprived bishops were reinstated; Ridley, Hooper, and the other Protestant bishops put out; the mutilated sees reformed: the foreign divines dismissed. Cranmer and Latimer were sent to the Tower. The old service was resumed by the people themselves, the married priests driven away, the images replaced, the altar restored to the east end of the church. Elizabeth professed herself ready to listen to argument.

Parliament met on October 5. It first swept away all the treasons and felonies created in the last two reigns, and asserted Mary's legitimacy. Then, by 350 to 80, it restored the ancient service. There was no hypocrisy in this, for the accepted doctrine of the time was that the ruler of a country had the right of determining what should be its religion. Several omissions, however, grieved Mary. The supremacy of the church was still left to the crown; no penalty was attached to nonconformity; not a word was said about restoring the church lands. The 40,000 families who had battened upon the spoil of the Reformation had no mind to disgorge. The queen was then prayed to choose an English husband. She coldly answered that she would act for the welfare of her people. Already she had declared at the foot of the altar, in the presence of Gardiner and Renard, that she would marry Philip or no one. Gardiner then insisted that Philip should have no royal title in England, no rights of succession, and no legal influence.

But not of the papal supremacy or church lands

The downfall of the hopes of the Protestants, the fear of persecution, and still more the anxiety of the nobles for their possessions, brought about a formidable conspiracy. Courtenay, with the Earl of Suffolk and many others, encouraged by France, determined upon revolt. Suffolk and his three brothers set out to raise the Midlands; Sir James Crofts, late lord deputy of Ireland, for Wales; Sir Peter Carew for Devonshire and Cornwall, where Courtenay had much influence; Sir Thomas Wyatt for Kent. But Gardiner had drawn the secret from Courtenay himself. Suffolk, with his brothers John and Thomas, and Crofts, were arrested; Carew escaped to France. Wyatt alone was successful. He was soon at the head of 1,500 Kentish men. To save England from Spain was his cry; the squadron in the Thames declared for him. The force sent against him under Norfolk went over to his side in a body,

The successful revolt

crying, 'A Wyatt! We are all Englishmen!' He then marched upon London. Nothing but Mary's coolness and undaunted bearing saved her. She refused either to flee or to take refuge in the Tower; and a speech delivered in her deep voice at the Guildhall, in which she promised to give up the Spanish marriage unless approved by parliament, roused enthusiasm among the citizens, who had heard of Jack Cade, and had no mind to see London again in possession of an armed mob, or a return to aggressive Protestantism. Men were enrolled in haste, the drawbridge on London Bridge raised, and a reward was set upon Wyatt's head, a step which he answered by wearing his name upon his cap. Unable to cross London Bridge, he made for Kingston. But here the Kentish men began to drop off. At what is now Hyde Park Corner his force was cut in two by Pembroke's cavalry, and the rear portion taken prisoners. He himself went rapidly past St. James's Palace, along the present Pall Mall, and reached Ludgate, which friends within had promised to open to him; foiled here, he fought his way back through fast gathering foes to Temple Bar, and there was compelled to surrender.

The immediate result was the sacrifice of Lady Jane Gray and her husband, who, with Cranmer, had already been condemned for treason.

Its results. Execution of Lady Jane Gray and her husband

Her life had been hitherto spared as a pledge for the loyalty of her father, Suffolk. She died, only sixteen years of age, with sweet dignity, and constant to her faith, a contrast to the craven behaviour and the apostasy of Northumberland. Elizabeth, too, was accused of complicity, and her life would have been taken but for the firmness of Paget and his friends. Wyatt, Suffolk, and one of his brothers, with sixty more, were executed; Crofts was pardoned; Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was acquitted against the directions of the court, an assertion of independence for which the jury were imprisoned and fined.[6] Many young Cornish and Devon gentry implicated in the rebellion fled to France and became pirates under the flag of Condé, the leader of the French Protestants. The second result was that, since Wyatt's rebellion had made opposition to the marriage disloyalty, parliament gave way, though with the strongest safeguards against Spanish interference in English concerns, and against England being dragged into the war between the emperor and France. Mary for a long while idolised her husband, a cold-hearted, coarse, and brutal man. He was never popular, and the general feeling was manifested by fierce riots in the streets between his retinue and the people.

The Spanish marriage; its conditions

[6] The liberty they claimed was not finally established until the case of Penn in the reign of Charles II.

The restoration of the papal supremacy, and of the church lands, was ever in Mary's mind. But it was so clear that the former would not be listened to unless all thought of the latter was banished, that the pope himself issued a bull declaring that no attempt of the kind would be made. Gardiner now, with the moderate Catholics, gave up the hopes of Catholicism without the pope. On May 6 a fresh parliament met, in which, by dint of court influence, he had a large majority. Its first step was to reverse the attainder of Cardinal Pole, whom the pope had appointed his legate in **1553**, but whom Mary had hitherto not dared to allow to land. He at once entered the kingdom, and with full legatine pomp took possession of Lambeth. Then, almost unanimously, both houses passed a vote for reunion with Rome, and on St. Andrew's day, November 30, **1554**, knelt before the legate and were absolved from their former sin. Pole thereupon announced that all foundations, during the schism, of cathedrals, churches, hospitals, or schools; all marriages and judicial proceedings; all transfers of church property would be maintained. Parliament at once made sure of this by bills in the same sense, and then by the 'Grand Bill' of January 4, **1555**, restored everything to its condition previous to **1529**, so far as the crown, the pope, and the bishops were concerned. In other words, the rich men of England nominally gave up one form of religion with which they had no sympathy, for another which had at least the claim of tradition, on condition that their plunder should remain in their pockets.[7] The act reviving the Lollard statutes was passed after a struggle, and the jurisdiction of the bishops' courts restored. The Catholics thus had their foes at their mercy, though, in the interests of Catholicism itself, and from the desire to have all England on their side against France, Charles and Philip both restrained the persecuting spirit. On one point only, but one of supreme importance for the future, Paget and his party had held their own, both in this and in the preceding parliament[8]—Elizabeth's rights were studiously declared to remain in force.

Reunion with Rome; its conditions

Elizabeth's rights preserved

During the sixteenth century the idea of religious toleration did not exist. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists alike maintained that heresy implied not only the loss of a man's own soul, but danger to

[7] A new pope, Paul IV., utterly repudiated the concessions, and insisted upon complete restoration of church lands. But the nobles as vehemently refused; they would keep their lands, they said, as long as they had a sword by their side; and it was only by a small majority, and after a prolonged struggle, that the first fruits which had been given to the crown as supreme head of the church were now handed back to the pope, since he and not the crown was now supreme head.

[8] For Paget's action see Froude, *Hist. of England*, small edition, vol. iii. pp. 393, 396, 467, 497.

others ; it was therefore the plain duty of a ruler to put the heretic out of the world. Cranmer had persecuted when he had the power ; it was now the turn of Gardiner, Bonner, and Pole. Mary especially, a true Spaniard, believed intensely that she was doing her duty in extirpating heresy. The moral guilt must rest upon the careless upper class. Of all the persecutors, the worst was a lay noble, Paulet, marquis of Winchester. The most painful feature of the terrible time which followed was that it fell only on the weak. The upper clergy, indeed, were not spared ; but no nobleman was touched. The victims were chiefly poor men and women.

Religious intolerance

It was not until **1555** that Mary felt strong enough to begin the work. On January 28, Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, a fellow labourer of Tyndale and Coverdale ; Hooper, the deprived bishop of Rochester ; Saunders, rector of All Hallows ; and Taylor, vicar of Hadley, in Suffolk, were burnt where they were best known. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, suffered at Caermarthen. By the end of April twelve more had died.[9]

The first martyrs

Whatever pain Mary inflicted upon others, she was probably the most unhappy woman in her kingdom. She had persuaded herself that she was about to have a child, but the symptoms were really those of mortal disease. In her disappointment she discerned only a divine punishment for having left her duty against the heretics incompletely fulfilled. A quickening letter was sent in May to the bishops, and in the next three months fifty persons were burnt. Her life was made still more bitter by the absence of Philip, to whom his father, worn out with toil, had ceded the greater part of his world-wide empire, and by the knowledge that the man whom she longed to reverence was consoling himself in Madrid with coarse and brutal excess.

Unhappiness of the queen

Seconded by Pole, with whom alone she held converse, she determined to propitiate the Deity by the long-delayed sacrifice of the arch-heretic Cranmer. Mary had other causes for hating Cranmer. It was he who had annulled her mother's marriage and made herself a bastard ; and he had joined in Northumberland's attempt to exclude her from the throne. As an archbishop his judgment lay with the pope, and eighty days must elapse before it was declared. Ridley and Latimer were meanwhile tried and condemned, and on October 16 were burnt in Oxford at the same stake. 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley,' cried Latimer, as the

Deaths of Ridley and Latimer

[9] The persecution was chiefly in London, Kent, Sussex, and the eastern counties 280 died before Mary's death, more than all before or since in England, but less than in many a single day's work in Spain or France.

faggots were lighted; 'play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.' The bishops' courts were crowded with victims, who died there, and were thrown out to lie unburied in the fields.

On December 14, Paul IV. convicted Cranmer of heresy, pronounced deprivation and degradation, and delivered him to the secular arm. He, too, was hereupon condemned to death by burning. He was not a man of consistent strength of character, and he broke down under the strain. He made five recantations, each more ample than the last; in the fifth he accepted the papal supremacy and all the cardinal doctrines of the Catholic faith, and declared that outside the Catholic church there was no salvation. A month later he made a sixth, still more abject. He hoped to save his life. But his judges had no such thought. Their victims hitherto had been the defenceless, and for the most part the poor and unlearned, and all these had died constant to their faith. They now looked forward to see the spiritual leader of the Reformation cover his creed with disgrace by recanting at the stake. On March 21 he was led out to die. In the shadow of death he trampled down his weakness. He was urged to save his soul by public confession of his sin. When he spoke it was to retrieve himself in the eyes of posterity. In language of sincere self-abasement he uncompromisingly withdrew his recantation. Stretching his right hand into the flame, he held it there, crying, 'This was the hand that wrote it, and this shall first suffer.'

Cranmer's recantation and death

Scenes such as this—and there were many—caused intense popular disgust. Every death won adherents; the frequent acts of violence, the scurrilous pamphlets which were scattered abroad, the insults to priests and images, testified to the revulsion. 'Bloody Bitesheeps' was the mildest term for the bishops. Bonner of London especially became the mark of execration. 'The very Papists themselves,' he was told, in an anonymous letter, 'begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness. . . . Every child can say "Bloody Bonner is bishop of London." . . . You have lost the hearts of 20,000 that were rank Papists within this twelve months.'

Popular feeling

During **1556** and **1557** there were abortive conspiracies, worse than useless, since their failure and the encouragement they received from France discredited Protestantism. Every effort was made by Mary's friends to ruin Elizabeth, or at least to secure a declaration of her illegitimacy, by implicating her in the various plots. But she found an unexpected protector in Philip, who feared lest, if she were out of the way, Mary of Scots would be the

Conspiracies

heir, and, as the dauphin's wife, would unite England, France, and Scotland against him.

In **1557** war was renewed between France and Spain. For a time Philip's endeavours to drag England into the war were vain (p. 207). But the help given by France to a descent upon the coast at Scarborough by Thomas Stafford, grandson of the Duke of Buckingham, executed by Henry VIII., forced the hand of the council, and 7,000 men were sent to join Philip. On August 10, **1557**, the French were routed at St. Quintin. This defeat of their allies discouraged the Scots, who as usual had seized the occasion to invade England, and they dispersed upon the first advance of the English troops.

War with France

Vexations now came thick upon the desolate queen. Her husband and the pope had quarrelled. Pole, her sole support, was recalled by Pius IV. on an accusation of heresy, and a new legate appointed. But Mary's loyalty to her friend proved greater than her devotion to Rome, and, with a flash of her father's masterfulness, she refused to allow his successor to enter the kingdom. But the bitterest trouble was the loss of Calais. Under Henry VIII. its fortifications had been kept in good repair, but had latterly been allowed to fall into decay. On January 7, **1558**, Calais fell to a sudden and well-arranged attack by the French, and a few days later the outpost of Guisnes surrendered after a still fiercer struggle. On January 10 a relieving fleet were almost annihilated by a tempest. The blow, only partially lightened by the success of a fresh fleet at Gravelines in July, in union with the Spanish land forces, crushed Mary's spirits. She felt that Heaven had decided against her; she felt, too, the national humiliation, and is said to have exclaimed that when she died the name 'Calais' would be found upon her heart. Her distress was matched by the anger of her people, and when John Knox, from Geneva, issued his famous 'First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,' in which Mary was denounced as a Jezebel, a traitress, and a bastard, it had eager readers. She could but fall back upon a renewed attempt to propitiate Heaven by setting the fires of persecution at work more busily than ever.

Loss of Calais

The country bore with Mary because it looked past her to the Protestant Elizabeth. Her death would put an end to England's troubles, and this was rapidly approaching. She was half maddened by a fresh disappointment of child-bearing, by the desertion and infidelities of Philip, by the quarrel with the pope, the death of Gardiner, the illness of Pole, and the knowledge of her people's hatred; most of all by her failure to extirpate heresy. Un-

Last days of Mary

skilful medical treatment hastened her end, and she died, peacefully and resignedly at the last, on November 17, 1558. A few hours later Pole died also, and with them died the persecution.

Her character

Mary's private character was stainless, her court pure. She was liberal to the poor and distressed. Her intellect was acute, vigorous, and highly cultivated; she understood Italian, French, and Spanish, and spoke Latin with gracefulness and ease. She might have been a great queen, for, Spanish as she was in her bigotry, her heart was English. But the interests of the nation were sacrificed to those of her church, and, as 'Bloody Mary,' she left behind her a hateful and abiding memory. Had she been less sincere she would probably have succeeded in her great design. She failed, and utterly, from the very intensity of her purpose. It was owing to her fierce Catholicism that England became a Protestant country; that the Church of England, as it now exists, sprang at once to life; that more than a century later hundreds of innocent Catholics died on the word of Titus Oates; and that to this day the slightest assumption of her creed in England threatens to raise a storm. Probably no book besides the Bible has ever affected the temper of a nation as has Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,' published in the next reign.

Dates. Edward VI. and Mary

	A.D.		A.D.
Battle of Pinkiecleugh	1547	Marriage of Mary	1554
First Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity	1549	England becomes Catholic	1554
Second Prayer Book	1552	Catholic Persecution	1555
Death of Edward	1553	Burning of Cranmer	1556
Catholic Service restored; Wyatt's Revolt; Execution of Lady Jane Gray	1553	Loss of Calais	1558

CHAPTER IV

ELIZABETH. 1558-1603. *DESPOTISM WITH THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. DUEL WITH ROME*

SECTION 1.—*Religious Compromise. The Church of England*

Elizabeth's character and policy

THE task of Elizabeth was that of her grandfather, Henry VII.; to undo the evils of a generation of misrule, to remove the causes and the calamities not indeed of civil, but of religious war, and to make England strong among other nations. She, too, in spite of many grave faults of character, vanity, dissimula-

tion, irritability, and ingratitude, was admirably fitted for the task—clear-sighted, cautious, and strong willed; firm of purpose, if wayward in detail; and intensely national in spirit. To nothing was her success more due than to her choice of servants, the chief of whom, Sir William Cecil, retained her confidence throughout her reign.[1] Above all, she was no bigot. She had already conformed to three modes of worship. She knew what intolerant Catholicism had meant; she knew what intolerant Protestantism had meant. She knew, too, that the mass of Englishmen were free from strong religious bias, and were longing only for peace. Upon them she determined to throw herself. She resolved to establish a system in harmony with a government popular for other things than its religious policy, and thus to rally the people to the cause of national greatness, and not the triumph of a creed. But whatever she might intend, the keynote of her reign was struck when the pope declared her illegitimate, and the Catholic Mary of Scots lawful queen; and when Mary, at the instigation of her uncles, the Guises, assumed the royal title, and quartered the English arms with those of Scotland and France.

The plans of Elizabeth were kept secret, but the bishops caught the alarm, and with one exception refused to officiate at the coronation. Their fears were justified when parliament met. The religious statutes of Mary were swept away, those of Edward VI. re-enacted, and the first fruits given back to the crown (pp. 188, 207, note). The *Act of Supremacy* was the reply to the pope. All beneficed clergy and crown officials were obliged to take an oath against the papal authority on pain of death for the third offence. By the *Act of Uniformity* the Prayer Book[2] was ordered, under crushing penalties, to be read by every minister, and a fine of a shilling was affixed to every absence from church

Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. The Church of England

[1] Cecil was a yeoman's son, who had been employed by Somerset, Northumberland, and Mary, and had become Elizabeth's confidant before her accession. He was now secretary, and shortly was made lord treasurer. His brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was lord keeper of the seals. Besides these there were at different times Francis Bacon, son of the lord keeper, Knollys, Smith, Throgmorton, and Walsingham, who succeeded Cecil as secretary. All were commoners, and only one, Cecil himself, was raised to the peerage as Lord Burghley. The queen was always chary of titles. It is noticeable that by 1572 there was not a single duke in England. The devotion of her servants is the more remarkable because of the extreme ingratitude she displayed to them.

[2] This Prayer Book was formed by blending the two books of Edward VI., so as to avoid as far as possible giving offence to Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. Thus the prayer for deliverance 'from the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' was struck out, with such words as 'heretic,' 'papistical.' How successful was the compromise in language is shown by the fact that the pope offered to accept it if his supremacy was allowed. The act was only carried by three votes after two bishops had been imprisoned and other severe measures taken.

on Sundays and holy days. These two acts settled the character of the Church of England. A commission of laymen saw that they were carried out. All the bishops[3] but one refused the oath. With most of the higher clergy they were deprived, and their places filled by the primate, Matthew Parker, formerly Anne Boleyn's chaplain, with the more moderate of the returning exiles; but the bulk of the clergy were never put to the test, and out of 9,400 only 189 were deprived. The spirit of compromise rapidly gained ground. 'A priest would celebrate the prescribed mass at his parsonage for the Catholics, and the prescribed communion in church for the Protestants.' With the compromise came also much confusion, neglect, and indifference. The state of the lower clergy, and of the universities, morally and intellectually, was throughout the reign very bad. But religious chaos is better than religious persecution, 'and at the close of 1559 England seemed to settle down in a religious peace.'

Religious compromise

Section 2.—*Elizabeth and Mary of Scots.*

Security from external danger had still to be gained. Philip of Spain remained friendly for the old reasons (p. 209), in spite of Elizabeth's refusal to marry him. By abandoning all claims to Calais, and by a promise not to assist the Scotch Reformers against Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, who had been left regent, peace was secured with France at Câteau Cambrésis, April 12, 1559, and the danger of a hostile alliance of France and Scotland removed. But Cecil had no intention that the latter condition should be kept. He meant to use the Reformers to secure Mary's renunciation of her claim and the dismissal of French troops from Scotland. His chance came when the 'Lords of the Congregation,' the Scotch nobles who, under the influence of John Knox, had formed a covenant[4] to embrace the Calvinistic creed and church system (p. 230), rose in arms. Elizabeth herself naturally sided with a sovereign against rebels, hated Knox as the instigator of rebellion and as the author of the 'Monstrous Regiment of Women' (p. 211), and had no mind to see a Presbyterian church on her border when she was enforcing an opposite system in her own country. But she gave way before the danger of a French occupation of Scotland

Peace with France

Lords of the Congregation

[3] Under Edward and Mary the bishops had been rapidly gaining power. But to her very death-bed Elizabeth showed the utmost jealousy of them, and, while regarding them as useful for keeping order, never allowed them the least scope beyond her instructions.

[4] They had at first asked for the English Prayer Book; but Knox forced Calvinism upon them in its entirety.

and the open assertion of the claims of Mary and her husband, the dauphin; and an English fleet turned the scale at the moment when the rebels were on the point of being crushed by the French troops.

Elizabeth and the 'Congregation'

By a treaty with the 'Congregation' at Berwick (January **1560**), Elizabeth agreed to maintain an army in Scotland until the French were expelled, the Scots promising never to consent to the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, and to aid her with 4,000 men in case of invasion. But shortly afterwards the regent died. Francis and Mary—now king and queen of France by the death of Henry II.—at once made peace (June **1560**), both with the Congregation and with Elizabeth. The French troops left Scotland, and Mary and Francis pledged themselves to give up the arms and style of England, and acknowledge Elizabeth's right. But in August the Scotch parliament accepted Calvinism and forbade the exercise of the old religion on pain of death for the third offence. Francis and Mary hereupon refused to ratify the treaties, and Elizabeth reformed her bond with the Congregation. The sudden death of Francis solved the difficulty for a time. The queen mother, the famous Catherine de Medicis, became regent of France. Her policy was to balance Catholic and Protestant, and for this she needed peace. The likelihood of Mary attacking Elizabeth with French help thus vanished for a time.

But in August **1561** things had so far changed in Scotland[5] that Mary left France, and, escaping the English cruisers, was received with the wildest enthusiasm. Her prospects were very bright. She was sure of French help if Catholicism prevailed; she was the hope of the Catholics in England, and she was the nearest heir to the English throne. For the moment she determined to conciliate. For her principal ministers she took her natural brother James Stuart, earl of Murray, and others of the Congregation; and while remaining firm to her own religion, and refusing to confirm the establishment of Calvinism, she gave toleration for the support of a united kingdom. But she was soon emboldened by the decisive overthrow at the end of **1562** of the Huguenots,[6] who had again revolted, at Rouen and Dreux, in spite of Elizabeth's aid. She secretly pledged herself to the pope to restore Catholicism, and offered herself in marriage to the son of Philip II. Elizabeth and Cecil could only wait and watch for mistakes on Mary's part, and this they did for six years more.

Mary of Scots in Scotland

Her Catholic plans

[5] In consequence of the refusal of the nobles to give up to the reforming clergy the church lands they had seized.

[6] The origin of the name is uncertain. Creighton, 'Age of Elizabeth,' in *Epochs of Modern History*, p. 66.

The collapse of French protestantism and Mary's success made it difficult for Elizabeth to adhere to compromise. She had already ranged England decisively on the Protestant side by refusing the pope's invitation to take part in the Council of Trent in May **1561**, which finally settled the Catholic faith. Paul IV. hereupon forbade the Catholics to obey the Act of Uniformity. Parliament met this attack in March **1563** by the *Test Act*, which extended the Act of Supremacy, with the penalties of *præmunire* (p. 123) for the first, and death for the second, offence, to every one except lay peers. The Articles, reduced to thirty-nine, were forced upon all clergymen. These acts were, however, passed against great opposition, and were leniently exercised. The sword was only held over the heads of the Catholics *in terrorem*. This was justified by the religious truce in France, and by the renewed weakness of Mary's power in Scotland. In her case, too, compromise had broken down, and she was being hard pressed by the Reformers. Her marriage with her cousin, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, July **1565**, excited Elizabeth's utmost jealousy, for Darnley was not only the head of the English Catholics, but was grandson of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII., by her second marriage with the Earl of Angus (p. 232). Elizabeth, therefore, urged the Protestant lords, headed by Murray, to renewed revolt; but Mary rallied her friends and drove them over the border. She then secretly took steps for constraining her parliament to recognise Catholicism as the law of the land.

Attack of the pope. The Test Act the English reply

Marriage of Mary with Darnley

But at the moment of execution her scheme was overthrown by a tragic event. Darnley's worthless character had made him the object of his brilliant and high-spirited wife's unconcealed contempt; and he had become insanely jealous of her Italian secretary, David Rizzio. He therefore joined the malcontent lords on condition that he should receive the royal title, and be declared Mary's successor. On March 9, **1566**, when she was in the seventh month of her pregnancy, a band of nobles, under Darnley's guidance, burst into Mary's room, tore Rizzio from her side, and murdered him. Mary was placed in Stirling Castle until she should establish Protestantism by law and satisfy Darnley. She now made use of all her powers of dissimulation. In spite of the outrage he had inflicted upon her, she enticed back her weak husband, escaped with him to Dunbar, was joined by James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, with 8,000 men, and once more defeated her foes. With great self-control she relinquished the Catholic design and pardoned Murray. But her victory cheered the English Catholics; while the birth of a son, May 27, **1566**,

Murder of Rizzio

Mary's success

added strength to her position by giving the prospect of an assured line of succession if her own claim to England was recognised.

The English parliament therefore urged Elizabeth to marry and name her successor. She had already in **1559** coldly waived the same request.[7] She now angrily replied that she would consult a few wise men, and not a body of hair-brained politicians. The commons thereupon withheld supply, and the dispute went on for eight months. A fresh petition was met by the imprisonment of a member. But the anger this aroused warned her to give way. She released him, and gave up her threatening tone. The commons then sullenly granted a supply, and were dissolved with a good scolding from the queen. In her refusal to name her successor, Elizabeth was wiser than the commons. There were two possible claimants—the Catholic Mary and the Protestant Catherine Gray, sister of Lady Jane Gray. Had Elizabeth proclaimed Mary, the Protestants would have revolted; had she proclaimed Catherine, the Catholics would have been driven to despair.

Elizabeth's quarrel with the commons

Meanwhile Mary had come to terms with the leaders of both parties. The death of Darnley was the immediate consequence. The nobles were alienated from him. He was the object of Mary's disgust, for he was afflicted with a loathsome disease brought on by debauchery; and he was no longer of use to her. A bond was signed by all the principal lords but Murray to put him out of the way. On the night of February 9, **1566**, the Kirk of Field, in which he was lodged, was blown up, and his body was dragged from the ruins. Whether Mary was innocent or not can never be known. Bothwell was accused, and was undoubtedly guilty. But he overawed the capital with his troops, and, Darnley's father not daring to appear at the trial, he was adjudged innocent. Mary was now obliged to confirm the conspirators in enormous grants of crown and church lands, and to consent to the legal abolition of Catholicism.

Murder of Darnley

Only three months later, May 15, they forced her, though probably she was a willing victim, to marry Bothwell. Nothing could better have served Elizabeth. The marriage with the suspected murderer of her husband discredited her with all decent people; the marriage with a Protestant and the acknowledgment of Protestantism discredited her with all good Catholics. Both-

Marriage with Bothwell. Its effects

[7] Her suitors were numerous; Philip of Spain, his cousin Charles, archduke of Austria, Eric of Sweden, Adolphus, duke of Holstein, the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Arundel, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and later the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. of France. For Dudley she had a passion; but he met with the vigorous, though concealed, opposition of Cecil and her other advisers.

well's own associates soon rose against him, and drove him out of the kingdom, to die many years later in a Danish prison. Mary was confined in Lochleven Castle, and forced to abdicate the crown and appoint Murray regent for the young king, James VI., July 24, **1567**. But she escaped and faced her enemies once more. Elizabeth urged Murray to come to terms; Cecil secretly pressed him to strike hard.

Battle of Langside

The battle of Langside, May 13, **1568**, destroyed Mary's hopes. Two days later she fled to England, confident that Elizabeth would uphold a queen against rebels. To Elizabeth her presence was a sore embarrassment. In England she would be a centre of disaffection; to let her go, as she wished, to France, was to increase her power for harm. Mary was called upon to clear herself of the murder of Darnley, of which Murray declared he had proofs; but she refused to plead, or to acknowledge Elizabeth's right to sit in judgment upon her. For the present she was confined in Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire.

The effect of her presence soon appeared. It was proposed by her friends to secure her divorce from Bothwell, marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, the head of the English nobility, name her successor to the throne, and restore her to Scotland, if she would admit Elizabeth's present right, and conclude a perpetual league with England. The scheme had the support of many English nobles; but Elizabeth refused to entertain it, and sent Norfolk to the Tower, and his supporters from the court.

Trouble caused by Mary's presence in England

Section 3.—*Elizabeth, the Pope, and the Puritans*

The struggle between the two creeds was going on over all Europe. In Flanders the great towns had risen against the tyranny of Philip and the Inquisition. In **1567** Philip sent the Duke of Alva with a choice army to suppress the revolt, and he accomplished his task with merciless severity.[8] In France the Huguenots rose in despair, but were terribly routed in **1569**. These events had an immediate effect in England. In November, **1569**, the three great Catholic families of the north, the Cliffords, Nevilles, and Percies, were in rebellion.

Failure of Protestants in France and the Netherlands

Catholic rebellion in the north

[8] One result was that 30,000 Flemish weavers fled to England. They were welcomed by Elizabeth, and settled in Sandwich and Norwich. Every Fleming had to employ an English apprentice. Thus we learned cloth making, silk making, and dyeing, and no longer exported wool to Flanders to be woven. Indeed, we now exported our cloth for sale in Flanders. Elizabeth, while refusing Cecil's advice to put herself at the head of a Protestant coalition, and break openly with Spain in favour of the Netherlands, sent money and arms both to them and to the Huguenots in France, and a second mission to support the Prince of Orange; and she hampered Alva's movements by seizing his money ships, which had sheltered in English ports.

They had long been corresponding with Mary and the pope. They now demanded her freedom and restoration.[9] At Durham the Prayer Book and Bible were burnt; at Ripon mass was held. The rebels then marched upon Tutbury Castle, whence Mary was hastily taken to Coventry. But Elizabeth's patient adherence to compromise stood her in good stead. The revolt was confined to these families; the Catholic population of the north stood aloof, or joined her forces. The rebels broke at the first appearance of the royal troops, and the leaders fled first to Scotland, and thence, all but Northumberland, escaped to the Continent; while hundreds of dangling bodies in every town and village in the north showed the determination of the government to meet every blow with a swift and terrible retort.

This failure roused the pope to declare open war, and in March **1570** he excommunicated Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from allegiance. Norfolk was known to be intriguing with Mary and the pope. Catholic refugees were collecting at Antwerp. and a plot to assassinate Elizabeth had come to Cecil's ears. Murray had already been shot dead in the streets of Linlithgow. The Protestant reply, in April, **1571**, was an act which declared: (1) *against Mary*, that anyone laying claim to the throne should be thereby incapable of succeeding; (2) *against the pope*, that it was treason to introduce bulls from Rome, to call Elizabeth a heretic, schismatic, infidel, tyrant, or usurper, or name anyone as her heir except her children; (3) *against the refugees*, that they should return in six months or forfeit their property. Norfolk and Northumberland were tried and executed in **1572**, and the question of bringing Mary herself to the block was discussed.

The pope excommunicates Elizabeth

The English reply

While striking with one hand against the Catholics, Elizabeth had with the other been resisting the extreme or 'Puritan' Protestants. The original disputes had arisen over the retention by the church—alone among reformed churches—of vestments and of ceremonies, such as the cross at baptism (p. 202, note). Opposition to these 'popish rags' led to opposition to the Prayer Book, and then, since the prelates carried out the queen's wishes, to prelacy itself. The Puritans refused to be bound by anything which was not expressly insisted upon in the Bible; the opposite theory was that on all matters not expressly *forbidden* there, the head of the church might decide; and that for the sake of peace the vestments and

Elizabeth and the Puritans

[9] The rising was as much an aristocratic revolt as religious or political; these great nobles had the same jealousy of Cecil and his colleagues (p. 212, note) that had been felt against Wolsey and Cromwell, and they demanded their dismissal.

ceremonies were better retained.[1] The Puritans rapidly grew in strength. In convocation they were defeated by the casting vote alone. But the queen disliked them intensely; for their aggressive independence, their violence in the pulpit, even to her face, and their abuse of anything which savoured of the old ritual, threatened her policy of compromise. She therefore insisted on uniformity; and 37 out of 98 London ministers, the venerable Coverdale among them, were ejected from their livings for 'scrupling the habits.' The prelates, and many leading men at court, among whom were her favourite Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and even Cecil himself, were opposed to this high-handed action.

'Scrupling the habits'

But Elizabeth was resolute. Unable to get what they wanted within the church, a few London clergy in **1568** gathered congregations, and established in them a government of their own. They were put down; but 'zeal for discord' grew rapidly; and the demands of the extreme section soon reached to a complete overthrowing of episcopacy in favour of Presbyterian church government (p. 230).

The Puritan clergy then set up, with the sanction and under the control of their bishops, what were called 'prophesyings,' meetings for expounding and discussing particular texts of scripture. But Elizabeth dreaded the political tendency of these meetings, and in spite of the opposition of Grindal, Parker's successor, and of the bishops, insisted that they should cease.

Prophesyings

Still the new opinions spread. The universities, especially Cambridge, under the leadership of John Cartwright, whose 'Admonition to Parliament' exercised great influence, and parliament itself, were deeply imbued with them.

In **1571**, after the northern rebellion, seven bills had been introduced for further reformation. Strickland, their promoter, was ordered by Elizabeth to absent himself from the house. Loud complaints of breach of privilege forced her to withdraw the order. But she utterly refused to pass the bills, though she assented to one which released clergymen from subscribing the articles on discipline and ceremonies.

Puritanism in parliament

In **1583** Whitgift, an honest but narrow man, became primate. By the queen's command he forbade all preaching, reading, or catechising, in private houses, when more than the family were present,

[1] The great literary exponent of this view was Richard Hooker, who published the first part of his 'Ecclesiastical Polity' in 1594. He appealed to human reason and general principles, as well as to the Bible. He held that while no certain form of church government can be found in the Bible, episcopacy was an apostolic institution. By identifying the church with the nation he vindicated the royal supremacy.—Green, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 30.

exacted subscriptions from the clergy to the truth of *all* the articles, doctrinal as well as others, in breach of the act of **1571**, and insisted on the wearing of the 'habits.' A large number of ministers left the country in consequence.

The great engine of power was the High Commission Court. Any three of its forty-four members, of whom one must be a bishop, could deal with all branches of the ecclesiastical law, punish any offences which formerly came under the bishops' courts, alter the statutes of schools, colleges, cathedrals, or other foundations, and tender the oath of supremacy, which was as obnoxious to a Presbyterian as to a Catholic (*Appendix*). It introduced a practice unknown to English law, of compelling a suspected person to criminate himself by answering on oath—the *ex-officio* oath—any questions put to him; and in **1590** Cartwright and several others were committed to prison for refusing this oath. The Puritans took up another weapon. Anonymous pamphlets against episcopacy, printed at a movable press, which for a long time evaded discovery, were spread throughout the land. The most famous bore the signature of 'Martin Mar-Prelate.' At length Penry, a young Welshman, and Udal, a Puritan minister, were arrested. Penry was executed for libelling the government, Udal died in prison. The commons too had to submit. In **1575** they obeyed the queen's message to meddle no more with religion. In **1580** and **1587** they renewed the contest, but in vain. The events of **1588** emphasised the need of national unity, and the force of Puritanism declined until the folly of James I. caused it to revive. In **1593** an act was passed to imprison any one over sixteen who kept away from church for a month. Those who persisted in refusal were to leave the realm, and to suffer death for returning without leave. Under this law large numbers fled to Holland. It did not indeed affect the great mass of the Puritans, who remained members of the church; but it struck hard at the Catholics and at those who separated and established independent churches. These were called 'Brownists,' from their founder, Robert Brown, and were the first of those now known as Independents or Congregationalists.

High Commission Court. The *ex-officio* oath

Martin Mar-Prelate

Decline of Puritanism after 1588

That Elizabeth had so far held her own was doubtless due to her good government. A bold reformation of the debased coinage (p. 197) had laid the foundation of reviving prosperity. By the Poor Law of **1562**, which received its final form in **1601**, she had temporarily solved a great social difficulty. Taxation was light; peace and social order were well kept; her statue

Elizabeth's good government

in the London Exchange testified to the belief that she was the author of the growing prosperity. Her thrift enabled her to keep a fairly filled treasury. Her hand was strong in every department. When Grindal asked her not to interpose her authority in church matters, she suspended him from office and threatened the whole bench of bishops with deprivation if they failed to obey. A generation was rapidly growing up to feel that government, though in peril, was in strong hands; that Elizabeth was showing a bold front to all her enemies. Day by day the nation was becoming more confident, and prouder of the queen who could say 'Nothing, no worldly thing under the sun, is so dear to me as the love and goodwill of my subjects.'

Section 4.—*Elizabeth, the Netherlands, and the Jesuits*

In **1572** the Netherlands rose again, hoping for aid from their fellow Protestants in France. But upon them a crushing blow had fallen.

St. Bartholomew's day

On St. Bartholomew's day Catherine de Medicis, having enticed their chiefs into Paris, sought to close the religious struggle by a massacre, in which, repeated as it was in many of the principal towns, not less than 100,000 victims are said to have perished. At the news the taciturn Philip, who was scarcely known to smile, burst into an exulting laugh; the pope went in procession to attend the 'Te Deum' at St. Peter's. A different scene took place in England. The French ambassador was received in silence by the queen and court, all clad in deep mourning. The projected marriage with the Duke of Anjou, the French king's brother, was broken off.

The effect in England

Hitherto Elizabeth had shrunk from committing England irrevocably, but the national outcry against this great crime forced her to accept the headship of the Protestant cause. The crushing of the Huguenots enabled Alva to beat down all resistance in the southern Netherlands, though the northern, the present Holland,

The Netherlands

held out. But in **1576** the Pacification of Ghent bound all the states to expel the Spaniards. In **1577** 5,000 English volunteers supplemented the niggard help sent by the queen; while the London merchants sent no less than 500,000*l*. The end was that, while Spain won back the ten southern provinces by conciliation, William of Orange was able to form out of the seven northern the Protestant Union of Utrecht. In **1580** Philip conquered Portugal, thus vastly increasing his power of attack. The seven provinces here-

Isolation of England and the Netherlands

upon declared the Duke of Anjou their sovereign in order to secure French help. But Anjou soon quarrelled with his new subjects, and was sent back. It was clear that Elizabeth and the Protestant states would be without allies whenever Philip should choose to attack them.

A new force had entered into the contest. With the pope's approval, Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, had formed the order of Jesuits. They accepted no regular clerical work, but they were the greatest missionaries, both in Europe and in every foreign land, however remote, that the world has ever seen. Admitting only the high born, the educated, and the wealthy, they rapidly gained immense influence, and their schools became famous throughout Europe. Abandoning every worldly tie, they gave unquestioning obedience to the will of their superior; they threw themselves with unconquerable zeal into the conflict with the rising tide of Protestantism. The pope determined to use this splendid body of irregulars to attack England.[2]

The Jesuits

From the seminary colleges at Rheims and Rome, English Jesuits came back to work in their own country. The first and most famous were Parsons and Campion, fellows of Oxford. The effect of their energy was marked. The Catholic gentry, who were learning to conform, began to refuse to attend church. Conversions were frequent among the upper classes. The government at once struck back and struck hard. Mass was forbidden even in private houses, and the fine for absence from church was increased to 20*l.* a month, or, in default, two-thirds of the delinquent's goods. All persons pretending to any power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion, with all so absolved or reconciled, were declared guilty of high treason. Any one giving shelter to Jesuits was to suffer a year's imprisonment and whipping. The houses of Catholics were ransacked for the priests. Parsons escaped, Campion and others were taken and hung. During the next twenty years 200 were executed, and many died in prison. The policy of compromise had vanished.

Their work in England

England's reply

The duel between Rome and England soon assumed a still sterner form. In 1584, after a previous attempt, William of Orange was murdered. In the same year a conspiracy was discovered in England to kill Elizabeth, and to make Mary queen. Francis Throgmorton, the chief agent, was executed, and the Spanish am-

[2] His first attempt had been made in Ireland. In June, 1579, a Spanish force landed at Smerwick, near Kerry, and took the fort; and in 1580, when the Earl of Desmond revolted against Elizabeth, reinforcements joined them. But Lord Grey de Wilton, the stern deputy of Ireland, forced the garrison to an unconditional surrender, and then slew every man. The lesson was learnt, and even during the peril of the Armada not a hand was raised in Ireland against England. See the chapter on Ireland in Church's 'Spencer,' in *English Men of Letters*. In Scotland, too, through his cousin Esme Stuart, one of the faction of the Guises in France, the pope tried to secure the young king, James VI., but failed against the opposition of the nobles, who kidnapped the king and banished Stuart.

bassador, who was cognisant of the plot, was dismissed from England. The counter-thrust was the formation of a voluntary association, to prosecute to the death not only any who should make an attempt upon the queen's life, but all in whose behalf such an attempt should be made. In other words, if the queen fell by Mary's partisans, Mary herself should die. A statute far severer than the last was also passed, that any Catholic priest, born in the queen's dominions, and found in the realm after forty days, and all who helped him, should be liable to death; anyone withholding knowledge of such a person should be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; all seminary students who did not return within six months would be regarded as traitors, and those who sent them money would lose their goods; while anyone who sent their children abroad was to be fined 100*l.*, and the children made incapable of succeeding him.

Plot to kill Elizabeth. England's reply

Section 5.—*The Crisis*

Month by month the purpose of Philip to attack England had been growing clearer. The pope had been urging him (compare pp. 33, 80) to go forth as the avenger of Rome against the heretics. For three years he had been getting ready. The time was favourable; for the subjection of the Netherlands by his great general the Duke of Parma seemed imminent, and the league which he formed with the extreme Catholic party in France under the Guises, the uncles of Mary of Scots, made him safe from interference from thence. His scheme was that his fleet should sail to the Netherlands, and there take on board Parma and his picked troops; that with them England should be conquered; that Parma should then marry Mary, and govern England as a Spanish viceroy. Elizabeth, on her side, had done her best to keep Philip occupied. She had aided Henry of Navarre, the antagonist of the Guises, with money, and had allowed volunteers to flock to his standard. At the end of **1585** she sent Leicester with 6,000 men to help the Dutch. But Leicester was an incapable commander. He did next to nothing, and he quarrelled with the Dutch. His force was engaged but once, at Zutphen, an action famous for the death of Sir Philip Sidney, the highest type of the gentleman of Elizabeth's court. Leicester returned in November, **1586**.

Philip prepares to attack England

Leicester in the Netherlands

But Philip had worse injuries to avenge than this help to the Dutch or Elizabeth's refusal to marry him. The chief source of his wealth was the New World, and for years the English 'sea-dogs,' unavowed by the government, had been breaking through his monopoly there. As early as **1568** John Hawkins, the founder of the negro trade, and

Francis Drake, had been caught on the Brazilian coast, and had barely escaped with the loss of three of their five ships, vowing revenge. Hawkins had since made three voyages to Africa, had again crossed the Atlantic, fighting the Spaniards wherever he met them, and had come safe home. Drake, in **1572** and the following years, had thrice sailed to the West Indies, and had ravaged the Spanish settlements in the Gulf of Mexico. In **1577**, with but 160 men, he sailed through the Straits of Magellan, the first Englishman who had done so, swept the coasts of Chili and Peru, ravaged the Moluccas, weathered the Cape of Good Hope, and, after thus completing the circuit of the globe, reached Plymouth in **1580** with spoil to the amount of 800,000*l*. All England was proud of the feat, and Elizabeth herself met Philip's complaints by knighting the gallant seaman upon his own vessel, the 'Golden Hind.' Frobisher had tried for a North-West passage to India; Raleigh and his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert had taken Newfoundland, and Raleigh had planned the colonisation of Virginia. In **1585**, as a retort to the seizure by Philip of the English shipping in Spain, Drake had sailed with twenty-five ships, destroyed San Domingo and Carthagena, raided along the coasts of Florida and Cuba, and returned in July **1586**.

English enterprise against Spanish colonies

Drake sails round the world

But to all her foes England bade a still sterner defiance. A fresh scheme of invasion and a fresh plot for the murder of Elizabeth had been hatched at Rheims, and approved by the Spanish ambassador in France. Anthony Babington, long devoted to Mary, was the agent of the plotters in England. But the spies of Cecil and Walsingham were everywhere; the man who took letters between Babington and Mary was in their pay. When compromised beyond escape, the conspirators were seized and executed. Cecil and Walsingham were now determined to rid themselves of Mary, and she was tried at Fotheringay. When at length she consented to plead, she admitted being privy to the plan of invasion, but not to that of assassination. Sentence of death was pronounced. Elizabeth long hesitated to sign the warrant, but parliament petitioned that the 'seed plot' of so many conspiracies should be removed, and at length she gave way; that instant a courier was sent off to Fotheringay, and before the queen could recall the warrant the chequered life of Mary had closed, February 8, **1587**, in the castle hall. The bells were rung for joy throughout England; a heavy weight seemed lifted from the nation, for the presence of Mary as a rallying point for Catholic disaffection had been a constant danger.

Execution of Mary of Scots

The challenge thus thrown in the faces of the pope, Philip, and the

Guises, was taken up at once. But before Philip could move, Drake, outstripping the orders for his recall, had performed the famous 'singeing the Spanish king's beard' (p. 80), March **1587**. Dashing into Cadiz harbour, he destroyed fifty store-ships, then ravaged the Portuguese coast, and returned to England, capturing on his way the great East India treasure-ship, which paid the expenses of the expedition.

Drake 'singes the Spanish king's beard'

It was not therefore until May 30, **1588**, that the great Armada,[3] under the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, set sail for the Netherland coast, where Parma was to join it with 30,000 men. It consisted of 130 ships, carrying, besides 11,000 sailors and rowers, some 20,000 men, an armed with 2,500 cannon. Elizabeth had in the royal fleet but thirty-four ships; but every seaport sent forth its contingent, every rich merchant or nobleman fitted out a vessel. Their crews numbered probably more than 18,000 men, of better physical quality than the Spaniards.[4] Their sailors were mere drudges to the soldiers, but the English, typified by Drake, were both soldiers and sailors, and full of daring confidence. The militia were collected at Tilbury; every man between eighteen and sixty was enrolled. Harsh measures were taken to keep the Catholics from rising; but they were not needed. Now that Mary was dead Philip was to them merely a foreign aggressor. It was a Catholic, Lord Howard of Effingham, who led the fleet.

Sailing of the Armada

Loyalty of the Catholics

On July 19 the Armada, which had been sorely shattered by a gale in the Bay of Biscay and compelled to refit, was seen off Plymouth. Instantly the whole country was warned by beacons on the hill-tops. In every port of the south coast vessels were waiting to dash out. Howard allowed the Spanish fleet to pass; then he pursued, hanging on the rear, 'plucking out its feathers one by one,' and, having the wind, able to sheer off or come to close quarters as he pleased. For a week this running fight went on. Off Calais the fleets faced each other, and a long day's battle was fought. The Armada anchored, to wait for Parma and his army, but the Dutch held the mouth of the Scheldt with ninety ships, and Parma was prevented from embarking his men. On the night of Sunday, the 28th, Howard sent fire-ships down the wind. The Spaniards cut their cables, and, driven by a fierce

Defeat of the Armada

[3] It was never called the 'Invincible Armada' in Spain, but the 'Grand Fleet.'

[4] It is generally said that the Spanish ships were much larger. But this was not the case. The tonnage of a ship in our fleet was much the same as in the enemy's. The English were far superior in their guns and gunners. The Spanish flagship was of 1,000 tons, with 177 seamen and 300 soldiers; the English flagship was of 800 tons, with 300 seamen and 125 soldiers.

southerly gale, fled northwards in wild panic. On the 29th another general engagement took place off Gravelines. Then the English ceased attacking, for every charge of powder had been shot away. But the gale continued, and the Spaniards were driven helplessly northwards up the east coast of England and Scotland. In the wild Orkney seas such storms blew that it was not until October that fifty-three shattered vessels, with 10,000 out of more than 30,000 men, reached Spain, leaving the shores of Norway, the Orkneys, Scotland, and Ireland, strewn with wrecks and corpses. Spanish supremacy at sea had vanished. 'The Lord sent His wind and scattered them,' was the inscription on the medal struck to celebrate the victory. The glory must be shared by queen and people. At the moment of fight, indeed, it was the daring and devotion of individuals which supplied the defects caused by her niggardliness in fitting out the fleet. But, on the other hand, 'she had won the victory by her patience and moderation, by her refusal to lend herself to the fanaticism of the Puritan or the reaction of the Papist, by her sympathy with the mass of the people, by her steady and unflinching preference of national union to any passing considerations of safety or advantage. For thirty years, amid the shock of religious passions at home and abroad, she had reigned, not as a Catholic or Protestant queen, but as a queen of England; and it was to England, Catholic and Protestant alike, that she could appeal in her hour of need.' But the invasion had been a Catholic invasion, and the conduct of the Catholics did not save them. Many executions took place at once; numbers were fined, branded, or whipped. England now retorted sharply on Spain. It was as though an attempt to board had been repulsed, and the enemy themselves were pouring into the attacking ship. English privateers swept the 'Spanish Main' at their will, facing any odds, while Drake and Norris sailed with a large fleet to Lisbon and attacked Spain on her own soil.

From France also England was now safe. In **1589** Henry III., who had freed himself from the tyranny of the Guises by murder, was himself assassinated. For a long time the heir, Henry of Navarre, tried to secure his crown as a Protestant. But he was as devoid of bigotry as Elizabeth was, and his aim was the same as hers, to form a united nation. 'Paris is worth a mass,' he said. He became a convert to Catholicism and received at once the loyalty of the whole moderate party, kept the Huguenots quiet by complete toleration, and by **1595** was so strong that the pope thought well to give him absolution. Spanish influence was driven out of France, and Elizabeth was sure of Henry's support. In **1596** Philip captured Calais; but a joint expedition, under Howard

Henry IV. of France

and Leicester's stepson, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, retorted by sacking Cadiz and destroying the ships in the harbour.

Section 6.—*The Close of the Reign*

Now that the danger was over, Elizabeth and Cecil, created Lord Burghley, wanted peace. But the 'Young England' party, headed by Essex, longed for the distinction and wealth to be gained by war, and for fresh opportunities of colonisation. Essex was the last of Elizabeth's favourites. She was more than thirty years his senior, but she treated him with the passionate and capricious tenderness of a lover. He was handsome and accomplished, but vain and intemperate. In **1597** he commanded an expedition to cut off the Spanish West India fleet, and in **1599** was sent to crush a rebellion in Ireland which had broken out in **1595** under O'Neale, earl of Tyrone.[5] In both commands he proved himself hopelessly incapable. On his return from Ireland he was attacked in the council, brought before the Star Chamber, deprived of all his offices, and dismissed from court. He began to plot with Catholics and extreme Puritans, and to correspond with James. In **1600** he was refused a renewal of his valuable monopoly of sweet wines. Mistaking the strength of his popularity among the masses, he marched with a few friends into the city, calling upon the people to rise. He was arrested and brought to trial. Upon the urgency of Burghley, Elizabeth reluctantly consented to his death, and he was executed **February 25, 1601.**

The Earl of Essex

His failure in Ireland, and execution

The closing scenes of Elizabeth's reign were sad. She had outlived her time and had lost touch with the people. She longed for peace with the weariness of old age; they, with their game as it were in sight, were bent upon war. The Commons were in ill humour at the frequent calls for money. In **1601** she was forced to yield to their demands for the abolition of monopolies, which she had given recklessly to her favourites. After the death of Essex she became moody and irritable. In March **1603** she took to her bed. On the 23rd she was speechless. On the next day, at the age of seventy, after a reign of forty-six years, she died, having feebly intimated her wish that James should succeed her.

Abolition of monopolies

Death of Elizabeth

Summary.—The reign of Elizabeth was the critical period in the great religious conflict throughout Europe. When it closed, England had finally become Protestant, but her church was a church of

[5] There were frequent rebellions in Ireland, caused by anger at the confiscation of lands to English settlers. These lands belonged not to the chiefs but to the clans.

compromise. Scotland, too, had become Protestant; she had accepted rigid Calvinism in creed and system (see Appendix). A third Protestant power had arisen in the Netherlands, and extreme Catholicism had died away in France. The balance of power had been profoundly changed in Europe. At the accession England was a third-rate power; after forty years of incessant conflict she was in the first rank. The overwhelming preponderance of Spain had vanished, and England and the Dutch were about to divide her maritime supremacy and colonial empire. In England the last trace of feudalism had passed away with the northern rebellion. Commercial and naval enterprise had brought wealth and a sense of power to all classes; the standard of comfort had been greatly raised. Brick and stone for wood in building, glass windows, better food and furniture, beauty in domestic architecture, richness of dress, variety of amusements, were all signs of growing prosperity. The new poor law of **1601**, which erected houses of correction in every county, and provided for the poor by a compulsory rate to be collected and distributed by overseers, had done much to clear the country of beggars. This law was made permanent at the Restoration, and lasted until **1835**.[6]

Changes in Europe

Prosperity in England

But, apart from political triumphs, the pride of the Elizabethan age was its literature. The enterprise of men like Drake had its counterpart in the speculations of Francis Bacon, and in historical writings such as Raleigh's History of the World. The imitation of Italian style caused by the growing influence of Italian culture reached an almost ridiculous affectation in 'Euphuism,' so-called from Lyly's romance of 'Euphues' (**1579**). Then, with less of affectation and with great beauty and dignity, came Sidney's 'Arcadia' and 'Defence of Poetry.' The universal passion for adventure is represented by Hakluyt's 'Collection of Voyages' (**1582**). English verse, silent since Chaucer, had its new birth in the 'Faerie Queen' (**1590**) of Edmund Spenser, who united the spirits of Puritanism and loyalty. But at a time when personalities are vivid, action strong, and national pride high, drama is the aptest vehicle for emotion. Plays had

National literature

Sidney

Spenser

[6] One law, dealing with labour, had been disastrous. This was the *Statute of Labourers*, passed in the fifth year of the reign, which practically made the labourer the slave of the employer. One provision was that the justices should fix the rate of wages in all employments; another limited the number of apprentices who might be employed; a third forbade the combination of labourers. The result was that wages were brought down to starvation point by the justices for their own ends, that the number of the purely labouring class was increased, and that wages had to be supplemented by the poor-rate, which was paid by all occupiers. There was thus a constant tendency for wages to fall and the poor-rate to go up.

already been common at court revels, among the lawyers of the Inns of Court, and at the universities. In **1576** the first public theatre was erected in Blackfriars; before **1600** there were eighteen theatres in London alone. Among the Elizabethan dramatists the most famous were Nash, Greene, and Marlowe. Shakespear was born in **1564**, and published his first work, 'Venus and Adonis,' in **1593**. In his historical plays he concentrates, as none but Chatham among statesmen and Nelson among fighters have concentrated, that pride and belief in his country which was the noblest outcome of the reign of Elizabeth.

Shakespear

Summary of the Sixteenth Century

The fifteenth century had left the country prepared to accept a despotism; the sixteenth contains the course of that despotism in its various phases. Henry VII. restores strong government, of which the Star Chamber may be taken as the symbol, and makes his dynasty permanent through the deaths of possible claimants. Then comes the long tyranny of his son, a reign of terror, during which England transfers to the crown with excessive violence, robbery, and bloodshed, the nominal allegiance which she has hitherto owed to Rome. But the constitution is saved by the fact that though there is no will but his, he works through the old forms; parliament is enslaved, but continues to exist and act. Then for a time England is delivered to the misrule of greedy and unscrupulous nobles. Catholicism disappears and is succeeded by Protestantism, which is discredited by the manner of its entrance. The reaction follows at once. Nominal Protestantism, brutally imposed, gives place to nominal Catholicism, still more defaced by cruelty, and accompanied by national failure. Between the bigots of either party is the great mass of the nation, once more willing to accept any settlement which will make England self-respecting and strong. Upon them Elizabeth confidently throws herself, and by steadfast adherence to them recreates a great nation and leaves it a foremost power in Europe. She, too, is a despot; but her despotism is one granted by the people, because she is in harmony with them. Catholicism attacks her by violence and by treachery; and at the end of her reign England is Protestant to the core, and monarchy and the Church of England are inseparably united. From her training it has followed that despotism, contentedly borne, is at an end for ever.

APPENDIX

Religious Parties from Elizabeth to Charles II

From Calvin were derived a system of *doctrine* and a system of *church government*. The former is called Calvinism; its leading tenets were predestination, justification by faith, and the verbal inspiration of the Bible. The latter is called Presbyterianism, that is, the rule of 'presbyters,' or elders. England accepted Calvinism, but not Presbyterianism; Scotland, the French Huguenots, the northern Dutch, &c., took both.

In Presbyterianism all the clergy were of equal rank. There were no bishops. Each congregation had its kirk session, composed of the minister and lay elders. A number of kirk sessions sent their ministers and a lay elder from each to form the presbytery of the district, which had authority over each kirk session. Above the presbytery were the provincial synod and the general assembly of the kirk, formed of ministers and elders chosen from the presbyteries.

The private life of the people was free from episcopal interference in England. But the essence of Calvin's system was that it had to do as much with discipline and manners as with purely church matters. Life in every detail was in Scotland under the jealous supervision of the kirk session; and this became later a crushing social tyranny. Probably on this account it never took root in England.

Under episcopacy the church owned the headship of the crown and the authority of parliament. But the kirk owned no headship but that of Christ. No one could belong to the state who did not belong to the church. The first duty of the civil power was to support the church, whose authority and organization were completely independent of it. It formed an *imperium in imperio*—an empire within an empire. To its ministers the kings were but 'God's silly vassals,' as Andrew Melville called James I. They claimed 'to treat in an ecclesiastical way of greatest and smallest, from the king's throne, that should be established in righteousness, to the merchant's balance, that should be used in faithfulness.' No king who wanted power could favour Presbyterianism. This is the meaning of James I.'s maxim, 'No bishop, no king.'

The Presbyterian hated episcopacy; but he hated still more the Brownists or Independents, with the other sects which held that each congregation ought to have complete control of its own affairs without reference to any higher body, and that the civil power ought to

have nothing whatever to do with religion or matters of conscience, or the congregation with the civil power.

Each of these three, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent thus divided on *church government*, might, and in Elizabeth's time did, hold precisely the same *doctrines*, namely, those of Calvin. They sometimes forgot their differences in a common hatred of Catholicism. Each form carried with it a corresponding set of *political* ideas.

(1) With the Episcopalian the king was supreme head of the church; his priesthood was a separate class, arranged in steps from deacon to king; and, while casting off Rome, he retained respect for traditions in forms and ceremonies.

Correspondingly he was attached to monarchy, and disposed to uphold its divine right; he held by a system of social and political gradations, and displayed a general conservatism in political matters.

(2) The Presbyterian acknowledged no supreme head of the kirk, and no law but that of the Bible; his priesthood was not a separate caste, nor were there differing ranks; he had no respect for tradition in ceremonies, &c. So, too, he denied the divine right or absolute authority of monarchy; he made comparatively light of social gradations, and, as opposed to the Episcopalian, was not conservative.

(3) With the Independents, &c., the doctrine that conscience was man's principal guide, and that the civil power had nothing to do with religion, had their counterpart in rejection of political restraint, tendency towards republicanism, and hatred of religious persecution.

[For the Puritans, Marsden, *Early and Later Puritans*, and Neal, *History of the Puritans*, should be consulted; for the struggle of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, up to the Restoration, portions of Masson's *Life of Milton*; for Presbyterian tyranny, Buckle, *History of Civilisation*, ch. iii., and 'Presbyterianism,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of England* is very instructive.]

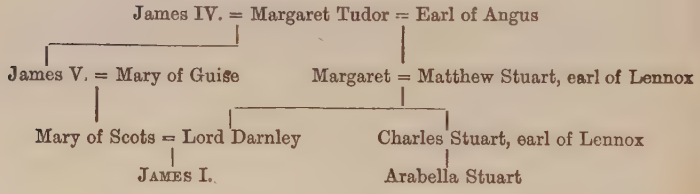
Dates of Elizabeth's Reign

	A.D.		A.D.
Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity	1559	St. Bartholomew's Day	1572
Test Act and Articles of the church	1563	The Jesuits in England	1580
Mary of Scots driven to England	1568	Assassination plot	1584
Northern rebellion	1570	Execution of Mary of Scots	1587
The pope excommunicates Elizabeth	1570	The Armada	1588
		Death of Elizabeth	1603

THE STUARTS

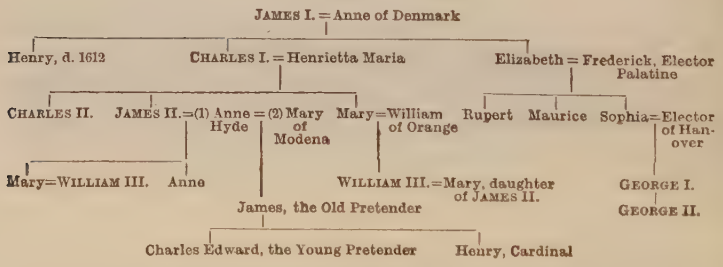
(1) GENEALOGICAL TABLE XIII

DARNLEY AND ARABELLA STUART


James IV. = Margaret Tudor = Earl of Angus
James V. = Mary of Guise
Margaret = Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox
Mary of Scots = Lord Darnley
Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox
JAMES I.
Arabella Stuart

(2) GENEALOGICAL TABLE XIV

THE ENGLISH STUARTS


JAMES I. = Anne of Denmark
Henry, d. 1612
CHARLES I. = Henrietta Maria
Elizabeth = Frederick, Elector Palatine
CHARLES II.
JAMES II. = (1) Anne Hyde = (2) Mary of Modena
Mary = William of Orange
Rupert
Maurice
Sophia = Elector of Hanover
Mary = WILLIAM III.
Anne
WILLIAM III. = Mary, daughter of JAMES II.
GEORGE I.
James, the Old Pretender
GEORGE II.
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender
Henry, Cardinal

BOOK VIII

PARLIAMENT AND PREROGATIVE

CHAPTER I

JAMES I. 1603–1625. *THE QUARREL DEFINED*

SECTION 1.—*Revival of Puritanism*

A CONFLICT between parliament and prerogative was certain. Individual confidence and activity had been bred in Englishmen by fifty years of successful struggle. The rapid increase of wealth had made the Commons far more powerful and independent. Above all there was the effect of the Calvinistic faith. The doctrine of justification by faith alone, which places each soul singly before God, strengthened the spirit of individuality. That of predestination, which teaches at once the equality and the insignificance of man in God's sight, dwarfed all other distinctions, and greatly tempered the awe with which men regarded earthly authority. There was an absolute surrender to God, and therefore less surrender to man.

Certainty of change

The crown had acquired by law two engines of power: the Star Chamber, produced by the struggle with the nobles, and the High Commission, produced by the struggle with the papacy; these violated the principle of trial by jury. In other ways—by irregular methods of raising money, arbitrary arrest, detention of prisoners without trial, the assumption of the right to levy tonnage and poundage without special sanction—the crown had encroached upon the constitution.

How the story of change would read depended upon the character of the great queen's successor. This was one who was practically a foreigner, with his mouth full of maxims of divine right and royal exemption from law.[1] He had barely entered England when he showed his ignorance of English tradition by hanging a thief without trial. Shrewd of judgment, he had no decision of character. With stores of learning, he was pedantic and conceited, at once the

[1] In his 'Basilicon Doron' ('royal gift') and in his 'True Law of a Free Monarchy,' he had displayed monarchy as the true pattern of divinity, the duty of passive obedience, and the entire freedom of the sovereign from the law. 'Although a good king will frame all his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto, but of his own will, and for example giving to his subjects.'

'British Solomon' and the 'wisest fool in Christendom.' He was undignified in person, a lover of buffoonery and of coarse and bestial talk. Though perhaps not himself of immoral life, he allowed his court to become a by-word for corruption. Drunkenness was especially shameless, and was the besetting vice of the court ladies as well as of the men.

Character of James I.

All this had still to be found out. James came to his throne with universal welcome. Statesmen could shake off the fear of danger from Scotland. Catholics looked for favour from the son of Mary Stuart. The Puritans trusted in one who had declared Presbyterianism to be the purest form of religion. Churchmen reckoned upon his hatred of a system which had kept him for years in humiliating bondage. The will of Henry VIII., postponing the Scottish line to that of Mary Brandon, was ignored, the principle of hereditary right was endorsed by his first parliament, and his possible rivals joined in ready allegiance.[2]

James welcomed to the throne

The king's first act was to confirm Robert Cecil, the son of Lord Burghley, as secretary. Possessing much of his father's capacity, Cecil inherited the policy of his later years, peace with Spain and the Elizabethan church system. The former implied the depression of the 'Young England' party. Raleigh, as its foremost member, was disgraced and turned out of offices and emoluments. James desired peace, both from dislike to war and from the wish to save expense. But Spain needed it more than England, and Cecil was able to make his own terms. England was practically left free to help the Dutch. Spain admitted her right to trade with India and America. English merchants were no longer to be liable to be dealt with by the Inquisition.

Cecil in power

Peace with Spain

Several Scotch nobles were placed upon the council. But for the legislative union which James desired the country had to wait a century. All hostile laws between the two countries were abolished; but parliament utterly refused to grant free trade; and all that James could secure was the naturalisation in both countries of persons born since the accession.

Before his accession James had promised favour to the Catholics.

[2] Among them was Isabella, eldest daughter of Philip II. of Spain, whose title, though absurd, was supported by the more violent Catholics; Lord Beauchamp, son of Catherine Gray, sister of Lady Jane Gray; and Arabella Stuart, also descended from Margaret Tudor, niece of Lord Darnley, and born in England.—Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, 10 vols., vol. i. p. 78. The fate of Arabella Stuart was very sad. In 1610 she secretly married Lord Beauchamp's second son, William Seymour. This naturally roused James's jealousy, as combining two titles to the throne. Both escaped from imprisonment, but Arabella was recaptured, became insane from confinement, and died in 1615.

But the opposition of Cecil and the Council forbade it. Furious at this breach of faith, Watson, a Catholic priest, with George Brooke, brother of Raleigh's friend Lord Cobham, and others, formed a wild project for kidnapping James and exacting from him equal rights for Catholics. The plot came to the ears of the Jesuits, who were hostile to Watson, and was by them communicated to the government. James's gratitude for the betrayal of the plot was greater than his anger at its conception; and upon the pressure of the French ambassador he gladly remitted the fines for recusancy. But when the pope refused to excommunicate turbulent Catholics, when every ship brought missionary priests, when the number of recusants daily increased, and the fines fell away from 10,000*l.* to 300*l.* a year, he became alarmed, and issued a proclamation banishing the priests.

'Bye' and 'Main' plots

Brooke's connection with the 'Bye' plot, as it was called, threw suspicion upon Cobham and Raleigh. It was proved that Cobham had held treasonable discourse with the Austrian ambassador, and that he hoped to place Arabella Stuart on the throne. This gave Cecil a chance of ruining Raleigh. There was nothing worthy to be called proof of even remote participation in this second—the 'Main'—plot brought against him. But trials for treason were then scandalously unfair, and he was convicted and thrown into the Tower, where he remained for thirteen years. Watson and Brooke were executed for the 'Bye' plot; Cobham and others became Raleigh's fellow-prisoners for the 'Main.' The two plots had no connection: one was a Catholic, the other a Protestant 'Young England' movement.

With the Puritans James had already dealt most unwisely. In their 'Millenary'[3] petition (**1603**) they had urged many reforms in the Prayer-Book and in the discipline of the church.[4] To avoid giving an answer at the time, James ordered a conference to be held between divines of both parties; and it met at Hampton Court, January, **1604**. The king displayed his learning and his insolence. He contrasted his position now with what it had been in Scotland under Presbyterian tyranny, where he was 'a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave me to the face.' The prelates seized the opportunity. 'Undoubtedly,' said the primate, 'his Majesty spoke by the special

James and the Puritans

[3] So-called because purporting to be signed by 1,000 ministers. Actually it was signed by 825. It was presented as he came from Scotland.

[4] It must be remembered that these Puritans had no idea of tolerating any difference of creed; nor had they any idea of separating from the church.

assistance of God's spirit.' The Bishop of London, on his knees, thanked God for sending them 'such a king as since Christ's time the like had not been seen.' The alliance between James and the Elizabethan church was complete. The Puritan demands, with minor exceptions, were rejected;[5] and James closed the conference with the threat, 'I will make them conform, or harry them out of the kingdom.' To emphasize the breach between the Puritan wing of the church and the Elizabethan prelacy, he threw into prison ten of the ministers who presented the petition, the Star Chamber having pronounced it tending to sedition and rebellion. The only benefit which the conference brought was the resolve to retranslate the Bible; the result was that noble monument of the English language which until a few years ago remained the authorised version.

Section 2.—*James, Parliament, and the Favourites*

James had to listen to a different voice from that of the prelates when on March 19, **1604**, he met his first parliament. A proclamation laying down rules for the election of members, and ordering the Court of Chancery to determine the validity of elections, at once brought about the assertion of a claim, never since disputed, that parliament should be sole judge of its own elections.[6] James was instructed that three things were needed for the passing of any law; the agreement of the Commons, the accord of the Lords, the assent of the crown. The old feudal burdens were attacked. Angry at the result of the Hampton Court conference, the Commons brought forward measures for church reform, and refused to confer with convocation. That body had, with James's approbation, framed a new set of canons for the clergy, in some cases affecting the laity also, directly opposed to Puritan feeling. Among them was one which broke the Elizabethan compromise by insisting upon subscription to every word of all the articles, doctrinal or not (p. 220). To be binding upon the laity, however, they needed an act of parliament—and that was not passed.

James's first parliament

Privileges of parliament

Canons of 1604. Church and parliament in opposition

[5] They asked for permission to restore the 'prophecyings' (p. 219), and that all disputed points should be referred to the bishop and his presbyters. Hitherto James had been moderate; but now he exclaimed: 'A Scottish presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council and all our proceedings' (Appendix, p. 230).

[6] The case of a member named Shirley, who had been imprisoned for debt, gave rise to the first legislative recognition of 'privilege.' It was established that no member could be arrested except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, and that the Commons might inflict punishment upon any one procuring an arrest in breach of privilege.

But upon the clergy they were binding, as passed by convocation; and some 300 ministers were deprived for refusing obedience.[7] Parliament was now at odds with the church. The Catholics fared no better. A royal declaration expressed the king's hatred of popery; missionary priests were again banished; the penal laws were rigorously executed; and the 20*l.* fines with arrears were exacted.

Apology of the Commons

The 'Apology' of the Commons in the middle of the session was as remarkable as the address at the beginning. That they formally asked at the beginning of each session to be allowed to enjoy their rights and privileges was, the king was told, merely an act of manners, which did not affect the rights themselves. No court in the land had authority which could stand against theirs. If James had been told that kings of England had power to make laws concerning religion, he had been misinformed. On their part they utterly disclaimed any 'Brownist' spirit (p. 221), and assured the king that he would possess their hearts if he would remove the burdens of which they complained.[8] James in reply prorogued parliament with a scolding speech to the Commons upon their factious and inquisitive temper.

Gunpowder plot

The enforcement of the penal laws, and the sight of the fines becoming the perquisites of the king's Scotch followers, goaded the Catholics to desperation. Robert Catesby revived a design of destroying at a blow all the authors of their misfortunes by blowing up the Houses of Parliament at the opening of the session of February, **1605**; and when the peace with Spain in **1604** brought no relief, he, with four comrades, of whom one was Guy Fawkes, an officer of a regiment of English Catholics in the Spanish service, set to work. They hired a house close to the House of Lords, and in December **1604** began to pierce the wall, nine feet thick, into the vaults. At the prorogation, until November **1605**, they took some rest. In the interval they brought in other accomplices, and in February **1605** began work again. Hearing, however, that an adjoining cellar which ran under the parliament-house was empty, they bought the lease, made a door between the house and this cellar, and placed in

[7] In 1606 a fresh body of canons was drawn up, but not approved by James, in which the doctrine of passive obedience was distinctly set forth.—Gardiner, vol. i. p. 290.

[8] Among these was the possession of monopolies by the great trading companies. James had at his entry suspended monopolies of individuals. But they were retained by the companies, and jealously exercised. Such were the Russia Company, the Eastland or Baltic, the Merchant Adventurers, from the Cattegat to the mouth of the Somme, the Levant Company for Venice and the East Mediterranean, the West African for the Cape, and the East India Company. The Commons passed a bill by a large majority, throwing open trade to all, but the Lords rejected it upon technical points.

it twenty barrels of gunpowder, covered over with faggots. At this point money ran short; for their designs went much further than the blowing up of parliament. They had planned an insurrection, in which, the king and his eldest son Prince Henry having been killed, either Charles or Elizabeth was to be placed on the throne, on condition of protecting the Catholics. Catesby applied to three Catholic gentlemen for funds. One of these, Francis Tresham, pleaded that warning should be sent to his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle. On October 26 an anonymous letter told Monteagle that parliament would receive a terrible blow, and yet should not see who hurt them. Cecil had already received mysterious warnings from abroad. On the evening of November 4, Suffolk, the lord chamberlain, and Monteagle visited the cellar, betraying no suspicion when they found Fawkes there. But in the night a guard entered and seized Fawkes. He confessed that the purpose was 'to blow the Scottish beggars back to their own country,' but made no further disclosure. On the news of the arrest his comrades fled; but the country rose upon them. In the court of Holbeche House they were either shot dead, or taken and reserved for torture and the gallows.[9] The first act of parliament was to order November 5 to be kept for ever as a day of thanksgiving.

Persecution of the Catholics

Fresh laws followed against the Catholics. They were compelled to receive the Sacrament from Protestant ministers. The king was empowered to refuse the monthly fine of 20*l.* for absence from church, and to take instead two-thirds of the offenders' goods (p. 223). Recusants were practically deprived of all civil rights. They were pursued even to their graves; for, if they were buried in any but a Protestant graveyard, their executors were fined 20*l.* A new oath of allegiance, under the penalty of *præmunire*, distinguished between those who upheld and those who denied the pope's deposing power; and when the pope condemned the oath, James replied by the execution both of priests and laymen.

Coming from a poor country, James had imagined his resources to be boundless. He had showered gifts upon his Scotch friends, and had wasted enormous sums upon idle extravagance. In addition to a debt of 735,000*l.*, partly a legacy from Elizabeth, his annual expenditure of 500,000*l.* exceeded his revenue by 180,000*l.* The Commons now, with many murmurs, gave 250,000*l.* But James by his own authority had, in imitation of Mary and Eliza-

The 'Impositions'

[9] Cecil (now earl of Salisbury) used the relation of Percy to the Duke of Northumberland, of whom he was jealous, to ruin the latter, as he had before ruined Raleigh through his friend Cobham.

beth, imposed duties on imports and exports, in spite of Magna Carta and the Confirmatio Cartarum (pp. 81, 99). A merchant named Bate refused to pay a fresh duty on currants. But James obtained a decision from the Exchequer in his favour, on the ground that all custom duties are the effect of foreign commerce, which is solely in the king's hands. The Commons for the moment accepted the decision, and the duties were levied without difficulty. New impositions were then laid, and in **1608** a 'book of rates' was framed, by which the crown obtained an additional 70,000*l.* a year.

But in **1610** James was again obliged to summon parliament. The action of the High Commission Court in removing causes from the judges to themselves, and the support given to it by James, had meanwhile caused great offence; for such action robbed the subject of legal protection. The Commons were irritated also by a book called 'The Interpreter,' in which Dr. Cowell, of Cambridge, maintained that to make laws was a royal prerogative; and they feared that by the right to levy impositions the king might make himself independent of parliament. When therefore James demanded 600,000*l.* at once, and a permanent increase to the revenue, they offered 200,000*l.* increase after much demur, and only if purveyance, the feudal tenures, and the power of imposing rates were abandoned. But before the agreement became law each party was dissatisfied with the bargain. The Commons made fresh demands, especially that James should give up his practice of creating new offences by proclamation, and making infractions of these proclamations punishable by the Star Chamber; until James, declaring that he had not 'asinine patience,' dissolved the parliament, retaining debt and deficit, but also the feudal dues, purveyance, and the right to levy impositions. The 'Great Contract' had been Cecil's favourite plan; its failure killed him. He died the next year, having lived to see king and nation at enmity.[10]

Parliament of 1610

'The Great Contract'

Two important events now took place in the royal family; the sudden death of the king's eldest son, Henry, who was endowed in the popular belief with every virtue, and the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, a girl of singular beauty, to Frederick, the Protestant Elector Palatine, grandson of William of Orange, who ruled over the land known as the Palatinate, stretching from the Moselle to Bohemia. This

Death of Prince Henry.

Marriage of Elizabeth

[10] Gardiner, 'The Puritan Revolution,' *Epochs of Modern Hist.*, p. 18. This volume should be at hand throughout the period. For a summary of the causes of estrangement, see Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ch. vi. p. 331, ed. 1876.

marriage, afterwards so important for England,[11] was the last work of Cecil.

At Cecil's death James determined to be his own minister. Neither lord treasurer nor secretary was appointed; the council was not consulted. But he soon found that he could not transact the business alone, and for the first time since Edward II. a reign of favourites was introduced. The first was Robert Carr, a Scotch youth with no merit but that of personal beauty, upon whom James showered honours, wealth,[12] and power, and whom he created Viscount Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset. Until **1615** he was supreme, in spite of all opposition. Then James wearied of him; the queen's jealousy, the hatred of the nobility, and his open favour to Spanish interests, aided his downfall, which however was finally brought about by the scandal of an atrocious murder, planned by his wife, whose divorce from her first husband, the Earl of Essex, James had furthered by the most disgraceful measures. Meanwhile a new favourite had won the foolish king. This was George Villiers, son of a Leicestershire baronet, of higher personal graces and far more character than Somerset. Though ignorant, greedy, and proud, he was resolute and quick-witted, and devoted to his master's interests. His bearing was frank and open, his personal courage undoubted. Before long he had become Marquis of Buckingham, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Admiral of England. He was afterwards raised to a dukedom. By the king's prodigality, and the sums he received for his favours, he amassed a vast fortune. His relatives prospered, his opponents were struck down. The council found that they had but exchanged one master for another. In **1614** James again met parliament. 'Undertakers' undertook to secure a favourable house; but in vain. The Commons refused to touch anything but grievances; they attacked the undertakers, the impositions, and the proclamations. After two months James angrily dissolved them, and imprisoned five of the most active members. Not an act was passed, and this was therefore known as the 'Addled' parliament. For six years longer James ruled without a parliament. To get money he sold offices, gave back the towns which the Dutch had handed over to Elizabeth for her help for 300,000*l.*, continued the impositions, levied benevolences, gave peerages for 10,000*l.* a piece, and exacted enormous fines in the Star Chamber for breaches of

The Earl of Somerset

George Villiers, duke of Buckingham

Anger of the Commons. The 'Addled' parliament

Government without parliament

[11] George I. was directly descended from Elizabeth (p. 232).

[12] Raleigh, a prisoner in the Tower, was robbed of almost his last estate for his benefit.

his proclamations. Oliver St. John was fined 5,000*l.* and imprisoned during pleasure for refusing to pay the benevolence and giving his reasons somewhat roughly in writing. For opposing the king in this course Lord Chief Justice Coke was disgraced. A grievous blow was thus dealt to confidence in the judges, who were felt to be but the king's creatures. It was now that Sir Francis Bacon became keeper of the seals, and in **1617** lord chancellor, with the title of Viscount Verulam, and later that of Earl of St. Alban's.

Foreign affairs

In foreign affairs James had not been unsuccessful. In concert with Henry IV. of France[13] he had, in **1610**, mediated between Spain and the Dutch, and secured a truce of twelve years; and he had joined the league of France, the Dutch, and the German Protestants in rescuing the Duchy of Juliers, which in Catholic hands prevented communication between the States and Protestant Germany, from Catholic Austria which had seized it.

Arminianism

Into the religious strife which broke out among the Dutch James threw himself with eagerness. Calvinism had there been established with great rigour. But Arminius, a professor of Leyden, had led an intellectual revolt by putting forward the doctrine of free-will and good works as less repugnant to reason and charity than that of predestination and justification by faith alone. One of his followers, Vorstius, having gone still further, James attacked him in print, and compelled the Dutch, as the price of his friendship, to banish him from Leyden and oblige him to recant. Still the new opinions spread in the southern states, while the northern remained Calvinist; and the religious controversy thus became political. A synod was held at Dort in **1619**, to which James sent deputies for both the English and Scotch churches. There, with his support, the north beat the south. The works of Vorstius were condemned; Barneveldt, the chief of the southern Arminians, was put to death, and 700 leading families of his opinions were banished.

Episcopacy in Scotland

While thus upholding the Calvinistic faith among the Dutch, James was actively suppressing the Presbyterian form of church government in Scotland (*Appendix*, p. 230). By intrigue, bribery, and force, he had, in **1610**, partially re-established Episcopacy there in the teeth of popular feeling. He had imprisoned and

[13] Henry IV. had become a Catholic. But his great object was to unite France against the Spanish house. One branch of this house ruled over Spain, another over Austria; and these two, both vehemently Catholic, always held together. As opposed to them the interest of Catholic France was the same as that of Protestant England or the Dutch. The assassination of Henry IV. made no difference to French interests.

exiled Knox's great successor Andrew Melville, with other Presbyterian leaders. In **1618** he went in person to Scotland, taking with him William Laud, bishop of St. David's, and by using the jealousy between nobles and clergy, and by a threat of seizing the stipends of the ministers, had secured the acceptance by the general assembly of the kirk at Perth, and in **1621** by the Scotch parliament, of the Five Articles of Perth, which brought the Scotch kirk into much closer uniformity with the Church of England.

The Declaration of Sports

On his return from Scotland James found a fresh subject of controversy opened; and this he settled in a manner which, though perfectly just, was most distasteful to the sterner Puritans. By them Sunday was regarded as identical with the Jewish Sabbath, to be kept undisturbed alike by work and amusement. But hitherto Englishmen had regarded Sunday afternoon, after the close of service, as the right time for both. Thus, when the Puritan justices tried to suppress the village sports, they met with angry resistance. In Lancashire especially, where there were many Catholics, this was the case; the people appealed to James, and James decided in their favour. Then they turned the tables upon the Puritans, and disturbed their services by revelry outside the church doors. To stay both abuses, and to give due liberty to each, James issued the Declaration of Sports, which permitted any 'lawful recreation' to be indulged in after divine service by all who had attended such service, and forbade any disturbance of the congregation during the hours of worship. The Declaration was a wise measure; James's mistake was in publishing it, not only in Lancashire, where it was needed, but throughout the kingdom, in the form of a circular to the justices and of orders to the clergy to read it in the pulpit. So strong was the feeling roused that this order was shortly withdrawn.

Plantation of Ulster

At the death of Elizabeth, Ireland was a conquered country. No chieftain claimed independence of the crown: the king's garrisons held the strongholds; assizes were held by his judges in every county. The two great earls of Ulster, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, lived in loyalty to the government until **1607**. Then they fled to the Continent under suspicion of treason. This was the opportunity for the grasping English. The earls were attainted, and not only their private property, but that of all the clans over which they ruled (p. 227, note), that is, all Ulster[1] was 'planted' with English or Scotch. Smaller plantations were made in Leitrim, Wicklow

[1] The larger plots were granted to English and Scotch 'undertakers,' especially to London companies; the smaller to the officers of state and officers in the army; a few of the worst to natives; and a large amount to the church.

Wexford, and elsewhere.[15] Up to that time the people in Ireland had practically all been Catholics, those of English blood who supported English rule, and Irish Catholics who hated the English. But the plantations introduced a loyal Protestant population; and, by means of the seventeen new counties and forty new boroughs which were founded, the government acquired a majority in parliament, which passed act after act solely in favour of the Protestants. The old English Catholics were thus driven to ally themselves to the Irish Catholics in defence of their faith, a change which soon had disastrous effects.

James's irregular methods of obtaining money had all proved insufficient. He therefore revived an old scheme, rejected by Cecil, of marrying his son Charles to the Infanta of Spain, and thus securing a rich dowry; and to assist the negotiations he released no fewer than 4,000 imprisoned Catholics. But the national hatred of Spain was as strong as ever; and it had been rendered keener by the cruelties practised on the crews of captured English merchant-ships. Of this feeling Raleigh, a prisoner in the Tower, was the foremost representative. Raleigh had, in **1584**, received from Elizabeth a patent to colonise any vacant lands on payment of certain dues to the crown. In **1596** he attempted to discover El Dorado, the fabled golden city of Guiana, and he sailed sufficiently far up the Orinoco to stimulate curiosity. He was now set at liberty at Buckingham's request, with permission to try again, his sentence of death remaining still valid. But Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, protested, and James forbade Raleigh to touch Spanish territory or to hurt a single Spaniard. With twelve ships he reached the Orinoco in November **1617**. Falling sick, he sent his eldest son with an expedition up the river. They found a Spanish town on the banks, established since the former expedition, which they attacked and plundered, Raleigh's son being killed in the fight. On his return in **1618** Raleigh was again imprisoned. An attempt to escape failed, and on October 29 he was executed, at Gondomar's demand, upon the old sentence: an act of subservience to Spain which roused the bitterest feeling in a nation which remembered how Elizabeth had knighted Drake (p. 224).

The Spanish marriage

Execution of Raleigh

The outbreak in Bohemia of the religious Thirty Years' War[16] now, after sixteen years of peace, threatened to drag James into war. His son-in-law Frederick accepted the crown from the Protestants

[15] The expense of the change was defrayed by the creation of baronetcies. Two hundred were sold to gentlemen of landed property of at least 1,000*l.* a year for 1,095*l.* apiece.

[16] It lasted from 1618 until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.—See Gardiner, 'Thirty Years' War,' in *Epochs of Modern History*.

there in rivalry to the Catholic Emperor Ferdinand, and England called upon James to help him.[17] The whole court, the Prince of Wales, Buckingham, and the clergy, all wanted war. A voluntary loan was raised, and a regiment of 4,000 volunteers went to secure the Palatinate from attack. More the king would not do. He disliked war, and he had no money; he honestly thought Frederick in the wrong, and he was intimidated by Gondomar. In **1620** Frederick was driven not only from Bohemia but from his own Palatinate by Austrian and Spanish troops. In hopes of recovering the Palatinate by means of Spain, James pressed on the marriage treaty. He secretly agreed to give the Infanta the free exercise of her religion, and to make the lot of the Catholics easier. Upon the pope's pressure for an earnest of his intentions, he ordered, July **1622**, that pardon should be granted to all who applied during the next five years.

England and the Thirty Years' War

At length parliament met once more in **1621**. They had in their minds all their former grievances, reinforced by the imprisonment of their members at the close of the last session, Raleigh's execution, the disasters of Frederick, and suspicions of the king's dealings with Spain. The redress of grievances, fresh resolutions against the Catholics, and a demand for the full recognition of the right of free speech, occupied them first. They attacked the owners of monopolies, reviving for the purpose the ancient right of impeachment, disused since that of the Duke of Suffolk in **1450**. This was really directed against Buckingham, who avoided the blow by giving up the monopolies he held and inducing James to abandon the system entirely. Many others were severely punished. The chief victim was Bacon, lord chancellor, through whose skilful management of the finances the king had been enabled to tide over the last six years. He was impeached for receiving bribes, fined 40,000*l.*, imprisoned during pleasure, banished from court and parliament, and prohibited from taking office again.[18] He died in May **1626**, and was succeeded by Williams, bishop of Lincoln. Then the Commons turned to the Palatinate. When ordered by James to adjourn themselves, they first passed a unanimous vote, 'lifting up their hats in their hands as high as they could hold them,' to sacrifice their fortunes and lives for Frederick.[19] When the session

James's last parliament. Attack upon monopolies

Fall of Bacon

[17] Green, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 27.

[18] Bacon's offence was not so bad as it seemed. The salary of his office was nominal, and his payment came chiefly from presents made by suitors after a case was decided. There is no proof that his decisions were affected by the practice.

[19] For the temper of the Commons at this time, see their proceedings in the case of Floyd, who spoke slightingly about the Elector and Elizabeth.—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 369.

was renewed the quarrel had deepened. The Palatinate had been overrun by Spanish troops. Many Catholics had been released. James had imprisoned several ministers who preached against Spain. Arminian doctrines were spreading in the country, and James was now so far showing sympathy with them that he had ordered that no minister should preach on the cardinal doctrines of Calvinism. People went in crowds to the churches to pray against the Spanish marriage. The Commons prepared a petition to James urging him to make war on Spain, to marry Charles to a Protestant, to execute the penal laws, and to insist upon the children of Catholics being educated as Protestants. James angrily forbade them to meddle with affairs of state. They entered a formal protest against his order on their journals. In weak petulance he sent for the journals, tore out the protestation in presence of the council, and dissolved parliament. For the first time he had been opposed by some of the peers; and the Earls of Oxford and Southampton, with several members of the Commons, were imprisoned and otherwise punished for their conduct.

Spread of Arminianism

Anger of the Commons and of James

James still went on with the marriage treaty. In January **1623** he consented to allow the Catholics to worship in private houses. At this moment, in accordance with a plan formed between Buckingham and Gondomar, Charles and the duke disguised themselves, and, under the names of John and Thomas Smith, went in person to Madrid to do the wooing. There the prince signed a secret treaty providing that the penal laws should be dropped, private worship allowed, and no attempt made to seduce the Infanta from her faith. Charles was an ardent lover, and Bristol, the English ambassador, himself a Catholic, did all he could to make the negotiations successful. But difficulties soon arose. The Infanta took a violent dislike to Charles, and her piety was scandalised at the idea of marrying a heretic. Buckingham, jealous of Bristol, began to oppose him. He shocked Spanish propriety by his dissoluteness, and he quarrelled with Olivarez, the prime minister. The court of Madrid, above all, could not bring itself to weaken the union of the two branches of the Austro-Spanish house (p. 241, note). The result was that Charles and Buckingham left Madrid, Bristol was recalled in disgrace, and the marriage treaty was broken off. The prince and the duke returned amid wild delight, for the people regarded the failure of James's scheme as a national victory.

Charles and Buckingham at Madrid

The Spanish marriage broken off

Buckingham was now resolved to force on a war with Spain. He put himself in touch with the popular feeling by appearing at the first session of the new parliament, in February **1624**, and giving a

narrative of the Madrid visit. He made James acknowledge the Commons' right to touch affairs of state, by laying the late negotiations before them, and promising in future to consult them on foreign matters. James then demanded an enormous supply, to enable him to defend the Palatinate. But the Commons had no confidence in him, and they gave him only enough for national defence, for refitting the fleet, and for helping the Dutch. At the same time they extorted a proclamation putting the penal laws more rigidly than ever in force.

Buckingham's position was now remarkable. He was at once royal favourite and leader of an opposition parliament. Bent upon war with Spain, he overthrew all who opposed it. Among these was the Earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer. He was impeached for bribery, oppression, and neglect.[20] His trial was marked by an advance in justice. Hitherto the impeached person had not been allowed the aid of counsel or furnished with a copy of the indictment. The Lords ordered that both these injustices should cease.

Buckingham joins parliament

It was now proposed that Charles should marry Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, whom he had seen on his way to Madrid. To quiet the opposition of the Commons to any Catholic marriage, Charles and James both promised that no pledge of favour to Catholics should accompany it. But Louis XIII. insisted upon such a pledge. Buckingham, eager only for French aid against Spain, persuaded Charles, and Charles persuaded his father, to break the promise, and the marriage treaty was signed. With the knowledge of this lie, Buckingham dared not let parliament meet. But he sent 6,000 men to help the Dutch at the close of the twelve years' truce (p. 241); he formed a Protestant league of Sweden, Denmark, and the German princes, which was joined by the Catholic states of France, Venice, and Savoy, in their hatred of the Spanish house. Count Mansfeld, a military adventurer, who upheld Frederick's cause, came to England; 12,000 men were pressed for his service; they reached Holland, but in a few weeks 9,000 were swept away by disease and hardship.

The French marriage. Dishonesty of James and Charles

Protestant league

Before the French marriage could be concluded, James fell ill. He died on March 27, **1625**, meeting his end with more dignity than he had showed during his life. He was fifty-nine years old, and had reigned twenty-three years.[21] He left the quarrel

Death of James

[20] The shrewd old king saw to what all this must lead. 'You will live,' said he to Buckingham, 'to have your bellyful of impeachments.'

[21] For a vivid summary of this reign see Green, vol. iii. p. 120, or *Short History*, p. 493.

undetermined, but well defined. It had to be fought out upon the right of parliament to free speech, Puritanism, and the claim of the king to levy money without parliamentary consent.

The chief dream of Raleigh's life had been the colonisation of Virginia, and it was accomplished while he lay in prison. In **1606** a charter was granted to Judge Popham to make two settlements between 35° and 45° N. lat., both to be governed by a council in London, nominated by the king. The northern expedition failed utterly; the southern, after desperate hardships and almost complete annihilation, held its ground through the genius of John Smith, one of the most remarkable men of the age, and the able conduct of Lord Delaware; and from **1611** onwards it prospered. In fifteen years the colony had 5,000 inhabitants.

Colonisation of Virginia

At the end of Elizabeth's reign many Brownists (p. 220) had fled to Holland, and had established a church at Amsterdam, which was later joined by the Baptist John Smith. In **1608** two of the ministers turned out by the canons of **1604** (p. 236), Clifton and John Robinson, with others, succeeded, after having been stopped by the government in a first attempt, in reaching Amsterdam also. Finding the exiles there distracted with quarrels over the most trivial points, they removed to Leyden, and remained there until **1619**, when, in spite of the tales of hardship from Virginia, many determined to emigrate to America, and obtained a patent from the Virginia Company to establish a settlement near the mouth of the Hudson. In July **1620**, the 'Mayflower,' of 180 tons, lay ready at Southampton, while the 'Speedwell' was sent to bring the emigrants from Holland. In these two vessels 120 pilgrims embarked and set sail; but they were compelled to return on account of the leaky condition of the ships, and on September 6 the 'Mayflower' set sail alone. On December 11 the founders of a great empire landed, 102 in all, on the coast of Massachusetts, and gave the name of New Plymouth to the spot. As this was outside the limits of their patent, they were left to form their own government. They, too, were soon reduced to utter distress through cold, famine, and disease; for ten years they barely held their own, and at the end of that time numbered only 300. In **1630** they were joined by 1,000 Puritans under John Winthrop, escaping from the severity of Charles and Laud; in **1631**, 700 more followed. The Virginian colonists had been 'broken men,' wild or lawless adventurers; those who sailed on the 'Mayflower' were of the poorer class; but these last were of higher standing, men of the professional and middle classes, and Puritan farmers from Lincolnshire and the eastern counties, who left their country sadly, not for

The Pilgrim Fathers

adventure, but for religious freedom. As persecution grew in England, emigration went on faster; within ten years from Winthrop's sailing 20,000 Englishmen had landed in New England. The limits of their ideas of religious freedom should be carefully noticed. They went to escape persecution, but they were in no sense tolerationists. They abolished Episcopacy and the use of the Prayer Book. They refused to admit any who were not members of their churches. As time went on their intolerance grew even more bitter, and no persecution at home was more keen than that which the Puritans of Massachusetts inflicted upon the heretics whom they found in their midst.

Intolerance in New England

CHAPTER II

CHARLES I. TO THE CIVIL WAR. 1625-1642

Section 1.—*First Struggle with Parliament*, 1625-1629.

Charles, now twenty-five years of age, was a complete contrast to his father. He was religious, reserved, and decorous, a lover of art, expert at knightly exercises. He earnestly desired to be a good king. But his theory of kingship led him to speak with mental reservations, and this at times degenerated into the belief that deception was justifiable when what he believed to be his rights were violated.

Parliament met in anger at the French marriage, which was celebrated at once, at the relaxation of the penal laws which followed, and at the growth of Arminianism. Of the Arminian party, William Laud, bishop of St. David's, was the leader. He held that men should be appealed to through the senses as well as through the intellect, by music, architecture, and ceremonial; and that, to bring order to the church, uniformity in ceremonies was necessary. The Commons would grant no freedom of doctrine: he would grant no freedom of ceremony.

William Laud

Charles favoured the Laudian clergy, and they naturally magnified the prerogative. 'Defend thou me with the sword, and I will defend thee with the pen,' wrote Montague, one of the royal chaplains. 'The power which resides in the king is not any gift of the people,' said Laud to the two Houses, 'but God's power as well in as over him.' 'Parliament,' added Charles, 'is for counsel, not for control.' Parliament met this doctrine by demanding the execution of the penal laws and by arresting Montague. They

Close union of the clergy and the crown

gave Charles an inadequate supply, and voted him tonnage and poundage, the chief part of his revenue, not for life, but for a year only. The Lords refused to concur, on the ground that this was a breach of custom as old as Henry VI., and Charles therefore lost even this supply. The quarrel grew daily more acute; and when Buckingham interposed, he was threatened with impeachment. Charles at once dissolved parliament. He then levied tonnage and poundage on his own authority, made demands on the richer gentry, left salaries unpaid, and exercised the closest economy at court. He was thus enabled in October to despatch an expedition against Cadiz, which however ended in a complete disaster. But Charles had another quarrel on his hands. Some vessels which his father had lent to Louis XIII. had been employed, contrary to the English intention, against the revolted Huguenots in Rochelle; and he felt that in honour he was bound to go to their aid. More than ever, therefore, a favourable parliament was necessary. He resolved to violate his marriage treaty by executing the penal laws, as he had before violated his promise to parliament by relaxing them; while, to prevent the election of his chief opponents, he had recourse to the trick of making them sheriffs of their counties.

Dissolution of the first parliament. Failure at Cadiz

This showed how little he knew the temper of the country. The opposition was led by Sir John Eliot, formerly a friend of Buckingham, who now regarded him as the worst of traitors. Eliot held that the Commons ought to have complete 'control,' not merely 'counsel;' that they were literally the collective wisdom of the nation; and that 'whoever tendered other counsel than the House of Commons had to offer was a divider and a traitor.' Three committees were formed—for evils, causes, and remedies. Buckingham was named as the cause of evils, and his impeachment as the remedy. In vain Charles threatened to dispense with parliaments altogether. He made matters worse by quarrelling with the Lords. He had violated their privileges by imprisoning Lord Arundel while parliament was sitting; and to prevent Lord Bristol (p. 245) from making damaging disclosures about the Madrid journey, had withheld his writ (p. 82) to attend parliament. On both points he was forced to yield; and Bristol at once sent in charges of falsehood and misconduct against Buckingham. The duke had meanwhile been impeached in the Commons. One charge was that by his own authority he had administered medicine to James in his last illness. Charles was falsely informed that the same charge had been made against himself. In a fury he com-

Sir John Eliot

Dissolution of the second parliament. Failure at Rochelle

mitted Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges to prison. Forced to withdraw from this breach of privilege, he showed his contempt for both Lords and Commons by bestowing fresh honours on Buckingham, dissolving parliament in order to put an end to the impeachment, and sending Bristol and Arundel to the Tower.

The dissolution was again followed by irregular levies of money. Forced loans were exacted on a scale laid down by the royal commissioners; and the seaports were ordered to provide ships for the navy. The clergy were instructed to preach obedience; and Chief Justice Crewe was dismissed for declaring this illegal. Charles met with a general refusal, even among the peers. Many persons were imprisoned or punished by having soldiers billeted upon them; the poorer defaulters were pressed for service. The money was spent on war with France. Charles had quarrelled with his imperious wife, who bitterly resented his failure to keep the marriage treaty; and this led to an open breach with Louis. In July **1627** Buckingham landed with 7,000 men on the Isle of Rhé, commanding the harbour of Rochelle. For eleven weeks he attempted to capture the castle of St. Martin. At the moment of surrender it was relieved; a general assault failed; the English were vigorously attacked in their disorderly march to the ships, and cut down by hundreds. Buckingham returned, more than ever discredited, with but 3,000 of his force. The natural outcry only goaded on Charles to another attempt; and to obtain supplies for this he was obliged to call a fresh parliament, March **1628**.

A third parliament. Sir Thomas Wentworth. Contrast with Eliot

This time Eliot's leadership was shared by Sir Thomas Wentworth, the head of an ancient and noble house in Yorkshire.[1] His talents were splendid; he was devout and unselfish; his temper was generous, but hasty and arbitrary; his will unconquerable. For the moment he and Eliot could work together. But the union could not be permanent. Eliot was a fervid Puritan, with an intense conviction in the right and ability of parliament to govern as well as to legislate. Wentworth hated Puritanism, and held that the executive must be in the hands of the king, upheld by a parliament which did not aspire to govern.

Eliot and Wentworth both shared in drawing up the celebrated Petition of Right, to which they demanded Charles's assent before granting him a supply. This document—a reassertion of Magna Carta and the *Confirmatio Cartarum*—forbade: (1) Forced loans and other unparliamentary taxation; (2) arbitrary arrest and detention; (3) the billeting of soldiers in private houses, leading to robbery and violence; (4) the exercise of martial law upon

Petition of Right

[1] Gardiner, vol. iv. p. 238, and vol. v. p. 186.

soldiers and sailors for offences punishable by the ordinary courts. Charles was prepared to yield, except on the crucial point of arbitrary arrest; and in making a stand here he was supported by a half-hearted decision of the judges that the express command of the king might override the law. He therefore returned an evasive reply.

The storm which at once burst forth was so menacing that he was for the moment cowed. He gave his assent in the old formula, 'Soit droit fait comme est désiré,' a victory for the Commons which was greeted in the city with the wildest joy.[2] The Commons having Charles as they thought at their mercy, now that he had promised not to raise money by prerogative, then pushed their victory. A Remonstrance was presented against Popery and Arminianism, the late naval failures, and the retention of Buckingham in power. But Charles avoided further discussion by proroguing parliament.

The Remonstrance

The Commons had meanwhile not neglected religious questions. The High Commission Court had been directly attacked. High-church sermons were noticed; Mainwaring, who had preached absolute obedience on pain of damnation, was impeached, imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lords, fined 1,000*l.*, and made incapable of ecclesiastical office. For this sentence Charles showed his respect by giving Mainwaring a pardon, a valuable living, and shortly a bishopric. Laud was made Bishop of London, and Montague of Chichester. Puritanism was rapidly being driven from the church. All the more the Puritan spirit and the parliamentary spirit became identified.

Parliament and Puritanism

A notable defection now took place in the ranks of the Commons. Wentworth had proposed the Petition of Right because Charles was violating the ancient constitution. But he regarded the Remonstrance as an aggression on the part of the Commons still more unconstitutional and dangerous to strong government. Like Elizabeth, he believed in a few wise men, not a number of 'hair-brained politicians' (p. 216). He quarrelled bitterly with Eliot, and he now formally left the opposition. He received a peerage, and was promised the presidentship of the Council of the North. To those who thought with Eliot he naturally was, and ever remained, the 'dark-browed apostate,' the object of their detestation and fear.

Wentworth joins the king

[2] The clause preventing arbitrary imprisonment was a great advance. It still remained to see that trials should be fair. Against this there were two obstacles, the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, and the dependence of the judges on the crown (p. 82).

The third expedition to Rochelle, under Buckingham, was now ready to sail. But on August 23, at the moment of setting out, the duke was struck dead by an officer named Felton, a man soured by loss of promotion. It shows the temper of the nation that the crime was heard of with rejoicing, and that Felton was escorted to the Tower amid the blessings of the people. Nevertheless the fleet sailed; but again there was neither capacity in the commander nor enthusiasm among the men. The result was a third failure, and on October 28 Rochelle capitulated.

Murder of Buckingham. Second failure at Rochelle

Parliament reassembled in a spirit more bitter than ever. Among a host of grievances was the fact that Charles had called in all copies of the Petition of Right, and had issued an edition with the first evasive answer. The Commons had supposed that tonnage and poundage were included in the Petition of Right. Charles maintained, as the Lords had previously maintained, that by the constitution they belonged to the crown, and were therefore outside its scope. In the midst of a vehement speech on the point, Eliot was interrupted by the king's orders that the house should adjourn. An uproar arose, for the Commons had never acknowledged the king's right to order this. It was reported that Charles was about to dissolve parliament. The door was at once locked. The Speaker then tried to end the sitting by leaving the chair. He was thrust back and held in his seat by Holles and Valentine, while Holles put to the vote from memory some resolutions which Eliot had drawn up, but had in his anger thrown into the fire. These were that whoever brought in innovations in religion, whoever advised the levy of tonnage and poundage without a grant from parliament, or voluntarily paid those duties, was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. Then the doors were thrown open. Parliament was dissolved, and did not meet again for eleven years. Eliot, Holles, Valentine, and seven other members were arrested, brought before the King's Bench for stirring up sedition, fined, and condemned to imprisonment during the king's pleasure.[3] All but Eliot, Valentine, and Strode then submitted and were released. Three years later Eliot died in the Tower at the age of thirty-eight. Valentine and Strode remained in prison for eleven years.

Scene in the House, March 2, 1629

Dissolution of the third parliament. Imprisonment and death of Eliot

[3] The proceedings disclosed one omission in the Petition of Right—namely, of the conditions under which a prisoner ought to be admitted to bail; and Charles refused to allow them to be bailed. The question of breach of privilege was overruled on the ground that, since the order to adjourn had been given, the House was not really in session: a curious illustration of Charles's want of ingenuousness.

Section 2.—*Government without Parliament.* 1629–1640.

The opposition, unable to express itself in parliament, now rapidly broke up. Noy and Littleton, two members of the opposition, became attorney and solicitor-general. Wentworth was admitted to the council, and promised to 'vindicate monarchy for ever from the conditions and restraints of subjects.' Laud, the real ruler of the church, sedulously marshalled it in support of the prerogative.

Desertions to the crown

These two, Laud and Wentworth, with Weston, the lord treasurer, ruled the country. To avoid the necessity of a parliament, Charles made peace with France and Spain, while for his ordinary expenditure he provided by a bold use of the prerogative. (1) Tonnage and poundage were levied as before; and, as trade increased with peace, resistance died away.[4] (2) Heavy fines were laid upon all who, possessing the due property qualifications, had refrained from taking knighthood at the coronation (p. 94). (3) Monopolies were granted for large sums to corporations. (4) Frequent proclamations were issued (p. 239), and infractions of them met by fines; old and obsolete laws were revived (p. 177). (5) Large sums were exacted by the Star Chamber, which had extended its scope over every department of life. (6) The plantations in Ulster held by the City were resumed by the crown on the ground of mismanagement. (7) A survey of the forests[5] showed that encroachments had been made for centuries by the landowners on their borders, until they formed only a small portion of the original possessions of the crown. All these in-taken lands were now forcibly resumed, or enormous fines imposed upon their owners, to the ruin of many hitherto wealthy people.

Money raised by prerogative

While Charles was thus alienating 'interests,' Laud was busy with 'consciences.' The Puritan strength was in preaching, and Laud now suppressed all preachers who had no cure of souls. He forbade the clergy to preach upon deep matters of doctrine; but only offenders of the Puritan party were punished. For a pamphlet called 'Sion's Plea against Prelacy,' a Presbyterian minister named Leighton was brought before the Star Chamber, and sentenced to a fine of 10,000*l.*, the pillory, a whipping, to have one ear cut off and his nose slit, and to be branded in the face with S.S., 'Sower of Sedition;' he was then thrown into prison, where he

Severity of Laud and the Star Chamber

[4] Richard Chambers, for declaring before the Privy Council that not even in Turkey were men so 'screwed and wrung' as in England, was fined 3,000*l.* and imprisoned.

[5] Hallam, vol. ii. pp. 10, 35; Gardiner *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 363.

remained until the Long Parliament. In **1633** Laud became primate. Immense activity was displayed in church matters. Churches were repaired and beautified. St. Paul's was no longer allowed to be a market-place, a lounge, and the haunt of disreputable people. Laud's 'visitations' were real things; submission was insisted upon from high and low alike, and observances most hateful to the Puritans were rigidly enforced. Many ministers were deprived for refusing to read the 'Book of Sports.'[6] All ties with other reformed churches were severed, since they rejected Episcopacy; the Huguenot and Flemish congregations in England were suppressed; English Puritan churches abroad were broken up. A special commission took the colonies under its care; and emigration was checked lest error should thus be spread.

Laud's reforms in the church

But Laud did all in his power to remove abuses from the church itself. Ordination was refused to unqualified persons. Residence was enforced upon the bishops. Jobbery of all kinds was put down. Celibacy was encouraged, that the priesthood might become a separate caste. Hitherto the clergy had been in the eyes of the gentry only a lower sort of dependents. Laud encouraged them now to take a very different position; and, as one means, he forbade them to act as private chaplains.

Meantime the Catholics were treated with the utmost leniency. The penal laws had become a dead letter; the pope's envoy to the queen was favourably received at court; Catholic doctrines were preached without rebuke. One bishop, Montague, was suspected to be a Catholic; another, Goodman, died confessing this faith. It was reckoned that of a population of about five millions the Catholics numbered 150,000.

Indulgence to Catholics

In contrast with this was the treatment of aggressive Puritanism. In **1634** William Prynne, a barrister, suffered Leighton's fate. He had written violently against many fashionable follies, and in **1632** had published his 'Histriomastix,' or 'Scourge of Players,' which attacked the stage and dancing, and appeared to reflect upon the queen. Prynne received no sympathy. The stage was extremely popular; even Milton, a Puritan of Puritans, but imbued with classical learning, showed in his 'Comus' that the drama could be pure and beautiful. But before long it was seen how great a change had been worked by Laud in the popular temper. In **1636** Henry Burton published 'For God and the King,' and in **1637** John Bastwick printed his 'History;' in both of which Laud and the bishops were attacked in unmeasured language. The usual savage sentences were inflicted. With Prynne, again sentenced for a fresh offence, they went to their punishment and to

Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton

[6] 'Brethren,' said one clergyman who complied, 'ye have heard the law of God and the law of man; choose which ye will serve.'

prison along a road strewn with flowers, and with every mark of popular sympathy. 'Comus' was followed by 'Lycidas,' in which the Laudian despotism was sternly rebuked.[7]

In **1635**, Weston, the lord treasurer, died. By Laud's advice he was succeeded by Juxon, bishop of London, whose administration is famous for the great question of ship-money. In **1634**, Noy, the attorney-general, had suggested the revival of the plan, formerly in operation, of taxing the maritime counties to assist the seaports in providing ships, on the ground of protecting English commerce from the Algerian pirates, though the real reason for raising a fleet was the growth of the naval power of France and the Dutch. In **1635**, Noy being dead, Chief Justice Finch urged the obvious reasonableness of making the levy on the whole country. The first levy was made with little resistance; but when, in February **1637**, in answer to Charles's questions, ten out of twelve judges decided that: (1) the king might impose ship-money upon the whole nation, and compel payment by law in time of national danger; (2) the king was the sole judge of national danger: the matter was more serious. The king was now authoritatively declared to be possessor of resources which made him free of parliaments. An abiding distrust of the judges sprang up, as mere creatures of the crown.[8]

Ship-money

John Hampden

John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire country gentleman, who had already been imprisoned for refusing the forced loan of **1627**, now refused ship-money, as contrary to Magna Carta, the *Confirmatio Cartarum*, the statute 'De Tallagio non concedendo' of Edward III. (p. 115), and the Petition of Right. He was sued by the crown before the whole bench; and the case was argued by the ablest lawyers in England. Seven out of the twelve gave a verdict for the king; but the arguments of Hampden's counsel were read throughout the land, and sank deep into men's hearts.[9] The country, however, was growing rich: the Continental wars had thrown trade into English hands; manufactures were springing up;

Prosperity

[7] From the conflict men fled in different ways. Those who loved the orderliness of worship and beauty of ceremonial encouraged by Laud, but who hated controversy, buried themselves in remote country parishes, and led lives of saintly seclusion. Such were George Herbert at Bemerton, and Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding. The Puritans emigrated (p. 247)

[8] They had shown independence in other things. They had resisted the desire to torture Felton, as illegal; they had refused to regard spoken words as treason, and to delay trials at the demand of the High Commission Court. It must be remembered that they were entirely dependent on the king.

[9] Wentworth's opinion showed what was at stake. A tax lawful for the navy would be lawful for the army too. That which was law for England would be law for Scotland and Ireland. The king would soon be absolute at home and formidable abroad. If he would keep from war for a few years, until the people were accustomed to the tax, he would be more powerful than any of his predecessors.

waste lands were being reclaimed; noble residences testified to the prosperity of the upper classes. There is always a danger that people will rest content under any system which brings them wealth, and this was the case now.

Meanwhile Wentworth had been sent as lord deputy to Ireland, where a strong hand was needed to bring the government out of the chaos into which it had fallen. With ceaseless labour he bent the whole force of his imperious will to the task. Constitutional restraints were ignored. The policy of 'thorough,' as it was always named in his letters to Laud, that is, 'thorough earnestness, thorough self-abnegation, thorough suppression of all who did not fall in with his views,' was carried out in every detail. 'I know no reason,' he wrote to Laud, 'but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England as I, poor beagle, do here.'[10] Before long the army was under strict discipline, the fortresses repaired and garrisoned, piracy suppressed, commerce largely developed, linen and other manufactures established. He secured for Ireland the victualling of the Spanish fleets for America, and obtained the reduction of duties upon Irish exports. By putting up the taxes to auction he greatly increased the revenue. He induced the king to cease rewarding his favourites by grants on the Irish exchequer, though Charles left him to bear the odium of refusals. Corrupt or incompetent officials were dismissed; the haughtiest nobles, hitherto well-nigh independent, were taught to acknowledge, by the reverence he exacted to himself, the immeasurable distance between them and the royal authority. At every step he made powerful enemies; but he went on his way without turning aside for fear or favour.

Wentworth in Ireland

Despotic government

The Irish parliament, well packed, met in July **1634**. As soon as, relying on former promises made by Charles to the Catholics—the 'graces' it had granted sufficient subsidies to maintain the army, it was at once dissolved; and then Wentworth felt free for still more drastic measures. The Protestant church was violently brought into uniformity with that in England. The 'graces' were unblushingly broken; the system of plantations especially was ruthlessly carried out, and all resistance was borne down by sheer terrorism. With the cordial support of Laud, Wentworth went on with his work in the face of loud complaints from Ireland, opposition in England, and royal ingratitude. When he asked for an earldom, as a sign of Charles's confidence, he was coldly refused; Charles did not like being asked for favours. His masterful nature had made him many enemies at

[10] His own letters and despatches may be found in every large library. They are of the most vivid interest.

court, and they found support in the jealous queen. He was at length summoned to England to answer for himself. The merits of his rule were however incontestable, especially the fact that he had doubled the Irish revenue. He returned in triumph to his government, and so completely was he master of the country in **1638** that he was able to assure Laud that 'the king is as absolute here as any prince in the world can be.'

His success

Section 3.—*The Revolt of Scotland and its Consequences.* **1639**

England was quiet and Ireland completely under control. It was to his attempt to bring Scotland into similar submission that Charles's misfortunes and downfall were owing. There, too, he had attacked 'interests' and 'consciences.' The nobles were sore at a partial resumption of the church lands (p. 216), the Presbyterian middle classes were alarmed lest an attempt should be made to impose the English Prayer Book. This alarm deepened when, on the king's visit in **1633**, the coronation was performed by the prelates in their 'popish rags,' with full ritual; when parliament confirmed all the ecclesiastical measures of James, and gave the king the power of ordering the apparel of judges, magistrates, and clergy; when an order was issued that the clergy should wear surplices; and when Laud's nominees were appointed to all vacant posts. The king then chose as his counsellor on Scottish affairs the Marquis of Hamilton, a man distrusted by his countrymen; appointed the Archbishop of Glasgow chancellor, and admitted seven other bishops to the privy council. In **1636** and **1637** he made revolt certain by a new set of canons, which established Episcopacy on the English model, and enforced the English Prayer Book. On July 23, **1637**, in the church of St. Giles', the Dean of Edinburgh began to read from the hated volume. At once a riot broke out in the church. The windows were smashed by the crowd without; the bishop barely escaped with life. Still Charles persisted; and the result was a national rising. Edinburgh was crowded with Presbyterians from all parts of the kingdom. They demanded from Charles a fair trial of their charges against the bishops, and they were supported by the mass of the nobles. Four committees, or 'Tables,' were formed of nobles, gentry, clergy, burghers respectively: a supreme committee bound all together. These resolved that the Prayer Book and canons must be revoked, and the High Commission Court abolished; the authority of bishops must disappear; every act of council to which they had been parties must be annulled. On

Charles and Laud in Scotland

Riot in St. Giles' Church

The National Covenant

February 27, 1638, the famous Covenant was accepted by the ministers of Edinburgh. The following day it was signed by nobles and gentry in the Grey Friars' Church, on the 29th by the clergy and magistrates, on the 30th it lay open on a stone in the churchyard while multitudes of people, from even the remotest parts of the land, pressed forward to sign their names, or make their mark. Charles's offers of concession were refused. Under the leadership of the Duke of Argyle, the General Assembly declared for the deposition of all bishops and episcopal clergy, and for a pure Presbyterian kirk.

Each side forthwith prepared for war. Scotch merchants from abroad sent ammunition; the nobles coined their plate; soldiers of fortune came back from abroad in large numbers, the most famous being Alexander Leslie. Every man able to bear arms was trained under these officers. From France, where Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII., was delighted at anything which weakened England, came money and 6,000 stand of arms. The fortresses rapidly passed out of the king's hands. In April 1640 Charles advanced from York to Berwick with 20,000 men, collected with difficulty and devoid of enthusiasm or discipline. Across the Tweed lay Leslie with an equal force of highly trained men, burning with religious zeal. Charles saw his own weakness, and was anxious to come to terms. The Scots had no desire to invade England, lest they should alienate English sympathy; and they feared that the Irish army would be brought over to attack them. On June 17, therefore, the Treaty of Berwick was concluded, by which Charles promised to submit to the General Assembly and to the Scotch parliament all ecclesiastical and civil questions; whilst the Scots agreed to disband the 'Tables' and the army, and to restore the fortresses.

Preparations for war

Treaty of Berwick

The General Assembly met on August 12, and again declared for the abolition of Episcopacy. In the parliament, Argyle, who led the middle classes, the organisation of which against both crown and nobles had been the great political result of Presbyterianism, brought forward bills to give effect to this, to levy money even from royalists for the war, and to entrust the royal castles to none but Scotchmen chosen by themselves. Parliament, not the king, was to rule in Scotland.

Charles could not but resist. But both Wentworth and Laud, deceived by the quiet which reigned in England, advised him first to call a parliament. He gave way only when the council promised that if parliament should prove untoward they would raise the money he needed. As an earnest of loyalty, they subscribed 200,000*l.* at once.

For example's sake it was resolved to hold a parliament in Ireland

first. With the earldom of Strafford, and the title of lord-lieutenant, Wentworth went thither, secured an enthusiastic vote of money, and then returned, though racked with pain, to Charles, leaving orders that 8,000 men should be got ready for service.

Wentworth, earl of Strafford

On April 13, **1640**, after eleven years of personal government, the 'Short Parliament' met. Charles had hoped to secure their goodwill by releasing Valentine and Strode (p. 252), and by disclosing the Scotch dealings with France, of which he had knowledge. To his bitter vexation, they began, under the leadership of John Pym, with the discussion of grievances, exactly where they left off in **1629**. On May 5, therefore, he angrily dissolved them.

The 'Short Parliament'

Dissolved

The people were furious, and riots took place, during which Lambeth Palace, the residence of Laud, was attacked. Convocation was more compliant. They voted a large sum, and issued new canons, one of which, to be read from the pulpit every quarter, upheld the divine right of kings and passive obedience; while another imposed upon the clergy an oath, known as the '*et cetera*' oath, binding them 'never to consent to alter the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, *&c.*'

In June the Scotch parliament passed Argyle's bills. Ireland, in Strafford's absence, had fallen back into confusion. Charles could raise no money. His troops were discontented and ill-disciplined. The Scots, on the other hand, were fully prepared, and on August 20 Leslie crossed the Tweed at Coldstream with 26,000 men, proclaiming that they were marching, not against the people of England but against the 'Canterburian faction of papists, atheists, Arminians, and prelates,' to punish the 'troublers of Israel,' and then to return home.

The Scots in England

Strafford, who was lying helpless with pain at York, ordered Lord Conway to dispute the passage of the Tyne. But on the 28th the crossing was effected at Newbourn, about four miles from Newcastle. Newcastle was hurriedly deserted, and the English retreated to Yorkshire, leaving Durham and Northumberland to the invaders. It augured ill for Charles that the news was received in London with joy; the Scots were regarded as the defenders of English liberty, and 5,600*l.* a week was levied upon the northern counties for their support, to be repaid by the king out of the first grant from parliament. Charles again negotiated. To avoid a parliament, he summoned to York a great council of peers. But the peers themselves, the Scots, and the citizens of London alike insisted upon a parliament being held, and Charles was forced to issue writs for November 3. He then, in spite of Strafford's fierce

Charles at York

protest, opened a formal treaty with the Scotch commissions, first at Ripon and then in London, whither he went to open parliament.

Section 4.—*The Long Parliament*[11]

On November 3, **1640**, the most famous of English parliaments met, and Charles saw that, so long as the Scots were on English ground, with their overwhelming army and their demands for money, he was in its hands. Pym was again the leader. The Commons first passed severe resolutions against Catholicism, an alarm of which had been caused by the appointment of Catholics to posts in the army, and the familiarity of Charles with the envoys of the pope. Then Laud's work was in part undone. All deprived ministers were restored. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were brought from their distant prisons, and entered London in triumph; their sentences were reversed, and each of their judges ordered to pay 5,000*l.* The supply given by Convocation to the king, and its power to bind either clergy or laity by canons without the consent of parliament (p. 237), were declared illegal. The Commons next attacked arbitrary power; the Councils of the North and of Wales (pp. 192, 196) were abolished; monopolists were ejected from the house; and all late exactions—especially ship-money—declared illegal. Lastly, they turned to the punishment of offenders, and they began with the 'great apostate.' On November 11 it was ordered that Strafford should be impeached; he was at once thrown into the Tower, whither Laud shortly followed him. Parliament then arranged with the Scots, on payment of their expenses and an additional subsidy of 425,000*l.*, to remain in the country until the work of reform was complete.

Measures against the Catholics

Against arbitrary power

Impeachment of Strafford

The impeachment of Strafford opened in Westminster Hall on March 22, **1641**.[12] Treason (p. 126) technically meant an overt attack upon the royal person or authority, and none could uphold that Strafford was guilty of that. Pym therefore had recourse to the doctrine of 'constructive treason;' Strafford, it was argued, had undermined the laws and had thus exposed the king to disaster. In Ireland especially he had arrogated to the crown illegal authority. An injustice was done him at the outset by the order to examine privy councillors, whose advice was supposed to be 'privy'—that is, given in confidence—as to

[11] On the work of the Long Parliament see Hallam, *Constitutional History*, ch. ix.

[12] There is a minute and graphic account of this trial by an eye-witness, Robert Baillie, in his *Letters and Journals*, beginning vol. ii. p. 314.

is words at the council table; and the heaviest charge was that after he close of the Short Parliament he had advised the king in council hat he was now justified in acting 'loose and absolved from all rules f government,' and, further, that he might use the Irish army for the ubjection of 'this kingdom.' Pym assumed that 'this kingdom' neant England; but the words clearly meant Scotland, for they were poken during the Scottish war. Strafford's defence was so convinc- ng that it soon became certain that the Lords would acquit him. The Commons hereupon dropped the impeachment and substituted the nore deadly method of 'attainder.'[13] After prolonged debates, the bill was passed by 204 to 59, and the Lords, among whom Strafford had few friends, were coerced by the fear of mob iolence to endorse it by 27 to 19, in spite of a personal appeal from Charles. It still needed the royal assent. Charles had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be hurt. But the bill was rought him by the houses escorted by an armed multitude. At ny moment the mob might break into Whitehall; he feared for the ife of the queen; the Catholics expected massacre. His council urged im to yield. Then he asked the bishops whether he had a right to et his conscience against the council's opinion, and Juxon alone onjured him to be firm to the right. Still he hesitated. At length Strafford himself, in a noble letter, in which he prayed the king not to ndanger his affairs on his account, gave him an opportunity to yield; and Charles was base enough to accept it: an undying blot upon his fame, apable of explanation, but never of excuse. 'Put not your trust in princes!' was Strafford's only cry when he heard the news. Once more Charles appealed to the Lords; but, as was said, 'Stone dead has no fellow!' On May 12, **1641**, he was led to his leath on Tower Hill, amid a crowd of 200,000 persons—as true a nartyr to his cause as Eliot had been to that of parliamentary supre- nacy.

Bill of attainder

Abandoned by Charles

The Commons had still to secure the permanence of their own power. Already Charles had assented to the Triennial Bill. This laid down: (1) That no parliament should sit for more than three years; (2) That no more than three years should elapse between the dissolution of one parliament and the calling of the next (3) That, if the chancellor did not issue writs, the peers might do so hrough the sheriffs; if the peers failed, the sheriffs were to see that

The Triennial Bill

[13] In an impeachment the Lords sit as judges to try the charges produced by the Commons. In the case of attainder the Commons pass a bill declaring the accused guilty and demanding punishment. It then goes to the Lords and to the king for their assent like any other bill.

elections were made; if the sheriffs failed, the people were to do it themselves. (4) No parliament might be dissolved within fifty days of meeting. Personal government was now dead. But the power of dissolution still remained; and by this Charles might at any moment escape from the presence of parliament. He was forced to consent to an act providing that the present parliament should not be dissolved or prorogued without its own consent, a submission which practically dethroned him. Then the whole machinery of personal rule was swept away. The army was disbanded; the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished. The exaction of ship-money and tonnage and poundage, and distraint of knighthood (pp. 94, 253), were declared illegal. The forests were restored to their former dimensions. The reforms upon which all were agreed were now complete, and the Scots returned home.

Power of the Long Parliament secured

Hitherto all had been unanimity in the Commons. But on the question of church government the widest differences appeared. The Scots had used all the influence which the presence of their army gave them to forward Presbyterianism. Their divines, who had come with the commissioners, were indefatigable in preaching to congregations in the city. Petitions came up to the Commons in their support from the eastern counties, from 1,800 clergy, and from 15,000 citizens of London. The 'Root and Branch' party, so called because they wished to sweep away Episcopacy entirely, grew daily stronger.

Disputes on church government

Root and Branch'

On the other hand, many of the strongest reformers opposed the Presbyterian scheme altogether. 'New presbyter,' it was feared, would be but 'old priest' writ large. The English nobles had no idea of being ruled, as the Scotch nobles had been, by an aggressive ministry and interfering presbyteries.[14] The lawyers, men like Hyde and Selden, shrunk from such a break in the constitution. As Selden said, 'Parliament is the church.' The parliamentary feeling was utterly opposed to a kirk independent of the state. Men of culture, like Falkland and Digby, feared for the freedom of intellectual life. The Independents knew that in Presbyterianism there would be no place for them. The middle-classes did not need its organisation, for the history of their country had given them this; its stern discipline was repellent to the liberty of private life, which in England was the growth of centuries, and with which the English church had never interfered. For the time, therefore, all proposals to abolish Episcopacy and to exclude the bishops from the House of Lords were rejected, and a feeling of irritation at Scotch

English objections to Scotch Presbyterianism

[14] 'Presbyterianism,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

interference began to grow. The Root and Branch party itself had no intention of taking Scotch Presbyterianism. Still the current of opinion ran strongly against Episcopacy. This of itself caused a reaction in Charles's favour, since all Episcopalians naturally turned to the king. Their number was largely increased when their beloved Prayer-Book was directly attacked; and Charles attached to himself still more strongly all who, while objecting to Laud's action, hated Puritanism, by a declaration in which he promised to stand firm to the church of Elizabeth. The excesses of the disbanded soldiery in London, and the wild licence of the extreme sects which were now springing up on all sides, seemed to point to the authority of the crown and church as the only guarantee for order. The weight of parliamentary taxation tended the same way.

Reaction in favour of Charles

But at this moment came the news that Catholic Ireland was in revolt. An army was necessary to cope with the danger; but parliament dared not place a fresh army under the king's command. Pym therefore carried a resolution that the king should supplant his present councillors by such as were approved by parliament; while, as an answer to his declaration, the 'Grand Remonstrance,' which recounted all the evil doings of the crown since the accession, and demanded a synod of divines for church reform, was brought in. It declared that no supply should be granted until Pym's resolution was fulfilled, and its language became more emphatic from day to day as exaggerated news from Ireland poured in.[15] On November 22, from noon until midnight, took place the final debate. So doubtful was the result that the opposition leaders were prepared to emigrate in case of failure. Amidst a scene of wild excitement, which went near to actual bloodshed,[16] the Remonstrance was carried by 159 to 148, and on December 1 was presented to Charles. He coldly replied that he would consider it. At this moment Sir Phelim O'Neill, one of the Irish rebels, asserted that he had a commission from Charles authorising the restoration of Catholicism. The statement, though untrue, had immediate effect upon the Commons, especially as Charles was giving commands in the army to the men they most distrusted. Determined to rob him of all power of attack, they now brought in a Militia Bill, by which a lord general and a lord high admiral were to be appointed by parliament with supreme command on land and at sea, with power to levy

The Irish revolt

The 'Grand Remonstrance'

[15] The actual truth was terrible enough; at the least estimate 5,000 English and Scotch were killed, and double that number died of cold and starvation before the rebellion came to an end.

[16] Read Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. x. p. 76.

money and exercise martial law; but the feeling against robbing the crown thus completely of executive power was still so strong that it was not at present proceeded with. They then ordered the Remonstrance to be printed, as an appeal to the country, and resolved that 10,000 Scotch troops should be invited to put down the Irish rebellion. The Lords, however, refused to concur until an equal number of English were ready to accompany them, and, when pressed to exclude bishops from their house, again declared for their retention. In Ireland affairs grew daily more serious. The Catholic lords of English descent had openly joined the Ulster rebels, demanding an Irish parliament and complete religious tolerance. At home passions rose fast. On December 24 the mob were again raging in Westminster, crying, 'No bishops! No popish lords!' and a serious affray took place between the London 'Roundheads' and the reckless 'Cavaliers' of Charles's court.[17]

Spread of the Irish revolt

Throughout the struggle the queen had been regarded by the Commons as their most dangerous enemy. A total foreigner, and a vehement Catholic, she cared only for the triumph of her creed and for her husband's personal power. She had been the promoter of more than one plot amongst the officers of the army, which had come to Pym's ears and had been by him detailed to the Commons. They had resolved to impeach her. Charles, who was devoted to his wife, made up his mind to anticipate the blow; and on January 3, **1642**, he impeached Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrig, and Strode, before the Lords, and demanded their arrest. The Lords refused to do more than appoint a commission of inquiry. He resolved to go in person and arrest them in the house. Then he hesitated. 'Go,' cried the queen, 'you coward, and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more!' On the 4th, with 300 armed followers, he went to the house; but the five members were already safe in the City. With eighty followers ready for violence he walked through Westminster Hall, and, leaving them outside the door, which they held open, entered the house. He demanded from Lenthall, the Speaker, whether the five members were there. 'May it please your Majesty,' was the reply, 'I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as this house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here.' Charles looked slowly along the benches. 'I see

Attack upon the queen

Charles and the five members

[17] This was the occasion of the introduction of these names. The London apprentices wore their hair short, and they gained this name of contempt from Charles's officers. They retorted with the name 'Cavalier,' signifying an idle and debauched soldier.

all the birds are flown,' he said, and left the house with shouts of 'Privilege!' ringing in his ears. The next day he went down on the same errand to the City, but to equally little purpose. For a time the Commons, fearing for their safety at Westminster, appointed a committee which sat at the Guildhall. Then the City gave them a guard; the seamen in the Thames proffered their services; the five members returned to the house; and the triumph of 'King Pym' was complete.

A resort to force was now inevitable. Charles tried to secure Hull, where the stores provided for the Scotch war were kept; but Hotham, the governor, received orders from the parliament to hold the place, and he was foiled. A petition from 5,000 gentry and freeholders of Bucks, vowing that they were ready to die for parliament, encouraged Pym. Orders were issued that nothing should be done without the king's authority *signified by both houses*. An act was passed that the lords-lieutenant, who could alone call out the militia and who appointed the officers, should henceforth be appointed by parliament. Then the Lords were coerced by the mob to join the Commons in demanding that Charles should give up the fortresses and the militia. They passed the bill for excluding bishops from their house, and Charles, urged by the queen, who did not care about the bishops, but only about the militia, gave his assent. On March 3 the king went to York. There a deputation from parliament urged him to give way on the question of the militia. 'By God, not for an hour!' was the fierce reply.

Preparations for war

Charles refuses the Militia Bill

Charles now made another attempt in person upon Hull; but Hotham remained staunch. In vain he applied to Scotland for help. On the other hand the violence of the Commons drove numbers to his side, and all the members of both houses who sympathised with him quitted London to join him at York. The queen, who had left the country, pawned the royal jewels and collected arms. Charles sent out commissions of array, to call out what in old times was the *fyrd* (p. 58.) Newcastle, Shields, and Tynemouth were secured. The gift of 100,000*l.* from the Earl of Worcester and his son Lord Herbert, with the plate of Oxford, provided him with funds for a time. The Commons, on the other hand, called in plate, money, and jewels, and levied tonnage and poundage; secured the fleet, appointing Warwick to command; formed a committee of safety of five lords and ten of themselves; and raised an army under the Earl of Essex, a steadfast and conscientious man, but wanting in dash and military genius.

The first blood was shed at Manchester. Goring seized Portsmouth; the gentry of Lincolnshire came round their king; in Warwick

and Somersetshire he had some success. On August 9 he proclaimed Essex and his officers traitors. The reply was an oath of the Commons to die with Essex. On August 20 he rode to Northampton. There, on August 22, **1642**, with his sons and his nephew Rupert, son of his sister Elizabeth of Bohemia, around him, he raised the royal standard. He was soon at the head of 10,000 men —the foot under the Earl of Lindsey, the horse under Rupert's independent command. The main parliamentary army—20,000 strong—lay near Coventry.

Beginning of civil war

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR. 1642-1647

SECTION 1.—*To the Coming of the Scots. August* 1642—*January* 1644

THE war was not strictly a war of classes or of localities. But, on the whole, the nobles and gentry, with their poorer tenants, were for the king; the trading classes and yeomanry for the parliament. So, too, generally speaking, the north, west, and south-west upheld the royal cause; while the south, east, eastern midlands, and London—the richest and most populous parts of the kingdom—supported the parliament.[1] In the latter, however, there was a large sprinkling of royalist gentry, and Oxford was intensely loyal; while in the north the great clothing towns of Yorkshire were staunch to the other side. With the king were two classes of men: the reckless cavaliers, whose hero was Prince Rupert—'Prince Robber,' as he was soon called—and the moderate royalists such as Falkland, who hated war and the rule of soldiery, but hated still more the narrowness of Puritanism. So also his opponents ranged from moderate Presbyterians, who looked forward to a speedy peace, to such as were determined not to end the contest until the monarchy and the church, as they had appeared under Charles and Laud, were crushed beyond revival.

The two parties

Charles first went westwards to join his friends in Cheshire and Shropshire. Then he turned back for a march direct upon London. Essex, who moved parallel with him on his westward course, allowed him to gain a day's march upon him, but then followed close, until on October 23 the king turned to fight him

Battle of Edgehill

[1] Very much the same division as in the Wars of the Roses.

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

F. S. Weller.

at the foot of Edgehill, between Coventry and Banbury. On the right and left Rupert and Wilmot broke the untrained parliamentary horse, and pursued them far from the field, while Essex's infantry, with such of the cavalry as had stood firm, of which one troop was commanded by Oliver Cromwell, routed the royal foot. Rupert's return averted a disaster; Essex drew off, and Charles pushed on for London. To clear the road, Rupert stormed Brentford. But further advance was checked by the London train-bands, who encamped upon Turnham Green. The king then withdrew to Oxford, which became his head-quarters, guarded by a ring of fortified places.[2] His plan was to remain there, while the Earl of Newcastle from the north, with the queen, who had joined him from abroad, Sir Ralph Hopton from Cornwall, and Hertford from the west, forced their way to his aid through the strong parliamentary forces which in each case lay between them and him.

The king's plan of campaign

At the same time he looked for help both from Ireland and Scotland. He resolved to set his army in Ireland free by concluding a cessation of arms with the rebels there; while in Scotland he hoped for support from the enemies of Argyle. The parliament meanwhile took a great step in organisation by forming the midlands, the eastern counties, Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and the south-eastern counties respectively, into associations for military purposes. Weekly payments were exacted from each county, and the estates of all 'delinquents' confiscated.

Organisation of the parliament

For a time it seemed as if the concentration scheme would succeed. In May **1643**, Hopton and Grenville beat a much superior force at Stratton, and captured Exeter. Then, in union with Rupert's brother Maurice, they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Glastonbury; and in July utterly defeated Waller, the ablest of the parliamentary generals, at Roundway Down, near Devizes. The surrender of Bristol, after Rupert had stormed the defences, at once followed. Newcastle beat Lord Fairfax and his brother Sir Thomas at Adwalton Moor, and all the great towns of Yorkshire except Hull were in his hands, and Hull was closely besieged. Hertford had joined the king. Rupert's horse swept the country, and in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford, June 18, John Hampden lost his life. Against all this the parliament could place but one success: Essex had broken through Charles's inner line of defence by the capture of Reading.

Successes of the king

But the discovery that Charles was furthering a royalist plot in the City made Pym refuse all thought of compromise. The queen was

[2] Reading, Wallingford, Abingdon, and Basing House; Banbury and Worcester; Brill and Marlborough.

impeached. Episcopacy had been already abolished, September 1642, the abolition to date from November 1643; it was now ordered that an Assembly of Divines[3] should meet to settle what form Puritanism should take. A large levy of fresh troops was ordered, and an excise, or tax upon all merchandise in the country, ordained. A deputation was sent to pray for the help of the Scots. The Earl of Manchester was appointed to command the eastern association. His ablest officer was the Independent Colonel Cromwell.

Abolition of Episcopacy. Westminster Assembly

The Scots asked for help

Oliver Cromwell, the cousin of John Hampden, was born on April 25, 1599, a year before Charles I., and came of a knightly race.[4] From the grammar-school of Huntingdon he went in 1616 for a year to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. In 1628 he became member for Huntingdon. His life had been spent amid Puritan surroundings, but his Puritanism was utterly free of the spirit of intolerance; he was noted for the deep religiousness of his life and for his protection of the ministers persecuted by Laud. He was returned to the Long Parliament for Cambridge, and, with Sir Henry Vane, introduced the 'Root and Branch' bill for abolishing Episcopacy. On the outbreak of war he struck the first blow by seizing Cambridge Castle and impounding the university plate, which was being sent to the king. To raise a force equal in fighting quality to the gentlemen's sons who formed Rupert's dashing horsemen, he welcomed into his regiment only 'such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did.' 'Against the sentiment of "honour" he put the sentiment of religion.' Such were the celebrated 'Ironsides'—as Rupert called them—who never suffered defeat throughout the war. Cromwell himself, though forty-three years of age when he became a soldier, was a born leader

Oliver Cromwell

[3] The Assembly consisted of 151 members, 10 being peers, 20 members of the Commons, and 121 ministers, chosen by parliament. There were also six Scotch commissioners of the most intense Presbyterianism. It met in June 1643. The Independent members, and the Erastians—those who were willing to have Presbyterianism if strictly under parliamentary control—disputed every inch of the ground; and, when Cromwell won Naseby, the hopes of the Scotch that they might establish Presbyterianism in its integrity were over. On June 5, 1646, however, parliament agreed to the establishment of presbyteries. In April 1647 twelve were erected for London. Lancashire and Shropshire were also organised, and Bolton was so zealous that it was called the 'Geneva of Lancashire;' but the system spread no further in the ungenial soil and air of England. To the Assembly were due the Shorter and Longer Catechisms, and the Directory of Worship, which took the place of the Prayer Book. The account of the course of the Assembly from the Scotch side is given by Baillie, one of the commissioners, in his *Letters and Journals*. See also Henderson's *Westminster Assembly*, and 'Presbyterianism' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

[4] For Cromwell's ancestry, character, and work, see Harrison, 'Oliver Cromwell,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*,

of horse, with Rupert's quickness of eye and impetuosity of attack joined to a severe self-restraint. He felt that there was no hope for England until the king was utterly crushed. Already he had stamped out royalism in the counties of the eastern association, and had fought his way to Newark, the royalist link between Oxford and Yorkshire. Local jealousies frustrated his scheme for its capture ; and though he routed the enemy at Grantham he was forced to retire. He stormed Burghley House, and won Gainsborough and Winceby fights, but once more his success was barren for the same reasons as before.

Charles, too, was hampered by local feeling. The Yorkshire levies would not march until Hull was taken, nor the Cornish men until Plymouth fell, nor the Welshmen until Gloucester was secured. Charles, therefore, besieged Gloucester. Had it fallen, the parliamentary cause would have fallen with it. Essex, by forced marches, averted the calamity when it was on the point of surrender. But on his homeward march Charles blocked his path at Newbury. The battle, in which Falkland sought and found his death, was a drawn one ; but in the night the royal forces drew off, and Essex made his way in safety to Reading. The fighting of 1643 closed with the capture of Lynn by Manchester, and the raising of the siege of Hull by Cromwell. But Charles had retaken Reading, stormed Dartmouth, and invested Plymouth ; while Hopton with the Irish regiments, which had now reached him, had forced his way through the southern counties as far as Arundel. To get the name of parliament on his side, Charles now summoned all loyal members to form a rival assembly at Oxford ; and forty-four lords and 118 commoners obeyed the call.

Relief of Gloucester

First battle of Newbury

The Scots had welcomed the parliament's demand for help, for, not yet understanding the English feeling on the matter (p. 262), they longed to establish Presbyterianism in England. They desired only a religious covenant ; the English desired only a civil league. A compromise, due to the skill of Sir Henry Vane, was come to, represented in the title, 'The Solemn League and Covenant of the two kingdoms.' The English bound themselves merely to defend Presbyterianism in Scotland, to carry out 'the reformation of religion in England according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches,' and to effect 'the nearest conjunction and uniformity with Scotland in matters of religion.' The Scots, for a large subsidy, engaged to send an army at once to the help of the parliament. This was the last work of Pym, who died on December 8.

'Solemn League and Covenant'

That the English had not bound themselves more closely to Scotch

Presbyterianism was due to the growing strength of Independency. Presbyterianism, whether in Scotland or in England, meant intolerance; but, speaking roughly, Independency meant tolerance. 'In things of the mind,' said Cromwell, 'we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason.' He regarded the Covenant as 'bondage,' and delayed taking it as long as he could. In the 'Areopagitica,' or 'Defence of the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' Milton inveighed against 'this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men.' Stretching forward beyond Cromwell and Milton were such as John Lilburne, and wilder enthusiasts still, who would recognise no authority, not even that of the Bible, as their spiritual guide, but only the 'inner light.' All these were bound to oppose Presbyterianism. The Independents formed a small but compact, able, and fearless party in the Commons and in the Assembly of Divines.

Religious toleration

Nor was it only among Charles's enemies that liberty of conscience was making way. The doctrine was held by Fuller, the church historian, and by Chillingworth; by Roger Williams, who stood aloof from politics, and whose 'Bloody Tenet' was written to show that 'spiritual offences are only liable to spiritual censures;' and by the anonymous author of 'Liberty of Conscience, or the sole Means to obtain Peace and Truth.'

To all this Presbyterianism had but one answer: 'A toleration is the grand design of the devil;' 'Toleration would be putting a sword into a madman's hand, appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to,' and the like.

Charles now tried to make use of the divisions of his opponents. He intrigued with some of the Independents, who offered their support if he would agree to modified Episcopacy with liberty of conscience, that is, to the system established in **1689**. Parliament, on the other hand, offered pardon to all who would take the Covenant; and numerous desertions took place from Charles. The Covenant was then universally imposed, while the direct control of the war was placed in the hands of a mixed committee of Scotch and English, called 'The Committee of both Kingdoms.'

Imposition of the Covenant

Section 2.—*From the coming of the Scots to the New Model. January* **1644**—*January* **1645**

The Scotch army crossed the Tweed on January 19, **1644**, and their coming was the turning point of the war. They laid siege to Newcastle. Fairfax saved Cheshire by raising the siege of Nantwich.

Selby was stormed, and the Earl of Newcastle shut up in York by the Scots, Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell with the Eastern Association forces. Essex marched upon Oxford, and Waller against Hopton. A victory at Cheshire won back Winchester, Andover, Salisbury, and Christchurch, for the parliament, who were also masters of Pembrokeshire. Charles was thus compelled to reverse his plan of campaign (p. 267). The outlying forces now needed help; the blows must be struck *from* the centre. He despatched Rupert on the desperate errand of relieving York, while he himself marched out of Oxford. Essex and Waller recaptured Reading, took Abingdon, and overran Gloucestershire. Then Essex went west, while Waller pursued Charles. At Cropredy Bridge the king turned fiercely upon Waller (June 29), and utterly defeated him. He then went in pursuit of Essex, out-manœuvred him at Lostwithiel, and forced the whole infantry to surrender (September 2), though Essex and the cavalry escaped by sea to London. But utter disaster had meanwhile fallen upon the king in the north. For six weeks Rupert had been cutting his way northwards. Sweeping like a storm through Lancashire, he made his way thence, joined by Goring and 6,000 horse, for York. The besiegers left their works to fight him, while Newcastle and the garrison joined their forces to his. On July 2 took place the great battle of Marston Moor. On the left the crashing charge of Cromwell and the Ironsides drove Rupert, who was unprepared, from the field. The royal foot in the centre gave way. But on the right Goring routed the Fairfaxes, turned upon the Scotch infantry, and had nearly restored the battle, when Cromwell, who had kept his men well in hand, fell upon him in the rear. Within a few minutes the battle was over. Rupert left 4,000 dead on the field, and with difficulty rejoined Charles. York surrendered, and the whole north, except Newcastle, which held out until October 19, was lost to the king. Manchester and Cromwell now marched south to crush Charles on his return from Cornwall. At Newbury they blocked his road to Oxford. The sluggishness of Manchester prevented a victory, which Cromwell, if left to himself, would doubtless have gained. The year closed, like **1643**, with another drawn battle, and Charles reached Oxford in safety. As the war proceeded, the differences between Presbyterians and Independents in parliament became more pronounced. Essex, Manchester, and Waller, wished for peace and a Presbyterian *régime* under Charles. The Independents hated Presbyterianism, and did not want peace until Charles was utterly crushed. They were emphatically the war

Charles's first plan of campaign breaks down

Battle of Marston Moor

Second battle of Newbury

party, and on military organisation they had a majority. They used it now to substitute for the local levies a 'New Model,' by which all the forces of the parliament constituted one standing army of 21,000 men in regular pay. This was the work of Cromwell. The two things he hated most were ecclesiastical tyranny[5] and lukewarmness in fight. To get rid of the Presbyterian generals it was proposed to pass a 'Self-denying Ordinance,' by which members of parliament were no longer to be officers. The Lords, however, in whose hands military commands were traditionally placed, refused to pass it for the moment. On January 11, **1645**, the 'New Model' came into force. Manchester retired, Fairfax was made lord-general, and Skippon major-general. Cromwell was shortly placed in command of the cavalry.

The 'New Model'

In the midst of these struggles Archbishop Laud was brought to trial. The few peers left at Westminster hesitated to condemn an old man who had committed no treason. As in Strafford's case, the Commons, therefore, substituted attainder for impeachment, asserting that parliament might declare any crime to be treason. He was condemned, and executed on January 10.[6]

Execution of Laud

Section 3.—*From the 'New Model' to the Surrender of the King by the Scots. January* **1645**—*January* **1647**

For a time it seemed as if the royal cause would yet be retrieved by the genius of one man. The young Earl of Montrose, partly through hatred of his hereditary enemy Argyle, the chief of the Campbells, had thrown himself heart and soul into the royal cause. In August **1644** he raised the king's standard in the Highlands, and was joined by all the clans who hated the Campbells. Three armies were sent to surround him, but with the heaviest odds against him he beat them ruinously in succession: Elcho at Tippermuir, near Perth; Balfour at Aberdeen; Argyle at Inverlochy. His letter to Charles, after the third victory, ended thus: 'Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name.'

Montrose in Scotland

From Ireland, too, Charles had good hopes. He had overcome his scruples to employ Catholics, and had engaged to suspend the penal laws as soon as the cessation of arms was turned into a peace, and to repeal them when he was master in England, as well as Poyning's law, upon their promise to send a large force to his help. To obtain aid from France and the

Charles and the Irish Catholics

[5] Of the Scots in especial he said he would as soon draw his sword against them as against the king.

[6] Gardiner, *The Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 50.

pope he authorised the queen to bind him to repeal the penal laws in England as well.

But he was now in great straits. His adherents were intensely opposed to the employment of Catholics. The Oxford parliament, after urging him to come to terms, had been adjourned; his commanders were quarrelling; Rupert would own no guidance; a series of disasters, including the loss of Shrewsbury, Weymouth, and Scarborough, had occurred. The siege of Taunton had failed against the gallant defence of Robert Blake. Starved out of Oxford, he set forth with 11,000 men, hoping to join hands with Montrose. Scarcely was he gone when Fairfax and Cromwell surrounded Oxford. Minor royalist successes in Wales, Cheshire, and Yorkshire alone shed a gleam upon a failing cause.

Disasters to the royal cause

Every success in the field strengthened the Independent and war party in parliament. On April 3, the Self-denying Ordinance was at length carried. Members of either house were called upon to resign within forty days, but might be re-elected. Essex, Waller, and Warwick resigned at once. Cromwell did not resign, and at the end of the forty days retained his command by vote of the Commons in spite of the Lords' dissent. The result was a complete transference of military command from the Presbyterian to the Independent party, and from the Lords to the Commons.

The Self-denying Ordinance passed

It had been arranged that the Scots should march south to meet Charles and Rupert. But this design was upset by the continued successes of Montrose at Dundee and Auldearn, which drew them northwards. Fairfax and Cromwell, therefore, leaving the siege of Oxford, pursued Charles with 14,000 men, and overtook him at Naseby, near Harborough, June 14. With but 7,500 men, the king and Rupert turned to bay. Rupert's headlong charge scattered the parliamentary left, while Cromwell was victorious on the right. Once more Rupert committed the fatal error of pursuing too far. Before he drew rein, Cromwell had turned and routed the royal foot. For fourteen miles, to the gates of Leicester, the pursuit and slaughter went on. Leicester surrendered, Fairfax again relieved Taunton, beat Goring at Langport, and stormed Bridgewater, and once more set off in pursuit of the king.

Battle of Naseby

Still Montrose went on in his meteor-like course of success. On July 2 he had beaten Baillie at Alford, on the Don, and had utterly overthrown him, on August 15, at Kilsyth, near Glasgow, scarce 100 out of his 6,000 men being left alive. But in England disasters came thick upon the royal cause. Bath was taken by Fairfax, and Sherborne by Cromwell. Bristol was besieged and

Successes of Montrose

T

stormed. On September 24 Charles was ruinously beaten at Rowton Heath, near Chester; town after town was wrested from him; Basing House, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester—'Loyalty House,' as he called it—was at length stormed by Cromwell (October 13) and all the defenders slain. And now the last hope failed. On September 13, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, Montrose was surprised and crushed by David Leslie, and barely escaped with his life. Charles, after wandering aimlessly about the country, once more took refuge in Oxford, November 5.

Of the parliament

Defeat of Montrose

The battle of Naseby was decisive, not only of the war, but of all chance of reconciliation between Charles and the people. In his private cabinet was found full evidence of intrigues with the Irish Catholics, France, Denmark, and the Dutch, and of a plan for levying an army in Lorraine to be supported by help from Rome. Henceforward the war against him was in men's eyes a national war against foreign foes. From this moment, too, Cromwell's pre-eminence was secured. His first use of it was significant. Both from the battle-field at Naseby and from Bristol, almost before the fighting was over, he wrote to the Presbyterian parliament to press upon them the duty of toleration.

Effects of the battle of Naseby

Charles's only chance lay in the dissensions of his enemies. The Scots complained that their arrears were unpaid; the English, that the Scots had done little for their money. Mazarin, the French statesman, suggested an alliance of Charles with the Scots; and the negotiations became serious as the king's fortunes grew worse, and as the Scots began to fear that, in their common hatred of Presbyterianism, the king and the New Model might join hands. They therefore offered to support him, and invited him to their camp.

After the defeat of Sir John Astley at Stow-in-the-Wold, in Worcestershire, there was no longer a royal army in the field, and only a few places where his standard flew. He decided to take the offer. Before dawn on April 27, **1646**, he slipped out of Oxford in disguise, reached the Scots in safety, and was carried to Leven's head-quarters at Newcastle. Parliament was, of course, furious. To allay their anger the Scots agreed upon nineteen conditions to be submitted to the king. The two chief ones were that he was to consent to the establishment of Presbyterianism and to surrender the army and fleet for twenty years. When Charles refused to give up Episcopacy, the Scots offered to leave England for 300,000*l.* and to hand over the king. On receiving the first instalment, they began their march, January 30, **1647**. The Presbyterians now wanted the king in London

Charles goes to the Scotch camp

Refuses to abolish Episcopacy. Is given up to the parliament

to help them against the Independents; the Independents wanted to keep him at a distance. Eventually he was lodged in Holmby House, Northamptonshire. He was still sanguine. There was a chance of French help if he would cede the Channel Islands; a chance, fairer each day, in England itself. The Eastern Association were ready to support him if he would accept Presbyterianism. Upon issue of a general pardon, a promise to abolish the excise and other extraordinary taxes, not to interfere with property as at present held, and not to permit the Scots to come south of the Trent, a general rising in his favour would take place in south, east, and west. On the other hand, he might secure the Independents by giving up the control of the army and granting toleration.

SUMMARY.—The first civil war thus falls into three clearly-defined periods:—(1) *August* **1642**—*September* **1643**, beginning with the drawn battle of Edgehill and closing with the drawn battle of Newbury. The king, after Edgehill, and after his failure to enter London, remains at Oxford, while his various lieutenants endeavour to force their way to him from the outside. On the whole he obtains decided success. (2) *September* **1643**—*end of* **1644**. The Scots have come to the help of the hard-pressed parliament, and Cromwell has become the most distinguished of the parliamentary generals. Charles is forced to reverse his plan of campaign, and to try to help his outlying forces from Oxford. While summoning help from Ireland, he himself wins marked successes, and closes his campaign by a second drawn battle of Newbury; but his hopes are dashed by the ruinous overthrow of Rupert and Newcastle at Marston Moor. (3) *January* **1645**—*April* **1646**.[7] The New Model carries all before it. Montrose's brilliant career in Scotland only nourishes false hopes, and the crushing defeat of Naseby decides the war. The causes of failure are easily summarised. They are: (1) the long duration of the war, and the fact that while parliament had the wealthy part of the country, and especially London, in their favour, Charles had no source of supplies which could stand prolonged strain; (2) the genius of Cromwell, and the combination of religious enthusiasm and warlike zeal which he secured in his Ironsides; (3) the aid given by the Scotch. On the other hand, there was among Charles's officers no cohesion, but constant bickerings and jealousies; while the mutinous spirit, the rashness in the field, and the ruthless devastations of 'Prince Robber,' did much to neutralise his bravery and to rouse resistance even in districts well

[7] The last English fortress, Raglan Castle, was surrendered on August 19, 1646. Harlech held out until March 1647. With its submission the Civil War was at an end.

affected to the king. There was, too, Charles's own weakness of character, which destroyed enthusiasm, and especially the discontent caused among his adherents by his recourse to Catholic aid and foreign powers.

CHAPTER IV

PARLIAMENT AND THE ARMY. EXECUTION OF CHARLES

Now that military questions were not urgent, the Presbyterians, supported by the City, again had their way in parliament. But against them was ranged the victorious army, bent upon tolerance. The contest was no longer between king and parliament, but between the Presbyterian parliament and the Independent army. Parliament made the first move. They voted that a large part of the army should be sent on service to Ireland; and, to get rid of Cromwell, that in the regiments which remained there should be, except Fairfax, no officer of higher rank than colonel. A force independent of the army was to have charge of the City. The army replied by a march towards London, a strong remonstrance, and a refusal to serve in Ireland; and when ordered to disband, Fairfax held a review of 20,000 men at Newmarket. Parliament voted the remonstrance illegal; the army hereupon formed two councils—one of commissioned officers, the other of 'agitators,' two representatives of the men in each troop. On June 2 Cromwell suddenly left parliament and joined the army. The next day Cornet Joyce and a party of troopers appeared at Holmby House and carried off Charles to Newmarket. The whole army then marched upon London. At their demand the City levies were disbanded, the army declared the army of the parliament, and their pay voted. The City mob hereupon burst into the houses and insisted upon the withdrawal of their concessions. From this violence the Speakers of both houses, with more than 100 members, fled to the army. The City for a while defied Fairfax. But his strength was too great. With four regiments he entered and replaced the Speakers and the members who had fled. Parliament, thoroughly cowed, then acted in accordance with the views of the army. A measure of toleration was at once passed. 'Tender consciences' were to be free to worship as they pleased; but Catholicism, the use of the Prayer-Book, and the denial of the main principles of Christianity were forbidden; and every one was compelled to attend some form of public worship. Charles was

Contest between the army and parliament

The king carried off by the army

Victory of the army

now lodged in Hampton Court. He was treated with the utmost respect; the leading officers vied for his favours; Cromwell himself offered his service. Their terms were the retention of Episcopacy, without coercive power, and a large measure of tolerance; the control of the army and navy for ten years; the exemption of only five royalists from pardon. All this fostered his belief that he could command his price, and he therefore refused these terms. His chief object now was to gain time while he intrigued with the Scots and English Presbyterians to kindle a fresh civil war. In October it was arranged that in the spring a Scotch army should cross the border, to be joined by the English Presbyterians, while Ormond brought help from Ireland, and Lord Capel rallied the English royalists.

Intrigues of Charles

Within the army itself there were grave divisions. The Levellers were daily increasing in influence. They demanded a republic and many advanced reforms, and entire freedom of conscience. The Bible, they said, showed that monarchy was odious in God's sight. The king had forfeited his crown; he had raised up war, and must answer for his people's blood. Suspicious of the good faith of their officers, especially of Cromwell and Ireton, whom they saw constantly with the king, they demanded that the troops should elect their own officers, and a serious mutiny broke out at Ware. But Cromwell dashed into the ranks and had the ringleaders seized: one was shot on the spot, three more condemned, the rest were retained as hostages for their comrades.

The Levellers

On November 11 Charles, dreading violence, escaped to the Isle of Wight, where Hammond, the governor, lodged him under a guard in Carisbrooke Castle. From here he again negotiated with the parliament. When, however, he refused their terms, they voted that no further addresses should be made to or received from him. The 'Committee of both Kingdoms' was replaced by a 'Committee of Safety,' from which the Scots were excluded; and a declaration was issued denouncing the king's whole reign as 'a continued breach of trust to the three kingdoms.' While still engaged in treating with parliament, Charles had secretly signed, December 26, an 'Engagement' with the Scotch commissioners, by which they promised to invade England and restore him to the throne, upon condition that he should confirm the Covenant, establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and suppress all other sects. It is probable that Cromwell had intelligence of this perfidy. From this time he drew closer to the Levellers and became a foremost denouncer of the

Charles in the Isle of Wight

Vote of non-addresses

Treaty with the Scots. Effect on Cromwell

king. The 'Engagement' really robbed Charles of all chance of united support from Scotland. The commissioners who signed it were opponents of Argyle, and had no real zeal for Presbyterianism. All they cared for was a still more secret treaty by which Charles promised fresh privileges and favour to the Scotch nobility. When they returned to Scotland, Argyle and the clergy *protested* against helping the king on such easy terms, and were eagerly seconded by their fanatical congregations. Every day the 'Protesters' gained ground upon the 'Engagers;' and it was not until July **1647** that Hamilton could muster 15,000 men to march upon England.

Protesters and Engagers

Meanwhile the burden of taxation, the arbitrariness of the parliamentary committees which ruled the counties, the dread of army rule, had been working in the king's favour. Petitions poured in for disbanding the army and for the return of the king. The second civil war had already begun in various parts, and even in London. The crews of six men-of-war in the Thames revolted, sailed to the Hague, and placed themselves under James, the duke of York, Charles's second son. The risings were isolated and premature, and were for the most part easily crushed. Goring, however, with a large force, threw himself into Colchester, and made ready to defend it to the last. The enforced absence of the officers at their commands enabled the Presbyterians to regain ascendency in parliament. They repealed the vote of non-addresses, despatched commissioners to treat with Charles at Newport, and passed severe ordinances against heresy, which laid down death as the penalty for denying the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. This soon came to an end. On July 8 Hamilton and Monro crossed the border, and were joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale with 4,000 cavaliers. But Hamilton's incapacity ruined the enterprise. On August 17 Cromwell and Lambert, with 9,000 men, fell upon his scattered line near Preston, and during three days desperate fighting completely ruined it in detail. Hamilton was taken; Langdale gave himself up. Monro alone made his way back to Scotland. Colchester, after a desperate defence, capitulated on the news. An attempt of the Prince of Wales, with nineteen ships, to rescue Charles failed, and the prince was obliged to sail back to Holland. The second civil war was at an end.

Second civil war

Presbyterians in power in parliament

Defeat of Hamilton

The army now turned upon parliament. In November the assembly of officers presented to the Commons alone the 'Grand Army Remonstrance.' It demanded: (1) that the 'capital and grand author' of all the troubles should be brought to justice, with his chief instru-

ments; (2) the dissolution of parliament, as hostile to the army; (3) annual parliaments, an extended franchise, and redistribution of seats, with the temporary disfranchisement of the royalists; (4) the supremacy of the Commons over the Lords; (5) the confiscation of the estates and revenues of the crown; and (6) that the king should be elected by parliament, and should not have the power of veto.

Grand Army Remonstrance

Charles meanwhile, in his belief that neither party could do without him, had managed to prolong the negotiations with the parliament for two months. He finally agreed to leave his followers to the mercy of parliament; to consent to the trial of seven prominent royalists, excepted from pardon, if tried by the ancient laws; to give up Episcopacy and the church lands until religion should be settled and the support of its ministers determined by common consent of himself and the two houses. Then the army, unable to obtain a reply to the Remonstrance, struck another blow by removing Hammond, and again seizing Charles's person, November 30. He was taken to Hurst Castle, in Hampshire, and shortly afterwards placed in rigid confinement at Windsor. On the same day the Commons rejected the Remonstrance, and voted that 'the answers of the king were a ground for the settlement of the nation.' The deadlock was put an end to in simple fashion. On the morning of December 6 the doors of the house were blocked by two regiments under Colonels Pride, Hewson, and Waller; and 153 Presbyterian members were turned back. The fifty who remained—the 'Rump,' as they were afterwards called—were Independents, bound to register the decrees of the army. Cromwell had been absent during these events. Since the battle of Preston he had been in Scotland, whither he had pursued Monro. He had there secured the victory of Argyle and the Protesters over the Engagers, and returned to London on the day following 'Pride's purge,' leaving Lambert with two regiments in Scotland.

Charles's treaty with the parliament

Carried off again by the army

'Pride's purge'

On December 23 the Rump voted for the trial of Charles. It was declared high treason in a king of England to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England; and an ordinance was passed erecting a high court of justice for the trial. When the Lords rejected the ordinance, they voted that, since the people were the origin of all just power, no assent of either king or Lords was necessary to an act of the Commons. On January 20 the court met. Charles was arraigned as 'tyrant, traitor, murderer, public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England.' On the 27th he was condemned, and on the 30th met his death with constancy

Trial and execution of the king

and dignity outside the banqueting hall of Whitehall. By the Church of England he is claimed as a martyr in her cause. She forgets that both by the 'Engagement' and at Newport he had abandoned Episcopacy. He died because he could not understand that other people would not accept the doctrines of monarchy taught him by his father; because he ran counter, with harshness and obstinacy, to the two main currents of opinion, Puritanism and the power of parliament; because he sought Catholic aid against Protestants, and foreign aid against Englishmen; because he was at the last supported by Presbyterianism, and the army, bent upon religious freedom, knew that Presbyterianism was the greatest enemy to religious freedom; and, above all, because it was impossible to trust his word.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMONWEALTH. THE FIGHT FOR TOLERATION

Section 1.—*Republican Government. Conquests of Ireland and Scotland. War with the Dutch. The English Navy*

On February 6 the upper house and the monarchy were abolished, a general oath of allegiance to the republic without them exacted, and a council of state entrusted with complete executive control. The promoters of the second civil war were then dealt with. The Duke of Hamilton, with Lords Holland and Capel, were executed by sentence of a high court of justice; Goring was saved by the casting vote of the Speaker.

The new government was surrounded by dangers. There were first the royalists, whose devotion was kept alive by the appearance of the 'Eikon Basiliké' (royal image), or 'True Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings,' professedly written by Charles himself, which had so vast an influence that Milton, now foreign secretary to the council, was called upon to answer it. This he did in his 'Iconoclastes,' or 'Image-breaker.'

Danger to the new government

There were next the Presbyterians, who had utterly disapproved of the trial and execution of the king, and whose ministers publicly prayed for Charles II. But the great danger was from the Agitators and Levellers, and still more extreme sects, such as the 'Diggers,' who wished to dig to the foundations, whilst the Levellers wished to bring

all to one level.[1] Their demands were so revolutionary, so dangerous to existing society, and so violently expressed, that the council was forced to place Lilburn and others in the Tower.[2] Armed risings of sectaries took place; at Salisbury 1,000 men were in arms. But they were put down by the vigour and foresight of Cromwell and Fairfax, and the republic then turned to face the dangers from outside. The reconquest of Ireland held the first place. Ormond had proclaimed the peace there (p. 272) on July 30, **1646**. But it was utterly rejected by the Irish nationalists as insufficient. Ormond thereupon, rather than allow Dublin to fall into their hands, had offered to surrender it and other fortresses to the parliament, and the transfer was carried out in February, **1647**. He then left the country, but in January **1649** returned, and succeeded in uniting the Catholics in the royal cause. He was joined by the Scotch Presbyterians of Ulster, while Rupert held the Irish seas. Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry alone stood out for the parliament.

Conquest of Ireland

In August **1649** Cromwell crossed to Dublin with 12,000 men, while Rupert was blockaded in Kinsale harbour by Blake and Dean. Before he arrived Ormond had been so terribly defeated at Rathmines by Colonel Jones, the commander of Dublin, that he could not put another army in the field. But Cromwell saw before him the prospect of a number of prolonged sieges. He resolved to teach a terrible lesson. On September 3, after an eight days' siege, he stormed Drogheda. No quarter was given, and for five days massacre went on unchecked. Of the garrison scarcely a man remained alive; when 1,000 fugitives gathered for safety within St. Peter's church, Cromwell, upon whom had come one of his rare accesses of passion, ordered it to be burned, and the wretches were cut down as they fled from the flames. A month later, amid similar scenes of horror, for which Cromwell was not responsible, Wexford was taken.[3] There was no need of a further lesson. By May **1650** almost the whole country had surrendered. Cromwell then returned to face another danger, leaving Ireton to complete his work.

Drogheda and Wexford

[1] Ranke, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 19.

[2] He was afterwards banished by the Rump, and, on his return without leave, again put in confinement. In 1656 he was released, joined the Quakers, and died at Eltham in 1657.

[3] It must be remembered that it was not merely a war of the Commonwealth against royalists, but of Englishmen, and intensely Puritan Englishmen, against Irish Catholics on their own soil. Neither to Irishman nor to Papist, least of all to an Irish Papist, was it likely that Cromwell or the stern men who followed him would show mercy. The one charge *not* made against Strafford was his cruel treatment of the Connaught Irish. Oliver here is the typical, not the exceptional, Englishman. Moreover, he himself declared that this 'bitterness' was 'to save effusion of blood.' It remains, nevertheless, the great blot upon his memory.

In Scotland, Protesters and Engagers (p. 278) had joined in proclaiming Charles II., and Argyle offered him the crown if he would unreservedly accept Presbyterianism. In his motley court at the Hague were the Engagers who had fled from Scotland, Montrose and his party, and English royalists of every type. The former wished him to accept Argyle's offers; Montrose went to raise the Highlands again; Hyde and the English royalists urged him to join Ormond. But affairs in Ireland were soon so hopeless that he fell back upon Argyle, delaying only until the result of Montrose's enterprise was known. This was complete disaster. The Highlands would not rise. On April 17, **1650**, Montrose was routed by Strachan at Corbiesdale, in Ross-shire. After some days' wandering he was betrayed. From his hereditary foe, Argyle, he could expect no mercy; and the one man of genius in the royal cause was hanged at Edinburgh on May 20. Charles had avoided any public recognition of his attempt; he now bound himself to observe the two covenants; to abjure all dealings with Catholics; to govern in civil matters by advice of the parliament, in religious matters by that of the kirk. In June he arrived in Scotland. Engagers were forbidden the court; the king himself was placed under a rigid discipline, of which he retained a bitter recollection to the last day of his life. He was even obliged, after long resistance, to sign a declaration of his 'deep humiliation and affliction of spirit before God' for the sins of his father and the idolatry of his mother.

Charles II. in Scotland

The espousal of Charles's cause by the Scots made war inevitable. Fairfax having retired, Cromwell was commander-in-chief. On July 22 he crossed the border with 16,000 veteran troops, and marched along the east coast, accompanied by the fleet. The Scots laid waste the whole country up to Edinburgh; and David Leslie, their general, entrenched himself from Edinburgh to Leith. Cromwell's position soon became critical. He was unable to force Leslie's entrenchments. Sickness and fatigue were exhausting his men. On August 31 he fell back with 11,000 men upon a promontory near Dunbar. Here he was hemmed in by Leslie, who lay with 22,000 men on the Lammermuir Hills to the south, and who had blocked the only road to England. He was saved from destruction by the impatience of the Scotch ministers. Overcome by their importunity, Leslie ordered his right wing to descend the hill and attack next morning. Cromwell saw the movement. 'The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!' he is reported to have exclaimed. At 6 A.M. on September 3 he threw his whole force upon this wing. His men rushed to the attack with the battle cry 'The Lord of Hosts!'

Cromwell in Scotland. Battle of Dunbar

Longmans Green & Co., London & New York.

P.S. Wellar

while the artillery kept the main body of the enemy from supporting their doomed comrades. In less than an hour the battle was over. As the Scots fled Cromwell halted his men, and they sang the 117th Psalm before he let them loose in pursuit. Of the enemy 3,000 were killed on the field, and thousands more in the chase; 10,000 prisoners, the whole baggage and artillery, 15,000 stand of arms, and 200 colours were left in Cromwell's hands, at a cost of two officers and twenty men. Next day Lambert occupied Edinburgh.

There were now three parties in Scotland: the royalists proper, who were gathering in the Highlands under Middleton; the government party of Argyle and the kirk, with Leslie and the remnants of his army, who retired with the king to the country about Perth and Stirling; and the extreme Protesters, who murmured at Argyle's gentle treatment of the Engagers, and saw in the disaster of Dunbar the judgment of God upon such backsliding. Finding it useless to come to terms with these last, Argyle coalesced with the royalists, and on January 1, 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone, after a fresh oath of fidelity to Presbyterianism and a promise to establish it in England. He was now at the head of 20,000 men, with Leslie and Middleton under him. Cromwell had meanwhile taken Edinburgh Castle, and made himself master of all Scotland south of Forth and Clyde. In June he marched upon Stirling. Baffled by Leslie, he passed by it to the north and took Perth on August 2, leaving Charles behind him. Charles now took a daring but fatal resolution. On July 31 he set out with his whole army for a descent upon England, and, marching through Lancashire and Cheshire, in three weeks reached Worcester. He had hoped that his coming would lead to a general desertion from the parliament, but was bitterly disappointed. Cromwell at once ordered Lambert to follow hard, and Harrison in England to hang upon his flank, while he himself hastened by forced marches to York, and thence across country to Worcester, leaving Monk in Scotland with 6,000 men. In less than four weeks he had reached Worcester in overwhelming force. On September 3, the day of Drogheda and Dunbar, he attacked and won a crushing victory. This was the last of his battles, his 'crowning mercy.' For six weeks, in various disguises, Charles was enabled through the fidelity of royalists, often of the humblest class, to evade pursuit; at length, with Wilmot alone, he was taken off the coast close to Brighton in a fishing smack, and on October 9 arrived in safety in Paris.

Union of Argyle and the royalists

Charles marches to Worcester

Battle of Worcester

Scotland and Ireland were now helpless. An extensive Presbyterian conspiracy in England had been crushed; the country was

quiet. On October 25 a great day of thanksgiving was held. To Cromwell was given Hampton Court as a residence, with 6,500*l.* a year, a sum equal to more than 20,000*l.* of our money. In February **1652** an amnesty was passed for all political offences previous to the battle of Worcester, upon taking the oath of allegiance. On April 13 an act for incorporating Scotland with England passed its second reading. Very different was the treatment accorded to Ireland. This was to carry out as far as possible the maxim of James I., 'Plant Ireland with Puritans and root out Papists.' A high court of justice sent more than 200 leading persons to death; of the common soldiers 40,000 went to swell the armies of the Continent; and a vast measure of confiscation was carried out. Those who retained part of their possessions were forced to give them up and take equivalents in the barren districts of Connaught, beyond the Shannon; their own fertile lands were given out to the 'adventurers' who had lent money for the war. The larger number refused these terms and turned to brigandage; they were hunted and shot down without mercy. Besides the abolition of their worship, Catholics were subjected to measures of the most atrocious cruelty; any transplanted Irishman, for instance, who was found upon the wrong bank of the Shannon, was liable to be killed by the first person who met him, without the order of a magistrate.

Harsh treatment of Ireland

The army had for the present done its work. It was of greater moment that a navy as powerful had been rapidly created. Crushed on land, the cavaliers had betaken themselves to the ocean. Rupert and Maurice swept the Irish seas; Carteret, governor of Jersey, seconded them in the Channel; western Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the north of Scotland, sent out swarms of freebooters. Commerce was crippled; communication with Ireland was often impossible. Robert Blake, the defender of Taunton (p. 273) had the task of putting an end to this intolerable nuisance. He drove Rupert from Ireland, chased him to the Tagus, destroyed the greater part of his fleet at Carthagena, and pursued him across the Atlantic; made himself master of the Scilly Isles, and began a long and arduous siege of Carteret in Elizabeth Castle, Jersey, which surrendered only at length on the king's command in **1648**.

The navy and Robert Blake

The rival maritime power of the world was the Dutch Republic, whose commercial and colonial supremacy was as marked as that of England now, and which monopolised the carrying trade of the world.[4] Causes of quarrel were easily found, and on October 9, **1651**, was

[4] For this, see Airy, 'The English Restoration and Louis XIV.,' in *Epochs of Modern History*, p. 111.

passed the Navigation Act,[5] which struck a crushing blow at her carrying trade, stimulated the shipping enterprise of England, and rendered war inevitable. It was rigidly put in force. All Dutch vessels infringing it were captured as prizes; those fishing in British waters were sunk or destroyed; a claim was made to search Dutch men-of-war for royalist property. Without formal declaration, the nations began war; the great extent of the Dutch colonies rendered her an easy prey. More than 1,000 ships were taken; in Amsterdam commerce well-nigh ceased. In **1651** great battles, the like of which had never been seen in modern times, were fought. In **1652** Blake was worsted and Van Tromp sailed down the Channel with a broom at his masthead to show that he swept the seas. But this was the high-water mark of Dutch power. During **1653** Blake won three great victories, the last, on July 31, so crushing that the Dutch could not renew active war.[6]

The Navigation Act

War with the Dutch

This display of power caused a marked change in the behaviour of other nations. Spain, France, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, the Hanse Towns, in fact every government in Europe, courted the new and formidable power. Already the line of Dryden in praise of Cromwell, 'He made us freemen of the Continent,' was true. Never, since the time of Henry II. (p. 72), had so many foreign ambassadors been seen in London.

Section 2.—*Dissolution of the Rump. The Barebone Parliament*

Meanwhile bitter antagonism had been growing up between the army and the Rump. Composed largely of lawyers, and unrecruited from outside, the latter had been growing sluggish and reactionary. In August **1652** the council of officers presented a long list of subjects needing immediate treatment. They inveighed against the members of the Rump collectively for their inefficiency, and indi-

[5] No colonial merchandise might henceforth enter England in any but English-built ships, commanded by English captains and manned by a crew of whom three-fourths were Englishmen; nor any European goods except in English ships, or in those of the countries from which the goods originally came. The act struck too at the great fishing industry of the Dutch. No fish might be imported or exported by England or Ireland except by English taking.

[6] 'Hitherto fleets had fought with fleets. But Blake taught modern Europe that henceforward fleets can control kingdoms. It was the sense of this new power—so rapid, so mobile, with so long an arm and practically ubiquitous—that caused Mazarin and Louis, Spain and Portugal, pope and princes of Italy, to bow at the name of Oliver. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from Algiers to Teneriffe, from Newfoundland to Jamaica, were heard the English cannon. The impression produced was that which the rise of the German empire, with the consolidation of the German military system, has produced upon our age.'—Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 209.

vidually for the scandals of their private lives. Cromwell heartily joined in these feelings. He wanted extensive reform, because he wanted settlement. Church, law, and finance were alike in a state of chaos. Eminently conservative, and seeing that the nation was not ready for a republic, he was anxious to restore the constitution with two houses of legislature and 'some mixture of monarchy' in it. He did not believe, any more than Strafford, that parliament was able to govern; there must be an independent executive. The difficulty was that, while the army would have no Stuart as king, the lawyers would have no one else. It had been decided that a dissolution should take place not later than November 4, **1654**. The question was how the next parliament was to be elected; and the Rump proposed a scheme which would merely have perpetuated their own power. Cromwell saw that he must take action at once. On April 20, the day fixed for the third reading of the Election Bill, after consulting his officers, he took his seat, dressed in plain clothes, but with a troop of musketeers at the door. He sat silent until the question was about to be put; then he rose, and straightway poured out a torrent of vituperation upon the members for their corrupt and ambitious schemes, their depraved and dissolute lives; upon the lawyers especially for their support of tyranny and oppression. Calling in his men, he forced the Speaker from the chair, had the mace carried away, the members ejected, and the doors locked. The next morning a paper was found on the door with these words: 'This house to be let, now unfurnished.' But Cromwell had no intention of leaving the house 'unfurnished' long. He meant that a fresh parliament, but one in harmony with the army, should meet. Fearing the results of a general election, he nominated, in conjunction with the separatist congregations, 144 'Godly men.' No elections took place. It was not a parliament, but an assembly of nominees, summoned directly by 'I, Oliver Cromwell.' Among them was a leather-seller known as 'Praise God' Barebone,[7] and among the royalists the assembly was always known as the 'Barebone parliament.' It met on July 4, **1653**, and at once plunged into reform. But the 'Godly persons' were not men of business. To remedy the cost and delay of legal proceedings their only suggestion was the total abolition of the court of chancery; and, when the conservative party brought in a bill to reject scandalous ministers, and appoint fit

Cromwell's conservatism

Dissolution of the Rump

The Barebone parliament

[7] His actual Christian name was: 'Unless-Jesus-Christ-had-died-for-thee-thou-hadst-been-damned.'

persons,[8] and to perpetuate tithes—in other words to continue an endowed church—the only idea of the majority was to overthrow an established Christian ministry as a 'Babylonish' institution and as anti-Christ. Cromwell was bitterly disappointed. Neither he nor the army which followed him were revolutionists. They now stood forward as the champions of order. The minority in the assembly determined to put an end to the assembly itself. On December 12, **1653**, they suddenly resigned their commissions to Cromwell. Those who remained were turned out by force, and the Barebone parliament, or, as the Scots termed it, the 'Daft little parliament,' ceased to exist.

Dissolved

Section 3.—*The Protectorate. Attempt to restore the old Constitution. Foreign Conquest*

Cromwell now pressed his favourite scheme—a legislature and an independent executive, with 'some mixture of monarchy'—as most consonant with tradition, and as offering the best safeguard against disorder.[9] On December 13 Lambert proposed in the council of officers with general assent that he should, under the title of 'Lord Protector,' be the 'single person.' The 'Instrument of Government contained the new constitution:—(1) The *Protector* was to hold office for life; his successors were to be elected by the council, no Stuart being eligible. He was to govern in accordance with the opinion of the council, the Instrument, and the laws. He had the right of appointing officials, of distributing honours, and of pardon. (2) The *Council* consisted of twenty-one; vacancies were to be filled up by the joint action of the parliament, council, and protector. The protector and the council together had the absolute control of the armed forces, the right to make peace and war, the privilege of suspending or making laws till parliament should meet. (3) *Parliament* was to meet on September 3, **1654**; thenceforward triennial parliaments were to be held, each sitting for at least five months before it could be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned without

Instrument of government

[8] This was carried out by an ordinance of Cromwell in 1654. A commission of 'triers' was appointed for the approbation of all clergymen before admission to a benefice; and a mixed committee of gentry and divines in each county for ejecting the scandalous, ignorant, and inefficient, called 'ejectors.' Provision was also made for the universities and public schools.

[9] This government of a single person with the executive, and the legislating parliament, the two being independent of one another, is much the same as that now in action in America. England has rejected it, adopting a system where the executive is dependent upon the legislature. All the great rulers of England had struggled for the first. The gradual substitution of the second for it forms the history of the next 100 years.

its own consent. Scotland and Ireland were each to send thirty members. All persons with property worth 200*l.* had votes in the election, except such as had fought against the king, Roman Catholics, and all concerned in the Irish rebellion. Parliament had the sole right of making laws or imposing taxes, though the protector might delay their passing for twenty days. (4) The *Church* was to be Christian and state paid, non-prelatic, and comprehensive; all who professed 'faith in Jesus Christ' were to be protected in their worship, except Papists, and, later, Episcopalians.

The new government was bitterly distasteful to strong republicans, to the sterner sectaries, and to the royalists, who saw all hope of a restoration fade away. The danger from the last was of a special kind. By a secret proclamation, dated May 3, **1654**, Charles actually promised a reward of 500*l.* a year, knighthood, and a colonelcy, to any one who should kill 'a certain mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, by pistol, sword, or poison;' and but for the vigilance of his spies he would certainly have been murdered on May 20.

Assassination plots

Abroad Cromwell had been brilliantly successful. To meet a coalition of the Dutch and the Danes he had allied himself with Sweden, the strongest power of northern Europe. He then forced the Dutch to peace on terms which showed how the balance of power had changed since Van Tromp 'swept' the channel. They admitted the supremacy of the English flag in British waters, agreed that their men-of-war should strike their flags and lower topsails when meeting English war-ships, and assented to the Navigation Act. Foreigners gained a still higher opinion of Cromwell's power when they heard that Mazarin's agent had been summarily dismissed for tampering with malcontents, and that Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, had, on the very day that a treaty was signed with England, been beheaded on Tower Hill for the death of an Englishman, for which he was responsible. 'There is not a nation in Europe,' said Cromwell proudly to parliament, 'but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.'

Surrender of the Dutch

Parliament met, as arranged, on September 3, and once more Cromwell was disappointed. It was composed largely of Presbyterians and irreconcilable republicans. Far from accepting the Instrument without demur, it declared that 'government was in the parliament, and in a single person instructed by it,' that is, that the executive was to be controlled by the legislature, as is the case now—the very thing which Cromwell was determined should not be. He called upon all the members to promise to accept the

Parliament violates the Instrument

'Instrument;' about 100 refused, and they were not allowed to sit again. In spite of this 'purge,' the house passed resolutions to carry out their views, demanded the control of the local militia, and, with true Presbyterian zeal, declared that heresy would be sternly put down. Holding that 'faith in Jesus Christ' was too vague, they appointed a commission to settle what heresy should mean. Cromwell and the officers had no mind to see their work undone. Reckoning the five months (p. 287) as *lunar* months, he came down while they believed they had still some days to sit, and on January 22, **1655**, dissolved the parliament. The royalist hopes were roused by this quarrel. Risings took place at Salisbury, and in the north and west. They were suppressed, the leaders executed, and ship-loads of the lower classes of malcontents sent to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. A dangerous conspiracy of the republican officers in Scotland was similarly crushed. Cromwell was for the time driven back upon a purely military government. England was placed literally in a state of siege, which lasted until January **1657**.[10] It was divided into thirteen districts, under major-generals with almost unlimited powers. All royalists were disarmed and subjected to a tax of one-tenth of their incomes; with the money Cromwell raised a new local force upon which he could rely. Troops were posted every two miles to watch the roads. A record was kept of the conduct of every suspected person; masters were made responsible for their servants; all inns not needed for travellers were closed; public amusements were forbidden; a strict censorship of the press established. It was a government of soldiers, such as England had never seen, and which was a bitter recollection for many generations. But it was, too, a government of peace and order. An army of 50,000 men was kept in rigid discipline; the soldiers were everywhere welcome; the merchant and shopkeeper had a golden time; taxes were cheerfully paid. Cromwell prohibited the use of the Prayer Book, as a rallying-point of disaffection; but otherwise toleration was practically complete; even the Jews were favoured by Cromwell personally (p. 103), though not by the

Dissolved by Cromwell

Military government

[10] Doubtless one reason for the acquiescence of the country in Cromwell's arbitrary government was that he was the impersonation of national triumph. In 1656 the sight of thirty-eight waggons laden with silver taken from the Spanish ships pressed this home upon the people in the streets. In the Mediterranean Blake was bringing to account all against whom the Commonwealth had a claim. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had allowed Rupert to capture ships in his harbours. For this 60,000*l.* was exacted from him, and 14,000*l.* from the Pope. A large number of English vessels had been taken by Moorish pirates. In April 1655 Blake bombarded Tunis, reduced the forts to ruin, and burnt the Dey's fleet. All along the coast of Africa the captives were released, and an engagement extorted that piracy upon English vessels should cease.

council. In the state church were ministers of every Protestant sect. Cromwell was especially active on religious questions. For the livings in his gift he examined the candidates himself; and he largely increased the stipends of the poor clergy throughout the country.

Meanwhile he was courted by magnificent offers from both France and Spain, each of whom was anxious to secure him as an ally in their long struggle. From France, as the price of his aid, he demanded Dunkirk, when captured from Spain, with toleration for the Huguenots; and this Mazarin was ready to promise: from Spain, Calais, when taken from the French, freedom to trade in the American colonies, and immunity of English merchants from the Inquisition. The first condition met with no favour, since it would imperil Spain's communications with the Netherlands. To the second and third she gave a flat refusal; to grant them would be giving up the king's 'two eyes.' This answer decided Cromwell. By attacking Spain he should be attacking intolerance, while France was willing to grant tolerance. An expedition was therefore sent out in **1655**, which, though it failed to capture St. Domingo, took possession of Jamaica instead, thus establishing English power in the West Indies; and, as a first step, a commercial treaty was formed with France at Westminster, November 3, **1655**. To obtain supply, Cromwell called another parliament. A free use was made of the power to revise the elections which by the 'Instrument' was lodged in the council, and more than 100 prominent republicans were rejected. A closer return to the old constitution was now suggested. By the 'Instrument' there had been but one chamber, the protectorship had not been hereditary, and it had been fettered by the Council of State.

War with Spain

The 'Petition and Advice' now presented to Cromwell asked for a second chamber; members duly elected, except royalists, were no longer to be subject to exclusion. The Council of State was to lose its power. The protector was to have the right of dissolution, the power of naming his successor, and a permanent revenue for the maintenance of the army and navy. To make his position stronger, Oliver was prayed to take the title of king.[11] Religious freedom was to be granted to all but Catholics and Episcopalians. Cromwell regarded the new constitution as admirable; but, in deference to the strong opposition of the army, and the jealousy it would create in many quarters, he refused the kingship, after consult-

The 'Petition and Advice'

[11] The power of Cromwell was now regarded as the guarantee for order; and the liveliest anxiety was caused by the prospect of his death by one of his frequent illnesses, or by murder. A widely circulated pamphlet, entitled 'Killing no Murder,' was a direct incitement to his assassination, and a fresh plot for the purpose was detected in January 1657.

ing his officers. On May 19 the new constitution became law. It was illumined by a great achievement and a great sorrow. On April 20, **1657**, Blake, disregarding the maxim that ships should not endeavour to cope with forts, sailed into the bay of Santa Cruz, Teneriffe, and attacked the Spanish West India fleet under the fire of the batteries on shore. Every ship was destroyed and every fort laid in ruins before he left. It was his last great deed. Worn out with labour and disease, he died at Plymouth on August 7, the greatest seaman of history before Nelson.

Death of Blake

Spain, as Cromwell knew, was preparing to help Charles II. with 6,000 men in a descent on England. The wilder sectaries and the royalists were moving, and Ormond had ventured to London to arrange a rising. The commercial treaty with France was therefore followed by an offensive alliance, March 23, **1657**. On condition that Gravelines and Dunkirk were besieged at once, and the latter placed in his hands when taken, Cromwell sent 6,000 Ironsides under Lockhart to serve in Turenne's army. Mardyke, which covered Dunkirk, was taken on October 4, handed over to England, and at once garrisoned by Cromwell's 'mastiffs.' Next spring Dunkirk itself was besieged. In June the Spanish army, with the Dukes of York and Gloucester in command of the English and Irish refugee regiments, came to its relief. These regiments, with the famous Spanish infantry, held the Dunes, or low sand-hills, on their right. Straight up against them, sinking deep in the sand at every step, went the Ironsides, with an impetuous valour which was the wonder of all who saw. A crushing victory was obtained, June 20, **1658**. Dunkirk was in Cromwell's possession on the 25th, and Gravelines fell on the 29th. This was not merely a victory over Spain, but of Cromwell over Charles II. England now had her foot firmly planted on the Continent.[12]

Alliance with France

Capture of Dunkirk

But Cromwell was surrounded by difficulties. As the 'Instrument' had failed, so now the 'Petition and Advice' failed. The old House of Commons, with the 100 ejected members restored (p. 289), and the new House of Lords, had met on January 20, **1658**. As before, the Commons at once tried to wrest all power to themselves. Lambert and many other old comrades fell away from Cromwell. The

[12] Power abroad, and toleration for Protestantism all the world over, were Cromwell's aim. When there was some hesitation in surrendering Dunkirk he told Mazarin, in the spirit of Henry V., that he would come for the keys to Paris. When the Duke of Savoy carried fire and sword among the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont he compelled Mazarin to take effectual measures to put a stop to the persecution. It was to this that Milton's noble sonnet beginning 'Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints' was due.

Commons refused to acknowledge his new House of Lords. They sent an address demanding that he should give up the local militia, and that their supreme judicature should be acknowledged. Cromwell was deeply incensed. 'By the living God!' he exclaimed to Fiennes and Fleetwood, who attempted to dissuade him, 'I will dissolve it.' On February 4 he addressed to both houses a speech of sad and vehement reproach. 'God judge between us!'—thus he ended—'I dissolve this parliament.' The principles of Strafford and of Eliot (p. 250) were still at open war. For some months Cromwell ruled with stern severity and alone. But money was sorely needed. The trading classes murmured at the loss of Spanish trade and forgot the acquisition of Jamaica; they murmured at the treaty with the Dutch and forgot the Navigation Act. The City refused a loan, declaring that he had outdone Charles I. in collecting taxes, dissolving parliaments, encroaching on liberty. The suppression of all forms of amusement under the Puritan *régime*, the 'hypocrisy which waits like a dark shadow upon religious fervour,' the gloomy formalism which had taken the place of the old free life of the people, had roused the bitterest disgust against a government which allowed such things. Cromwell determined to summon another parliament. But he was never to meet it. The strain of sixteen years' conflict in the field and in council, of acting against the majority for what he thought right; the failure of his plans; the plots against his life; the hatred of which he knew himself the object; the falling away of old friends who had fought by his side; had worn him out. His family circle, divided by politics, was now desolated by death; the loss of his favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, utterly broke him down. From her funeral, on August 10, he came back ill with fever. As he rode at the head of his lifeguards he looked like a dead man. He still conducted business, but on the 24th took to his bed. On the 30th there raged a terrific storm, long remembered, and connected by superstition and party feeling with his death. 'The Devil,' said the royalists, 'was coming for his own.' For three days he lingered, often engaged in fervent prayer. On the last night he was urged to take a soothing-draught and then try to sleep. There are few recorded utterances more pathetic than the reply, 'It is not my design to drink or to sleep; but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.' Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon of September 3—the day of Drogheda, Dunbar, and Worcester—he died.

Parliament again dissolved

Death of Cromwell

With him the Puritan revolution was practically at an end. He had been the chief agent in fulfilling the first aims of that revolution, to make the will of the nation override that of the king, and to keep

Protestantism free from Laudian innovations. But he had done something greater still. But for him the intolerance of Laud would have been succeeded by an intolerance far worse—that of Presbyterianism. From first to last religious freedom had been his chief thought, and, when political necessity did not forbid it, he had secured this freedom for England through all the changes and chances of his memorable rule.

Section 4.—*The Restoration of Parliament and Monarchy*

Oliver had nominated his son Richard as his successor, and the change met for the moment with general assent. But the protectorate had depended upon Cromwell's personal ascendency over the army; and it was not likely that soldiers would tamely submit to one who was no soldier, and whose talents were those only of a respectable country gentleman. They demanded the separation of the offices of protector and lord-general—that is, that the civil power should not have control over the army. Hearing that parliament was about to proclaim Richard lord-general, the officers massed the troops, and forced him to dissolve it. They now demanded a pure republic again, without a 'single person.' But the only time when this had existed was before Cromwell dissolved the Rump, April **1653**. The army therefore determined to restore the Rump; and on May **7**, **1659**, forty-two members, headed by their old speaker, Lenthall, took their seats. A committee of safety and a council of thirty-one were appointed. Richard Cromwell gladly retired to private life. Monk in Scotland, Henry Cromwell in Ireland, Lockhart in Flanders, and Montague with the fleet, were obliged by their own men to acquiesce.

The army demands a republic and independence of the civil power

Restoration of the Rump. Retirement of Richard Cromwell

What had happened so often before now happened again. This fragment of a mutilated parliament refused to do the bidding of the army. On the crucial point—the independence of the army—it was as firm in opposition as its predecessors. Fleetwood was named commander-in-chief, but was to take his orders from parliament. For a time an open breach was delayed by the common danger of a general royalist rising, to be supported by invasions both from Flanders and France. Except in Cheshire and Lancashire, the attempts were anticipated or easily suppressed. Lambert flew to Cheshire, where Sir George Booth had collected a large force, and routed and captured him at Winnington Bridge.

The danger over, the army came back to settle accounts with the parliament. They made their old demands and met with the old

resistance. Lambert hereupon turned out the Rump, and another committee of safety was appointed of thirteen army leaders and ten civilians. Various plans for a constitution were suggested, in each of which the complete independence of the army, and tolerance to all except Papists and prelatists, had place. In the language of the time, Christ was to be sole king, and to the saints under him was given the rule of the kingdom.

Ejection of the Rump by Lambert

But now Lambert, the leader of the army republicans, found himself face to face with Monk, who, wary and taciturn, had been watching events intently from Scotland. He had grasped the fact that the traditional feeling of the average Englishman was the exact opposite of the army doctrine; that the military power must be subordinate to the civil before England could be at rest. He now determined to use his army, which he had carefully weeded of all violent republicans, and over which he had complete control, to restore parliamentary rule. He prepared to march into England, and Lambert hurried north to confront him. But Lambert's own men were now wavering; the Portsmouth garrison had revolted; the troops sent to coerce it joined their comrades. On December 24 the regiments left in London marched to the house of Lenthall and replaced him and the Rump. A new council of state was appointed, this time with but seven military men to fourteen civilians. Lambert, deserted by his troops, retired to his private estate. On New Year's day, **1660**, Monk crossed the Tweed, and on February 3 entered London, amid cries for a free parliament—that is, a new one freely elected; the Rump was regarded as an absurdly incomplete representative of the people. Monk, now lieutenant-general of the Commonwealth, and concealing his designs in impenetrable silence, adhered steadfastly to his policy of recognising the authority of parliament. When the City, unrepresented by members of its own choice, refused to pay taxes levied by the Rump, he arrested the leaders at their orders, tore up the chains and posts used for closing the streets, and took down the gates. But when, jealous of his power, the Rump proposed to deprive him of his sole command, he peremptorily insisted that the vacant seats should be filled up at once, and that a dissolution should take place on May 9.

General Monk

The Rump again restored

Enters London

Obeys the Rump

It was certain that a free parliament would demand the recall of the king. The question was upon what conditions. The Presbyterians were anxious for those agreed to by Charles I. at the Isle of Wight (p. 279). But the force of the stream drove them past this sticking point. The City demanded an unconditional recall, but that Charles should grant a complete amnesty,

Recall of the king determined on

the satisfaction of Monk's army, and the reference of religious differences to an assembly of divines. Monk hereupon sent Sir John Grenville to the king. He would put nothing on paper; Grenville learned the conditions by heart.

Meanwhile the Rump had been reinforced, not by new elections, but by the restoration of the members ejected at Pride's purge. It now contained a Presbyterian majority; the Solemn League and Covenant was hung up in the house, and read aloud in every church. A dissolution was settled for March 15, and the oath of allegiance to a commonwealth without king and lords abolished. The inscription 'Exit Tyrannus' disappeared from the Royal Exchange, and 'Long live the King' took its place. Monk let the king know that he was ready to serve him to the utmost; Montague with the fleet, and Fairfax in the north, were both ready to second him.

Meanwhile the elections had been held. All restrictions were openly evaded; the new house contained 150 declared royalists. The army republicans were in angry despair. Lambert raised a small force at Daventry, but was easily routed by Colonel Ingoldsby and brought back a prisoner to London. The 'Convention' parliament met on April 25; the old House of Peers came together as though no interruption had ever taken place. England had restored her parliamentary system. But in the English mind parliament and monarchy went together.[13] On May 1 letters were read from the king to both houses, with others to Monk, the army, and the City. But it was the Declaration of Breda 'to all his loving subjects' which was the important thing, for nothing could better mark how completely the restoration was one of sufferance. Edward Hyde, who drew up the Declaration, knew that the restoration was, in the first place, a restoration of *parliament*, and of a Presbyterian parliament. His object was to lull suspicion until Charles was steady enough upon the throne to use his power of dissolution at a favourable moment, and then to secure an assembly more to his wishes. (1) Pardon was therefore promised to all who within forty days should express their loyalty, '*excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament.*'[14] (2) Liberty was proclaimed to 'tender consciences,' and the king's readiness 'to consent to *such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us* for

A royalist parliament

Declaration of Breda

[13] 'This government,' said Clarendon, 'was as natural to them as their food or raiment; and naked Indians, dressing themselves in French fashion, were no more absurd than Englishmen without a parliament and a king.'

[14] But in the letter to the Speaker a significant hint was given. 'If there be a crying sin . . . we cannot doubt that you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy as we can be.'

the full granting of that indulgence.' (3) On all questions regarding the land the decision was left absolutely to the parliament. (4) Finally Charles promised to consent to an act for 'the full satisfaction of all arrears' to Monk's army, and to 'take them into the royal service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.'

The recognition of the absolute authority of parliament in questions regarding the church and the land, the waiving of any desire for personal vengeance, the satisfaction of the army: these were the conditions upon which England agreed to take back Charles II.

Nature of the Restoration

That which was restored was not the old monarchy, but the old monarchy profoundly modified by the lessons of a generation of bitter strife. It was monarchy with a Triennial Act and without the Star Chamber and High Commission courts; without the power of arbitrary arrest and arbitrary taxation; without the power of the sword; a monarchy restored on sufferance by that which had overthrown it—a Puritan parliament; and at first without its most faithful supporter, the episcopal church.

Return of Charles

On May 18 a deputation, chiefly of Presbyterians, was sent to the king at Breda. They, with a number of Presbyterian clergy, were graciously received, and returned satisfied of the king's deeply religious character. On the 25th he landed at Dover, escorted by Montague and the fleet. On the 29th, his thirtieth birthday, he passed through the City. Here he was met by a body of Presbyterian clergy, who presented him with a Bible; he declared that it should be the rule of his life. With this lie upon his lips he began his reign.

Dates. James I., Charles I., the Civil War, and Commonwealth

	A.D.
Hampton Court Conference	1604
Gunpowder Plot	1604–1606
Buckingham in power	1615
Execution of Raleigh	1618
Thirty Years' War begins	1618
Revival of impeachments	1621
Spanish marriage broken off	1625
Murder of Buckingham	1628
Petition of Right	1629
Laud archbishop of Canterbury	1633
Wentworth goes to Ireland	1633
Ship-money	1637
The Covenant in Scotland	1638
Short Parliament, April	1640
Long Parliament, November	1640
Execution of Strafford	1641
The five members	1642
Solemn League and Covenant	1643
The Scotch army enters England; Marston Moor	1644
The New Model; Naseby	1645
Charles given up by the Scots	1647
Second Civil War	1648
Treaty of Newport and Pride's Purge	1648
Execution of Charles I.	1649
Conquest of Ireland	1649
Conquest of Scotland	1650
Battle of Worcester	1651
Navigation Act	1651
Instrument of government	1653
Petition and Advice	1656
Death of Cromwell	1658
Monk in London	1660

CHAPTER VI

CHARLES II. ATTEMPT TO REGAIN THE PREROGATIVE

Section 1.—*The Clarendon Administration. Triumph of the Church, and the First Dutch War*

The nature of the Restoration was seen in the composition of the privy council. Out of thirty members twelve had been active opponents of Charles I. But within this body was formed a small committee. which speedily drew to itself all matters of importance, and which, with the exception of Monk and his friend Morris, was composed solely of ardent royalists. All the business of government was centred in Edward Hyde, the earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor. His work was one of resettlement; and for this he was admirably fitted by ability, honesty, and good sense, and especially by his knowledge of constitutional law. The other members of this small committee were the Earl of Southampton, lord treasurer, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state.

Clarendon

The great danger was the spirit of retaliation. But Charles and Clarendon succeeded in drawing a broad distinction between the regicides and all others, and in thus confining this spirit within intelligible lines. The Lords indeed endeavoured to bring to the scaffold all who had sat upon any court of justice by which royalists had been tried. But the Commons, supported by Charles and Clarendon, stood firm against 'mingling the king's blood with any other blood;' and, after a prolonged contest between the houses, an Indemnity Bill was passed, by which, at the price of some twenty lives, the universal fear was removed.[1] A barren vengeance was taken upon the dead. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw the president of the court which condemned Charles I., were torn from their graves and gibbeted for a day. They were then decapitated, the heads fixed on Westminster Hall, and the bodies thrown into a pit.

Partial fulfilment of the Declaration of Breda. (1) Indemnity

Of the king's judges nineteen had given themselves up on the faith of the proclamation. The Act of Indemnity provided that they should be tried, but not executed without a special act. The trial is famous

[1] Vane and Lambert were among those excepted from pardon, though not regicides, the king, however, promising that they should not be put to death. In 1662 this promise was shamelessly broken. In defiance of the 'De Facto' act of Henry VII. (p. 174) Vane was executed, on the ground that the act presumed the *de facto* government to be a monarchy. Lambert was imprisoned at Guernsey for thirty years.

because Orlando Bridgeman, attorney-general, then laid down the present doctrine that the king, as directly subject to God alone, and to no earthly authority, is inviolable; but that, since he cannot be touched, his ministers must be held responsible. The first doctrine expresses the feeling aroused by the killing of Charles I.; the second the resolve that no future king should be able to do the mischief that Charles I. had done.

Next to the question of life came that of the land. There were: (1) The lands belonging to the crown, the church, and a few distinguished royalists, which had been sold by the Commonwealth, and regarding which the Declaration had left the matter to parliament. But care was taken that the present parliament should not settle the question; and thus, when a dissolution took place, they reverted to their original owners, their confiscation having been illegal. (2) Private estates sold during the Commonwealth by the owners. The royalists hoped for repossession. But Clarendon stood firm to the principle of private contract; and the Bill of Sales confirmed all such transactions.

(2) The land

King and parliament were alike eager to be rid of the army. Monk made no opposition, for he had all he desired in honours and pensions. The rising of a few fanatics in the streets of London, under a half-crazed man named Venner, gave Charles an excuse for retaining the Coldstream Guards[2] and two other regiments. The rest returned quietly to their former trades.

(3) The army

The revenue was fixed at 1,200,000*l.* The opportunity was taken to carry out the design of Cecil under James I. (p. 239), by abolishing purveyances and the Court of Wards, which brought in about 100,000*l.* a year. It was decided to raise that sum in future from the excise (p. 268), which now became perpetual: an instance of the growth of the modern principle that the whole nation shall pay for the removal of an abuse, even though such removal benefit only one class.

(1) The revenue

There remained the great question of the church. The Episcopalians were eager to avenge the insults and injuries of the last twenty years; and Clarendon was thoroughly in accord with them. But with the present parliament it was necessary to temporise. Charles had successfully hoodwinked the Presbyterian deputation at Breda. The party was now kept in play by the appointment of ten of their clergy as royal chaplains; and Charles took his part in the farce by attending their sermons. He issued a declaration admitting his preference for the Episcopal church, as 'the best fence

(5) The church

[2] So called because they crossed the Tweed with Monk at Coldstream.

God ever raised up against popery,' but limiting the power of bishops so far as to satisfy the moderate Presbyterians, one of whom, Reynolds, accepted a bishopric. The Presbyterians in parliament tried to turn this declaration into a law, but Clarendon succeeded in securing the rejection of the bill. Then the king dissolved the parliament, December 24, **1660**. To keep the Presbyterians occupied until the elections, a conference was held between twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterians at the Savoy Palace. It failed, like that at Hampton Court (p. 235), because it was intended to fail. The hands of the government were now free, and their intentions speedily appeared.

Dissolution of the Convention Parliament

The elections took place in the full tide of royalist reaction. The new House of Commons was composed almost entirely of cavaliers and churchmen. The Solemn League and Covenant was burnt by the hangman; the acts and doctrines of the Long Parliament denounced; the bishops restored to the Lords; the control of the forces and the power of veto given back to the crown; the law of high treason made more severe; the lawfulness of even defensive war against the king denied. But at one point they stopped short. There was no intention of allowing the crown to become independent, and in spite of Charles's utmost pressure they refused to increase the revenue.

The Pensionary Parliament

Then Presbyterianism was directly attacked. Its chief power was in the corporations of towns, which returned many members of parliament. The *Corporation Act* (December 19, **1661**) laid down three conditions for admission into a municipal body: the renunciation of the Solemn League and Covenant; the denial of the lawfulness of taking arms against the king; the taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Episcopal church. Driven out of the state, it was by the *Act of Uniformity* (May 19, **1662**) driven out of the church. No one might hold a living after St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, who had not previously read the service from the newly revised Prayer Book, and declared his 'unfeigned assent and consent to everything therein.' Ministers and teachers of all sorts were to take the oaths prescribed by the Corporation Act, and were to promise 'to endeavour no change or alteration of government either in church or state.' All connection with foreign churches was broken off by the law that ordinations obtained abroad were not valid; and the English church became exclusive and isolated. Charles asked parliament in vain for permission to dispense with the act in certain cases. He was bound hand and foot by the fact that, in exact reversal of the state of things

Overthrow of the Presbyterians

The revised Prayer Book

under his father and Laud, parliament and the church were now in the strictest union. Equally vain was his attempt to win over the leading Presbyterians by offers of church preferment. On Sunday, August 17, the nonconforming clergy preached their farewell sermons; and 2,000 of them, the best and most earnest of their body, accepted poverty and exile. Henceforth Presbyterianism was the creed of a dissenting sect. The English church had taken its final shape.[3]

Parliament and church in union

Throughout his reign Charles was trying to free himself from the control which parliament, by limiting the revenue, had placed upon him; and this is the key to the tortuous foreign policy which he pursued. He first offered his alliance to the Dutch for two millions; but the renewal of the Navigation Act (p. 285) made them angrily refuse. Spain then promised him any sum he might ask for, on condition that Jamaica and Dunkirk were restored; this was equally fruitless. He then turned to France. An alliance with Louis XIV. was a natural one. He was Louis's cousin, and had been sheltered by him while in exile. He admired the intelligent despotism which Louis had established, and hoped to establish the same in England; and he wanted Louis's money.

First connection with France

Louis was equally desirous of the alliance of England. He wanted the use of her navy. He had made peace with Spain on condition that he should no longer help Portugal in rebellion. To evade his promise he now induced Charles to marry Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal; and he gave him a large supply on condition of active help to Portugal. Charles's next step in the same course was to sell Dunkirk to Louis for 200,000*l.*, thus giving up England's foothold on the Continent. At the same time his sister Henrietta was married to Louis's younger brother, the Duke of Orleans. James, duke of York, married Clarendon's daughter, Anne Hyde.

Royal marriages

An alarm of popery had meanwhile been spreading among the Commons. There is strong evidence that the king was at this time a Catholic.[4] While in exile he had promised the pope and foreign princes that he would assist the Catholics in England, especially since many of his father's most faithful adherents had

Fear of popery

[3] One special hardship was added to the act. By a date being named before Michaelmas day, when the tithes were payable, the outgoing ministers were deprived of their only source of support.

[4] He was in communication with Innocent XI. for a reconstitution of the English church, whereby, while retaining its national and independent character, it should nominally acknowledge the Holy See as its head.

been of that creed. It was no kindly feeling to Presbyterianism, but the hope that if he were allowed to tolerate one form of dissent he would be allowed to tolerate another, that made him issue, during the recess, an assertion of his right to suspend the penal laws; and he now asked parliament to confirm it.[5] Cromwell had, so to speak, left him a legacy of toleration and the power of the sword, and he was trying to get his inheritance. But there was nothing which the average Englishman so hated and feared as popery: this is the dominant fact in the feverish politics of the reign; and parliament now refused to grant a supply until he had banished all Catholic priests.[6]

They then, on the ground that a dominant state church was the best safeguard against popery, resumed the persecution of nonconformity. The Act of Uniformity had led to the rise of unauthorised religious meetings. These were put down by the *First Conventicle Act* (May 17, 1664), which forbade such meetings of more than four persons besides the household, under the severest penalties. It caused great suffering, especially among the Quakers. The awful visitation of the Plague[7] increased their hardships. Beginning in the spring of 1665, it increased in intensity with the heat of summer, until in September the deaths in London alone were more than 1,000 daily; and its ravages did not cease until the winter, when more than 100,000 persons had died. All who could do so fled from London. The pulpits were deserted. The Presbyterian ministers took the places of those who had fled, and gathered crowded congregations. But this devotion roused the jealousy of the bishops, and at their demand the parliament passed the *Five Mile Act*, which forbade, under heavy fine and imprisonment, any Nonconformist minister to teach in schools or to come within five miles of any city, corporate town, or parliamentary borough, unless he had taken the oath prescribed by the former acts. The odious trade of informer was encouraged by his receiving half the fine. The machinery of persecution was now complete. The Corporation and Uniformity acts had settled the limits of the church; the Conventicle and Five Mile acts laid

Consequent renewed persecution of dissent. Conventicle Act

The Plague

Five Mile Act

[5] Airy, 'English Restoration,' in *Epochs of Modern History*, p. 120.

[6] In other respects they were willing to gratify Charles. They passed a vote by which, without repealing the Triennial Act, they removed the safeguards (p. 261) attached to it by the Long Parliament. The result was shown at the end of the reign, when for four years Charles reigned without a parliament.

[7] The most vivid accounts of the Plague from day to day, and of the Fire of London, will be found in *Pepys's Diary*, a matchless record of London and the court from the bourgeois point of view.

down the terms upon which alone dissent might exist. Together they form the 'Clarendon Code.'

Meanwhile English and Dutch were once more engaged in their duel for commercial supremacy. War, indeed, had never ceased in America, Africa, or Asia. Each nation could show an ample list of injuries, and so eager were the Commons for formal war that they gave Charles the unheard-of supply of 2,500,000*l.* Both Charles and John de Witt, the leader of the republic, thought they could strengthen their authority and compose internal discontents by entering into war. Charles personally hated the Dutch, and was angry at the dependence in which they kept his nephew the young Prince of Orange. War was therefore declared, March **1665**. The first battle, in which James and Opdam led the two fleets, took place off Lowestoft on June 3, **1665**, and, after ten hours' desperate fighting, ended in a great victory for England. The Plague, however, prevented the English from following up their success, and the Dutch were soon again masters of the sea. On June 1, **1666**, their admirals—Ruyter and Tromp—met Monk and Rupert off the Dunes. For four days there was waged one of the most terrible sea fights in history. In the end the English were defeated with the loss of 8,000 men and seventeen vessels. On August 4 the struggle was renewed off the Norfolk coast. This time fortune changed, and the Dutch fled to the shallows of Zealand. Finding their merchant fleet huddled together for safety at the mouth of the Texel, the English sent fire-ships among them and destroyed 150 ships. At this moment a fresh calamity fell upon the nation. On the night of Sunday, September 2, a fire broke out in a baker's shop in Pudding Lane, near London Bridge. A strong east wind was blowing, and the wooden houses burned like paper, the fire leaping across the narrow street. The conflagration lasted for a week; the City was in ruins from London Bridge to Temple Bar. There was now a general cry for peace; but Charles was still hopeful, for by promising to give Louis XIV. a free hand in his designs upon Europe he had secured his promise of help. Suddenly, on June 7, **1667**, while Charles was at a drunken revel at the Duchess of Monmouth's, 'all mad in hunting of a poor moth,' the sound of guns was heard in the Thames. A Dutch fleet of sixty-one ships, under De Witt, had mounted the Thames and the Medway as far as Sheerness and Rochester, burning and capturing the English vessels at anchor. The result of this daring stroke was the Treaty of Breda (July 31, **1667**), by which each nation retained its own conquests.

First Dutch war

Victory of June 1665

Defeat of June 1666

Victory of August 1666

Fire of London

The Dutch in the Thames

Treaty of Breda

The war had led to a great extension of the control of the Commons over the purse. Besides the 2,500,000*l.* already granted, they had in **1665** given another sum of half that amount. But so great was the anger of the country gentlemen at the manner in which the first grant was spent, that they insisted upon the appropriation of the latter sum to the war; and this system of 'appropriation of supplies' henceforth became general. In the following year parliament demanded the appointment of commissioners to investigate the expenditure. From Magna Carta to the Petition of Right it had been over and over again decided that money might not be raised except with the consent of the people. It was now settled that it might not be spent without the same sanction.

Appropriation of supplies

From **1660** to **1667** Clarendon had been supreme. He had, of course, raised up a host of jealous enemies among the political adventurers, the disappointed cavaliers (p. 298), and the persecuted Catholics and Dissenters. He had alienated both Charles and his mistresses by his grave reprobation of debauchery. He had opposed as unconstitutional the king's attempts to suspend the penal laws, and the Commons' insistence upon the appropriation of supplies; he had especially angered the latter by advising Charles to support the troops by forced contributions, and by suggesting a dissolution as the best way out of his difficulties with them. By his arrogance he had lost the favour of the London citizens. The sale of Dunkirk, and all the misfortunes of the war, were wrongly laid to his charge. The integrity of his character unfitted him for dealing with the back-stairs intrigues of the court. Charles, as devoid of gratitude as his father, yielded to the clamour, and Clarendon was dismissed, August 30, **1667**. On October 10 his impeachment was voted; he fled to France, and died at Rouen in **1674**, after writing his great history of the civil war and the record of his own life since the Restoration.

Fall of Clarendon

Section 2.—*The Cabal Administration. Attempted Toleration. Second Dutch War*

While Charles was ever drawing nearer to Louis, the nation thoroughly disliked the connection. Louis was a despot and a Catholic; and despotism and popery were the two things which the parliament dreaded most. The keenest jealousy was aroused by Louis's invasion of Flanders, which belonged to Spain, but to which he invented a claim; and Charles was urged to form an alliance with the Dutch to compel Louis to withdraw. His chief adviser in foreign affairs was now Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, who shared with George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, the

Jealousy of France

power left by Clarendon. Buckingham favoured France; but Arlington was much the cleverer man, and he urged upon Charles the necessity of satisfying parliament, if further supplies were to be forthcoming. In January **1668** a treaty of mutual defence was made with the republic by which the two nations bound themselves to bring about peace between France and Spain, and to use force against whichever should refuse. The last condition was kept secret. In May Sweden joined the alliance, which is, therefore, known as the Triple Alliance. Louis was not yet ready to defy such a coalition, and peace was made between France and Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle, May **1668**, by which Louis acquired a number of fortified towns in Flanders.

The Triple Alliance

Charles had been forced into the Triple Alliance. Scarcely was it signed when he privately let Louis understand that he was as anxious as ever for his friendship.[8] Louis was determined to punish the Dutch for presuming to talk about using force against him; and as a despotic monarch he hated and despised them as republicans; 'messieurs les marchands' he called them.[9] For his purpose he needed the English navy; and he was willing to give Charles a handsome bribe. Charles had now privately, and James publicly, acknowledged themselves Catholics, and this aided the scheme. Arlington, to preserve his influence with Charles against Buckingham, changed sides and undertook the negotiation. The king's clever and beautiful sister Henrietta came over from France to smooth away all difficulties; and on June **1, 1670**, the disgraceful Treaty of Dover was concluded. For his assistance Louis agreed to give Charles a large annual sum, with a present supply, of which part was to be paid when he declared his conversion; to help him against his own subjects if such declaration should lead to revolts; and to grant wide commercial advantages to England. But, since this treaty could not be shown to Charles's Protestant ministers, a sham treaty was made, and Buckingham was duped by being allowed to negotiate it. In this nothing was said about Catholicism, the sum offered for the declaration of conversion being added to that given for the war. The original treaty was known only to Charles, Arlington, Sir Thomas Clifford, and two other Catholics.

Treaty of Dover

The sham treaty

The fall of Clarendon had given Charles a fresh opportunity of bringing about the toleration of dissent; and in this he was actively helped by both Arlington and Buckingham. When parliament was

[8] The original letters may be seen in Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 67. Macaulay's *Essay on Sir W. Temple* should also be read.

[9] Airy, 'English Restoration,' *Epochs of Modern History*, p. 178.

not sitting he had his way. But at each session he was forced, as the price of supply, to consent to some further act of severity. The persistence of parliament was greater than his own; and in February **1670** he gave up the contest. In March **1670** was passed the harshest of all the persecuting acts, the *Second Conventicle Act*, which consisted of the act of **1664** in a severer and more searching shape. So rigorously was it carried out that for the time conventicles disappeared. The Commons then turned upon the Catholics; they again extorted the banishment of all priests except those attached to the queen and the foreign embassies, and the rigid enforcement of the penal laws. They then gave a supply; and Charles, needing to have his hands free to carry out the Treaty of Dover, of which parliament had no cognizance, at once prorogued them to February **1672**.

Second Conventicle Act

Banishment of Catholics

One point of great importance had been meanwhile fought out between the two houses. The Lords had assumed the right, in the case of Skinner, to exercise jurisdiction in a matter not yet before the law courts; and this right the Commons denied.[10] Neither would give way, and nominally the matter remained unsettled. But, as a practical result, the Lords tacitly gave up, and have never reasserted, their claims.

The Skinner case

The small committee for foreign affairs (p. 297), usually called 'cabal,' had since Clarendon's fall been composed of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Lord Ashley (formerly Ashley Cooper), and Lauderdale. It was noticed that by taking the first letter of each name the word 'Cabal' was formed, and this particular cabal has thus acquired the special title. The five, differing on almost every other point, were united upon the question of toleration; Clifford, a 'valiant, incorrupt gentleman,' and Arlington, from sympathy with the Catholics; Buckingham as the patron of the Dissenters; Ashley, the most interesting figure of the reign, except the king himself, because toleration was favourable to trade; and Lauderdale, the secretary for Scotland, and Charles's boon companion in his coarsest vices, because the king wished it. They had, too, all helped to overthrow Clarendon, and were therefore naturally opposed to his church policy. Clifford and Ashley alone were men of strong principle. To these must be added Louise de Kéroualle, soon created Duchess of Portsmouth, a clever and beautiful young Breton girl, who came over with Henrietta, and who exercised great influence over Charles.[11] Upon her and his

The Cabal

The Duchess of Portsmouth

[10] Hallam, small edition, vol. iii. p. 21.

[11] See the *Athenæum* for April 24 1886.

other mistresses the treasure of the country was poured out in reckless profusion. In **1672** his debts were so large that some desperate step was necessary, especially with a great war in prospect. The government was in the habit of borrowing money at 12 per cent. from the Goldsmiths, who were then the only bankers, upon the security of taxes already voted but not yet collected; and at the moment there were about 1,400,000*l.* of their money in the treasury. Suddenly, upon Clifford's advice,[12] an edict was issued that the taxes which were being collected should be devoted to the war, and not to repaying the bankers; while in addition the interest payable on the loans was reduced to 6 per cent. The result was that the bankers were left without money to pay the merchants who had banked with them; the merchants in turn were unable to meet their liabilities; a general stagnation of trade ensued, with vast distress among private persons, and a total loss of royal credit. This fraudulent bankruptcy was called the 'Stop of the Exchequer,' and for it Clifford was made lord treasurer, with a peerage. Then followed another attempt to gain the dispensing power. Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the penal laws, and asserting that such a power was a right inherent in the crown. This was in the main due to Ashley, who was now made Earl of Shaftesbury and lord chancellor. A few days later war was declared against the Dutch, in fulfilment of the Treaty of Dover. The last Dutch war had been commercial and national; the present one was the outcome of wanton treachery. On land the Dutch fought for bare existence against Louis, who in a few weeks had overrun the country to the walls of Amsterdam. But on the sea they confronted our navy as bravely as ever. The first great battle, in Southwold Bay, June 7, **1672**, was indecisive; and an attack upon the Dutch coast was frustrated by a curious conjunction of wind and tide, and by a tempest which drove the Anglo-French fleet back to England. Charles was soon weary of the war; but he was surrounded by difficulties at home, and hoped yet to escape them by victory. A sanguinary conflict took place on June 7, **1673**; and the final struggle was fought out on the Zealand coast, between Ruyter and Rupert, August 21. The Dutch, fighting with desperation, were victorious. Charles felt he could do no more; and on February 19, **1674**, he made peace at Westminster. By this treaty England gained the island of St. Helena, a useful place of call for our vessels on their way to India.

'Stop of the Exchequer'

Declaration of Indulgence

Second Dutch war

Treaty of Westminster

In spite of the stop of the exchequer and the subsidies of Louis,

[12] This has always been ascribed to Shaftesbury; but see Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. p. 56.

Charles had been obliged to summon parliament, March **1673**. Their first act was to compel him to cancel the Declaration of Indulgence (March 8), to which, he told them in his opening speech, he was determined at all hazards to adhere. Then, anxious to have done with the Catholic question once for all, they passed the famous *Test Act*, March 15, **1673**, by which all persons holding office were compelled to take the sacrament according to the English church, and especially to deny the cardinal doctrine of Transubstantiation. James, who was lord high admiral, Clifford, and many other Catholics were driven from office, and the Cabal scattered. Still discontent increased. The frequent evasions of the new act; the demands of Louis for the establishment of Catholicism in the conquered Dutch towns; the 'flaunting' of Catholics at court; the second marriage of James with the Catholic Princess of Modena; the 'dark hovering' on Blackheath of an army which Charles had been quietly collecting, and which was commanded by Schomberg, a Frenchman, and Fitzgerald, a Catholic; the complete failure of the war; rendered the Commons utterly intractable. In spite of his downright falsehood that he had no secret treaty with Louis, they refused him any supply. Encouraged by Shaftesbury,[13] who had opposed Charles after he had failed to maintain the Declaration of Indulgence, and had been dismissed, they attacked Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Arlington; and they forced Charles to the Peace of Westminster.

The Test Act

Refusal of supplies

Ministers attacked

Section 3.—*The Danby Administration. Clarendon's Policy repeated. The Popish Terror*

Charles now gave his confidence to Sir Thomas Osborne, whom he created lord treasurer and Earl of Danby. Danby resolved to reverse the unsuccessful policy of the Cabal, and return to that of Clarendon – the alliance, that is, of the strong cavalier spirit with the church against all forms of dissent. He was an admirable party manager, and his method was that of wholesale bribery. The parliament began now to earn with justice the title of the 'Pensionary Parliament.'

The Earl of Danby returns to the policy of Clarendon

Danby's first attempt was to get rid of the Catholics in the House of Lords, and the Presbyterians in the House of Commons, by introducing in the Lords a bill for a 'Non-Resisting Test,' imposing upon all the oath demanded in the Act of Uniformity against endeavouring 'any alteration in the government of

'Non-Resisting Test'

[13] He was angry too at finding out how he had been duped by the sham Treaty of Dover.

church and state.' The church, the parliament, and the executive would then have formed one dominant party, free of all fear of opposition. The bill passed the Lords. Probably it would have passed the Commons too but for a fresh dispute which arose between the houses, perhaps through Shaftesbury's connivance, on a case similar to that of Skinner. So heated did feeling become that Charles was obliged to prorogue parliament, and the bill therefore dropped. Parliament was now in two well-defined parties —the 'courtiers,' who voted as Danby bade them, and the 'country party,' led by Shaftesbury, who demanded a dissolution, the disbanding of the troops, the dismissal of Danby, and the exclusion of James from the succession.

The country party

On foreign affairs Charles took his own course. Against Danby's advice, he agreed for 100,000*l.* a year from Louis to prorogue parliament whenever it should press him to break with France; and in November **1675** he did so for fifteen months. When it met in February **1677** the opposition declared that by an old law of Edward III., requiring annual parliaments, this was illegal, and that parliament was therefore *ipso facto* dissolved. But they were wrong in their interpretation of the law; and, further, the Triennial Act of course overrode the former one. Their violence led to a court triumph: Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Wharton, and Salisbury were sent to the Tower, and the Commons granted a large supply free of all conditions. But their temper changed as Louis's successes in Flanders roused keener jealousy. All further supply was stopped, and Charles was obliged once more to appeal to Louis.

Defeat of the country party

Danby then played another card. The opposition were in close communication with William of Orange, the leader of the resistance to Louis's ambition. By bringing about the marriage of William with Mary, the eldest daughter of James, he cut the ground from under their feet. William's necessities made him glad to ally himself with his uncle's court. Charles thought that the marriage would disarm opposition at home; James, that those who dreaded his succession would look past him to his Protestant daughter. To meet this blow Louis changed his policy too; he turned to the opposition, promising to help them in their objects if they would prevent Charles from joining William in fighting him. Regarding their success at home as more important than the welfare of Europe, they threw over William and succeeded in forcing Charles to disband his army and to give up his intention of taking part in the war against Louis, which came to an end

Marriage of Mary and William of Orange

Alliance of Louis and the opposition

by the Peace of Nimwegen, September 1678. But Louis, to make assurance doubly sure, had also made a secret treaty with Charles, by which the latter promised, for 300,000*l.* a year, to dissolve parliament should it prove intractable, and not to help the Dutch. This agreement was unwillingly signed by Danby at the express order of the king.

Month by month the dread of Catholicism had been growing keener. Suddenly it displayed itself in a burst of national madness. Titus Oates, the vilest of informers, a wretch who had been successively expelled from the church, the Dissenters, and the Jesuits, accused Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, of treason; and among Coleman's papers were found one or two compromising letters. Oates made his depositions before a noted Protestant magistrate, Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, and the next day Godfrey was found murdered. The nation was at once seized with a panic of fear. No charge against the Catholics was too wild for belief. Good and wise men, like Lord William Russell, appeared suddenly to lose their reason. The train-bands were called out, and men went armed for fear of the 'bloody Papists.' The gaols were filled with Catholics, who, after the mockery of a trial, were hurried to the scaffold on the word of Oates and other informers as base as himself. Oates was termed the saviour of his country, was lodged in Whitehall, and received a pension of 1,200*l.* a year. His audacity went so far as to accuse the queen herself. Charles acted a shameful part. He utterly disbelieved the whole story, but he was cowed by the popular fury. 'I cannot save him,' he said of one illustrious victim, 'because I dare not.' Danby fostered the panic to divert feeling from himself; Shaftesbury because he hoped through it to ruin Danby and secure the exclusion of James. This was now the main object of the opposition. The Commons passed a bill disabling all Catholics from sitting in parliament. But the Lords added a clause exempting James from its operation, and to the intense disappointment of Shaftesbury's party the Commons agreed to it by a majority of two votes. The ruin of Danby, however, was accomplished. Louis XIV. handed to the opposition the letter which Danby had written by the king's order regarding the secret treaty. The Commons at once voted an impeachment. To save him Charles dissolved the parliament (January 1679), which had sat since 1661. But the new elections gave a large majority to Shaftesbury. Danby was committed to the Tower, and an impeachment was again ordered; but in bar of it he produced the royal pardon, which he had long before been careful to procure.

The Popish terror

Fall of Danby. Pensionary Parliament dissolved

Section 4.—*Shaftesbury and the Exclusion Conflict. Triumph of Charles*

A curious interlude now took place. Charles was urged to get over the deadlock by conciliation. He sent James out of the country, and formed a new privy council, in which were included the chiefs of the country party, with Shaftesbury himself as Lord President; and he engaged that no important step should be taken without its consent. But the new parliament, elected under the popish terror, was not thus to be turned from its course. A fresh Exclusion Bill passed its second reading. A searching inquiry, directed especially against the Duchess of Portsmouth, was instituted into the disposal of the secret service money; and the trial of the Catholic peers who still lay in prison was pressed on without mercy. Charles at once broke his promise to the council, and first prorogued, and then dissolved, parliament without its advice. Short-lived as it was, this parliament had passed one of the most important statutes in English law. The provisions against the detention of prisoners without bringing them to trial were constantly evaded in the interests of the court. The Habeas Corpus Act (**1679**), which was due in the main to Shaftesbury, while it introduced no new principle, applied safeguards so stringent as to render this abuse henceforth impossible. It insisted that, except in cases of treason or felony, a prisoner should be admitted to bail; any judge refusing to issue to the gaoler the writ of habeas corpus ('produce the body of the prisoner,' in order that the cause of commitment might be seen), and any gaoler refusing to obey such writ, were to be fined 500*l.* or 100*l.* respectively. Once released, no one might be again arrested for the same offence; and no inhabitant of England, Wales, or Berwick-on-Tweed might be sent to prison out of the country except for a capital offence.

New privy council

Habeas Corpus Act

The contest over the succession represented the conflict between the hatred of Catholicism and the principle of hereditary right. Three schemes were proposed: (1) to allow James to reign, but to limit his power; (2) a regency, James retaining the royal title, but living abroad; (3) entire exclusion, the crown devolving upon his daughter Mary, wife of William of Orange. But Shaftesbury had also long been pressing the cause of the young and popular Duke of Monmouth, the 'Protestant duke,' the favourite illegitimate son of Charles. He tried to persuade Charles to avow his marriage with Monmouth's mother; but Charles steadfastly

Schemes for the succession

refused. So serious was the danger in James's eyes, that before he left the country he had insisted upon the king formally declaring Monmouth's illegitimacy; and, when Charles fell ill in August, he was summoned home in haste by the Earl of Sunderland and the Duchess of Portsmouth, who were now the king's sole advisers, and who dreaded the success of Shaftesbury's scheme.

Charles, who hoped for the support of Louis, now threw over the new privy council, dismissed Shaftesbury, accepted the resignation of the other chiefs of the country party 'with all my heart,' and placed the conduct of affairs in the hands of Sunderland, Lawrence Hyde, the younger son of Clarendon, and Sydney Godolphin, who was specially skilled as a financier. These three, known as the 'Chits,' acted under the direction of the Duchess of Portsmouth, the virtual Queen of England. To avoid agitation, he sent Monmouth abroad and James to govern Scotland.

The 'Chits'

Charles's third parliament met in October **1680**, under great excitement. The anti-Catholic agitation was still at its height, and the only subject the Commons would touch was exclusion. The bill passed in the lower house; but after a brilliant debate, in which George Savile, earl of Halifax, bore the chief part against Shaftesbury, it was thrown out in the Lords. Parliament was at once dissolved, without giving any supply or passing a single act. It was a second 'Addled Parliament' (p. 240). Once more Charles looked to Louis for money.

Defeat of the Exclusion Bill

In anticipation of a fresh parliament, Shaftesbury issued a letter urging the election of such members only as would vote for exclusion. His influence was great in the city, which at his suggestion petitioned for an immediate sitting. Charles acted with great coolness. To avoid pressure from London he held the session, March 21, **1680**, at Oxford. Thither went the leaders of the various parties at the head of bodies of armed men; there was every appearance of the imminence of civil war. The regency scheme was introduced and rejected; and a resolution was passed to bring in a bill of exclusion. But Charles had at length made a treaty with Louis, always anxious to avoid any chance of English interference in his high-handed schemes in Europe, which, by giving him sufficient to carry on a fairly economical government, rendered him independent of parliament.[14] On March 28 he suddenly dissolved this—his fourth and last House of Commons.[15]

Charles's last parliament

[14] The king could no longer do as Charles I had done in 1629, raise money by prerogative. To be independent he had to be a pensioner.

[15] When parliament is *adjourned* it takes up at its next meeting all questions under discussion at the point where it had left them. When it is

The effect was immediate. What took place in **1629** (p. 253) took place now. The *Whigs*,[16] or exclusionists, lost the power of expressing their opposition, and a strong reaction took place. Their excessive violence had alienated the moderate men; the popish terror was practically extinct, and had left the country disgusted with its own folly; the well-to-do classes dreaded another commonwealth; people were scandalised at Shaftesbury's patronage of the illegitimate Monmouth. A clever declaration of the king completed the discomfiture of the Whigs; slavish addresses poured in from all parts of the country. In November Shaftesbury was indicted for treason; but the grand jury of Middlesex, chosen by sheriffs favourable to him, threw out the bill. The court then, by unscrupulous means, procured the election of *Tory* sheriffs. Shaftesbury saw the game was up, and fled to Holland, where he died in January **1683**.

Tory reaction

To make sure of a favourable parliament when necessary, the court now gained complete control over the municipalities. By the process known as 'Quo warranto?' (p. 93) the lawyers found flaws in the charters, or violations of them, which made them technically invalid; the judges declared them forfeited; and Charles gave them back only on terms which made the corporations completely subservient to the crown.

The forfeiture of the charters

This drove the Whigs to despair. Even before Shaftesbury's flight the question of rebellion had been seriously discussed with Monmouth, Russell, Algernon Sydney, the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, and others. Monmouth went on a progress through the western counties, endearing himself to all by his handsome face and affability, and extensive preparations were made. Within this plot, and unknown to those mentioned, another plot was formed, to assassinate Charles as he passed the Rye House, in Hertfordshire, on his way from Newmarket. The plot was discovered, and, as Raleigh suffered for a scheme in which he had no share, so now Russell and Sydney suffered death, after trials which illustrated the degradation of the judges. Essex killed himself in the Tower, and Monmouth was banished.

Rye House Plot

prorogued all bills are absolutely dropped, and must be begun again *de novo* at the next session. When it is *dissolved* fresh elections take place, and a new parliament assembles.

[16] The name of 'Tory' appears to be derived from the Tories, or brigands who infested Ireland. That of 'Whig' is supposed to be drawn from 'Whiggamore,' the name given to the Lowland Scotch drovers. A list was drawn up by the Tories of names from which they should choose one for their opponents. The first was 'Brummagem,' but 'Whig' was probably chosen for its shortness.

Charles was now absolute. The Test Act was violated with impunity—a fact which shows how such violence as that of the popish terror defeats itself. James, for instance, resumed his office of high admiral. The last four years of the reign passed without a parliament; the 'Chits' and the Duchess governed the country. In the autumn of **1684** Charles made a final attempt at toleration, frustrated by the vigilant bishops. On February 6, **1685**, he died of apoplexy, in his fifty-fifth year, having secretly received the last rites of the Catholic church.

Death of Charles

The shameful misgovernment of Scotland was perhaps the greatest blot upon the reign. In spite of the oaths which Charles had taken to preserve Presbyterianism, but which he now threw over on the ground of constraint, and with every circumstance of treachery, Episcopacy was restored at the beginning of the reign, chiefly through the instrumentality of James Sharpe, himself the trusted representative of the Presbyterian ministers. Sharpe was made Archbishop of St. Andrews. Resistance was not possible. The nobles were glad to be rid of Presbyterianism, which had kept them in subjection; the country was miserably poor, and the English occupation had rendered the people powerless; the kirk itself was utterly distracted between Engagers and Protesters. Persecuting acts were passed against the extreme Covenanters, and their conventicles put down. They rose in revolt in **1667**, but were crushed at the Pentland Hills in **1667**, when terrible scenes of torture and violence took place. In **1669** the Duke of Lauderdale, Charles's viceroy, created an army of 20,000 men, to which Charles looked at the time of the Treaty of Dover in **1670**, and again in **1672**, when he put out the Declaration of Indulgence, to be used if necessary against his subjects in England. All through the reign the persecution of the Covenanters went on, with short intervals of comparative indulgence, corresponding with those in England, until, after the murder of James Sharpe, they rose again in **1679** and defeated the royal forces under the celebrated James Grahame of Claverhouse, but were then routed at Bothwell Brigg, near Glasgow, by an army under the Duke of Monmouth. From that time little more trouble was experienced by the government.

Misgovernment in Scotland

Ireland was little better off. An 'Act of Settlement' was passed as soon as possible, by which some of the land given by Cromwell to the adventurers was regained by Catholics and Protestant royalists. But no great change was possible, so firm was the hold of the Cromwellian occupiers. Like Scotland, the country was miserably poor, infested by brigands—Tories, as they were called—

And in Ireland

and with an overwhelming Catholic majority kept down in bitter discontent. In spite of the efforts and outspoken remonstrances of Arthur Capel, earl of Essex, one of the few honest, capable, and straightforward ministers of Charles, viceroy from **1672** to **1677**, the prosperity of the country was still further crippled by the jealous commercial policy of England, which forbade Irish trade with the colonies, or the importing to England of her staple products of cattle, wool, or butter. Charles, too, drained the Irish exchequer, as his father had done, to reward his favourites and enrich his mistresses.

Colonies

The rapid increase and development of our colonies and colonial possessions, and the great importance attached to their government at home, are principal features of the reign of Charles II., who showed more interest in the naval and commercial success of the country than in anything else. The active though unscrupulous enterprise of our adventurers was never more marked, even in the great days of Elizabeth. In **1660** England possessed, in America, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Virginia. In **1663** a charter was issued to the lords proprietors of Carolina. New York passed from Dutch into English hands in **1664**, and Delaware was settled in the same year. New Jersey was granted to James, and Pennsylvania to William Penn in **1682**. There were also the colonial possessions of Acadia, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, the Bermudas, and British Guiana. In the West Indies we had the Leeward and Windward Isles, Jamaica, and the Bahamas. All these were under the superintendence of a Council of Foreign Plantations, consisting of thirty-five of the Privy Council. In **1663** the Royal African Company was formed, with settlements all down the African coast, where we were in constant collision with the Dutch. Tangiers, on the north African coast, and Bombay, in India, came to England through the Portuguese marriage.

Immorality

In two ways especially the period was one of disgrace. Stimulated by the king's encouragement, the natural reaction against the austerity, mingled, as it often was, with hypocrisy, of the Commonwealth, declared itself in a prolonged outburst of bestial licence at court and in the classes which took their example from the court, in literature, and upon the stage. Never was immorality so unrestrained, so gross, or so shameless. And yet it must not be supposed that this was the case throughout England. The country homes of the nobility and gentry appear to have remained to a great degree untainted.

The second disgrace was the prostitution of justice. The judges of Charles I. had to a great extent lost the confidence of the people by

their subservience. But under Charles II. they accepted unblushingly their position of dependence on the caprice of the king; they brow-beat juries, found verdicts for the crown, and sent innocent men to the block with the bare semblance of trial, and with every circumstance of injustice. Russell and Sydney were as truly murdered by corrupt judges as the Catholics who died in the popular madness during the popish terror.

Corrupt judges

And yet the principles of liberty were actively at work. The darkest page of English history is illumined by the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act in **1679**. But there was another principle established, scarcely less important—the rights of juries to find verdicts against the crown. On September **1, 1670**, William Penn and another Quaker, William Mead, were indicted for an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly. The jury brought in a verdict declaring that the prisoners were 'guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street,' but refused to add 'to an unlawful assembly.' Then, as the pressure from the bench increased, and as they were sent back time after time without food, light, fire, or tobacco, they first acquitted Mead, while returning their original verdict upon Penn, and then, when that verdict was not admitted, gave in their final answer 'not guilty' for both. The Recorder of London fined the jurymen, and in default of payment imprisoned them; whereupon they brought an action against him for illegal imprisonment before Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, in the Court of Common Pleas, and won it.

Rights of juries

The most interesting figure is that of Charles himself. He had been a vagabond from earliest childhood, surrounded by reckless and dissolute companions, and with every temptation to immorality. He came out of this training with a splendid physical constitution, a selfish heart, a cool head, a good temper, charming manners and conversation, and a complete absence of moral restraint. He had, too, that which his father so conspicuously lacked—the power of realising how others were thinking. His physical activity he retained throughout his life. He was a great tennis player; he would ride from Whitehall to Epsom Downs, to see a footrace, and back in a day; and he took the lead with reckless and undignified want of reserve in the revels of the court.

Charles II

He began his reign with the idea of ruling like his cousin Louis XIV. But he found himself fettered by the parliament and the church; and the habitual debauchery of his life soon robbed him of all idea of contending with the difficulties of his position. His life was pleasant, and, as he said, he had no intention of going on his travels again. He soon was reduced to act along the line of least resistance. That he

was practically absolute during the last four years of his reign was due to the violence of his opponents; but it was due also to his selfishness, his clear head, and his perfect command of temper: there is but one recorded instance of Charles being in a passion.

His intellectual gifts were very great, his tastes cultivated. He led, indeed, a double life. While he was first in the shameless race of debauchery, he lived in close intimacy with some of the purest and best persons of the day. He was keenly interested in all the researches of modern science, and the Royal Society took its name from his patronage. Chemistry and shipbuilding were favourite studies, and divided his attention with horse-racing and cock-fighting. Greenwich Observatory was founded in his reign. He was an admirable judge of character, though he never hesitated to throw over the few good and honest men who served him, when urged beyond his convenience by the basest intriguers.

Dates of Reign of Charles II

	A.D.
The Clarendon Administration	1660–1667
Corporation and Uniformity Acts	1661–1662
Conventicle and Five-Mile Acts	1664–1665
First Dutch war	1665–1667
Appropriation of supplies	1665
The Cabal	1667–1673
Triple alliance	1668
Treaty of Dover	1670
Rights of juries established	1670
Stop of the exchequer and Declaration of Indulgence	1672
Second Dutch War	1672–1674
The Test Act	1673
Danby's Administration	1674–1679
The 'country party'	1675
Marriage of William of Orange and Mary	1677
Popish terror	1678
The Exclusion Contest	1679–1681
Habeas Corpus Act	1679
Whigs and Tories	1680
The Chits	1680
Dissolution of Charles's last parliament	1680
Forfeiture of the charters	1681
Personal government	1681–1685

CHAPTER VII

JAMES II.—1685-1689. *CLOSE OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND PREROGATIVE*

SECTION 1.—*Accession to Prorogation, November* 1685. *Popish Policy restrained*

JAMES succeeded without a note of opposition. The nation trusted in his promise to his council 'to preserve the government both in church and state as by law established,' and remembered only the striking personal courage he had shown in the fights with the Dutch, and his energetic conduct of the Admiralty. Had he possessed either prudence or imagination he might have been more absolute than his brother. But, deceived by the late steadfastness of the clergy to the cause of hereditary right, and by their strenuous advocacy of passive obedience, he believed that they would hold their peace while he assumed the power of suspending the penal laws, and would consent to a moderate toleration of his creed. On February 12, therefore, he publicly heard mass. The next Sunday, to his astonishment, an outcry arose from every pulpit in London. But James shut his ears. On Easter Day a solemn mass was held in the Queen's Chapel; and the chief officers of state, the knights of the Garter, and others of the nobility, were ordered to attend him to the door. The penal laws were then suspended by proclamation, and thousands of prisoners, including the celebrated John Bunyan, the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and no fewer than 1,200 Quakers, were set free.

Penal laws suspended

The king then illegally continued the exactions of the customs and excise, which by the constitution died with each king until renewed by parliament; obtained from Scotland the excise, and 260,000*l.* for life; and sought to free himself from dependence upon parliament by accepting the sums which Louis XIV., as anxious as ever to avoid a frequent meeting of that body, offered him. Lawrence Hyde, now Earl of Rochester, was lord treasurer; Sunderland, secretary of state; Godolphin and three Catholics, Richard Talbot, Jermyn, and the king's confessor, Father Petre, a Jesuit priest, made up the cabal. Lord Halifax, who had defeated the Exclusion Bill, was president of the council. Parliament met in May. Elected by the newly modelled corporations (p. 312), it contained a large number of crown nominees. They gave James two millions a year for life, thus making him independent of them for the future; refused to enforce the penal laws;

Illegal exactions

Subservience of parliament

and voted that anyone moving to change the succession should be guilty of treason.

Rebellion of Argyle and Monmouth

James had been further strengthened by the failure of two attacks (p. 138, note). The Duke of Argyle, with many others, had escaped to Holland under sentence of death in **1684**. There he met Monmouth. Mistaking the condition and temper of the two countries, they arranged to make simultaneous descents upon England and Scotland. Argyle landed in Cantyre, May **1685**, and raised the Campbells in support of his declaration against popery, prelacy, and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown. With 1,800 men he marched upon Glasgow. But the country was not ready; his forces rapidly fell away; he was captured, and at once executed on the old sentence.

Monmouth's invasion of the western counties, where he had made himself a great favourite in his progress in **1684**, and where the people were enthusiastic Protestants, was more alarming. On June 11 he landed at Lyme Regis with eighty followers. Here his declaration was read. The reforms it claimed were all reasonable, and were granted, almost without exception, at the Revolution. But it rendered reconciliation with James impossible, for it accused him of having murdered, not only Essex, but his own brother. Never was there a leader worse qualified for such an enterprise. With some amiable qualities, he was weak and undecided in character, vain and petulant, easily moved by success or failure, and completely unable to exercise sway over the motley crew of adventurers who came with him. At Bridgewater he sealed his fate by assuming the royal title, and setting a price on the head of 'the usurper, James, duke of York.' Parliament declared it treason to assert his legitimacy, passed an act of attainder, and offered a reward of 5,000*l.* for his capture, dead or alive. The attack of his ill-armed and undisciplined forces upon Bristol and Bath failed; he began a retreat, and on July 3 was again at Bridgewater with a small and disheartened following. On Sunday, July 5, Lord Feversham was at Sedgemoor in pursuit. That night Monmouth attempted a surprise; it failed as much through misfortune as through bad management, and before dawn his followers were a helpless prey to the royal cavalry. With a few friends he fled over the Mendip Hills to the New Forest. At midnight, on July 8, James heard of his capture. His unmanly appeals for mercy were vain. James had indeed no reason for clemency, for he never believed him to be Charles's son. As a last hope Monmouth offered to embrace Catholicism. On the scaffold he partly redeemed a life of frivolous folly, by meeting his death with dignity. Then followed a revolting scene.

The insurgents were gibbeted by scores along the roads, and from the signposts of inns, where the infamous Kirke, formerly governor of Tangier, and his 'lambs,' caroused among the dangling bodies. The 'Bloody Circuit' over which the brutal Jeffreys, the lord chief justice, presided, was still more terrible. At least 400 persons, men and women, were judicially murdered; 850 were transported to the plantations as slaves; others were whipped and imprisoned. Women were scourged from one market town to another. Mrs. Lisle was beheaded for sheltering a rebel, and Elizabeth Gaunt burnt alive for the same offence. The 'maids of Taunton,' a number of girls who had presented Monmouth when he entered the town with a Bible and a drawn sword, were forced to ransom themselves for 2,000*l.* to the queen's maids-of-honour. The queen herself and the courtiers trafficked in pardons; Jeffreys amassed large sums in bribes; and James gave sanction to his ferocious cruelty by making him lord chancellor and a peer.[1]

The 'Bloody Circuit'

James now believed himself strong enough to have his will. He ignored the Test Act, and placed his troops, which he was constantly increasing, under Catholic officers. He then confidently appealed to parliament to sanction his proceedings and to repeal the Test Act. But public feeling had been deeply stirred by Louis XIV.'s revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the edict by which Henry IV. of France had given toleration to the Huguenots in 1598, and by the awful persecution which followed that great treachery. The Commons offered James 700,000*l.* to support the army, but respectfully reminded him that by law Catholics were incapable of serving. When James returned a haughty message, there was a long silence in the house, broken at last by a voice exclaiming, 'We are all Englishmen, and are not to be frightened out of our duty by a few high words.' In the Lords too there was opposition. Resolved not to be thwarted in exercising the dispensing power, James prorogued the parliament in anger on November 20, sacrificing the 700,000*l.* rather than give way.

Opposition in parliament

Section 2.—*From the Prorogation to the Birth of James's Son. Popish Policy unrestrained*

There were now two parties at court. Rochester, with the chief nobility, the moderate Catholics, and the church, wished for the old policy of Danby (p. 307). Sunderland, with Jeffreys, Petre, the violent Catholics, and the queen, favoured Catholicism and France.

[1] On the whole of the Monmouth rebellion and the 'Bloody Circuit,' see Macaulay, vol. i. p. 417.

Thus supported, James increased his appointment of Catholics in the army, 'any clause in any act of parliament notwithstanding.'

Rochester and Sunderland

To gain at least the nominal sanction of the law, he removed the judges who were not compliant, and then, before a new bench, had a collusive action tried in which Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic, was sued by his coachman for holding a commission. Of the twelve judges all but one pronounced in Hales's favour, on the ground that the laws were the king's, and that it was part of the prerogative to dispense with penal laws in particular cases. As in the case of ship-money (p. 255), this stimulated resistance. The clergy renewed their protests. James ordered them to desist, and appointed an ecclesiastical commission to punish all contumacy.

Ecclesiastical commission

Compton, bishop of London, was suspended; and from this moment James was at open war with the church. He maintained apostate clergy in their livings, established Catholic chapels, and placed several Catholic lords upon the privy council. His army of 15,000 men, whom he frequently reviewed, was now largely officered by Catholics. Finally, when Rochester refused to become a convert, he was dismissed from office, November **1686**; and the church was left without a friend at court.

Dismissal of Rochester

For his final efforts in England James prepared the way in Scotland and Ireland. In the former country he went still greater lengths than in England, at last proclaiming full liberty of conscience; and so subservient was the privy council there that he met with but slight opposition. In Ireland, Clarendon, the lord lieutenant, elder brother of Rochester, was ordered to raise Catholics to the bench and the privy council, and to make them sheriffs. A sum of 2,000*l.* was granted annually to the twelve titular Catholic prelates; and all disaffected officers and men were removed from the army. When Clarendon demurred, he, too, was dismissed to make room for Richard Talbot, now earl of Tyrconnel. Talbot disarmed the Protestants, replaced the remaining Protestant magistrates by Catholics, and remodelled the corporations by the 'Quo warranto?' process. With privy council, courts of justice, and corporations in Catholic hands, preparations were made to hold an Irish parliament, at which Tyrconnel hoped to overthrow the Act of Settlement (p. 313), and secure a terrible revenge for the native Catholic Irish upon their English Protestant oppressors.

Catholic policy in Scotland and Ireland

The king now thought the time ripe for his 'great design.' Sunderland had become a convert; the privy seal and the treasury were held by Catholics. From every public official James demanded a promise to vote for the crown candidates at the next election as a con-

dition of retaining his post. He then proclaimed universal liberty of conscience, April 4, **1687**. Without exception the dissenting bodies expressed their gratitude. Under Charles II. they had supported the law against the prerogative, even to their own hurt; but the church had shown no recognition of their magnanimity, and they now welcomed the proffered relief. Hundreds of loyal addresses were procured by court influence from grand juries, magistrates, corporations, legal bodies, and even from some of the clergy. James might well deceive himself. He now attacked the universities. The attempt to force Cambridge to admit Catholics to degrees without the usual oaths was but partially successful. At Magdalen Hall, Oxford, the ecclesiastical commission expelled the Fellows for refusing to accept his nominee as president.[2] Then followed the public reception of the Pope's nuncio at court, and the appointment of Petre on the privy council.

Liberty of conscience proclaimed

Attack on the universities

The king still hoped for parliamentary sanction to his Declaration. He dissolved the parliament, which had not met for two years, and prepared the ground for one which he could better trust. He appointed a board of 'regulators,' to remould the corporations in conformity with his views. A clause in the charters issued by Charles II. empowered the crown to dismiss members of the corporations; and he used this largely to introduce Dissenters and Roman Catholics. In July he went on a royal progress through the west, calling around him the gentry, and reasoning with them; and he ordered the lords-lieutenant to put to all magistrates three questions:—(1) If chosen for parliament will you vote for the repeal of the Test Act and the penal laws? (2) Will you help the court candidates? (3) Will you support the Declaration? The answers were not encouraging, but he resolved to persevere. On April 25, **1688**, the Declaration was republished in even stronger terms; and James ordered that on a fixed day it should be read in every church in the country. He thus gave an opportunity which, as there was no parliament, would otherwise have been wanting, for the expression of resistance. Sancroft, the primate, with six bishops, petitioned for the withdrawal of the order; and the Declaration was read in but four of the London churches. Furious at this opposition, James prosecuted the prelates on the ground that their petition was a seditious libel. They went to the Tower to await trial, amid thousands of sympathisers; and they came before the King's Bench, escorted by a crowd of nobles and gentlemen. Every effort was made to secure

The Regulators

The seven bishops

[2] Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 99.

a conviction; but amid a scene of wild enthusiasm the jury returned a verdict of 'not guilty.' Had the army been staunch, James might have accepted the challenge; but he learned that nowhere was sympathy with the popular feeling more strong. He learned, too, that even from the Dissenters he could expect no further support; they suspected his honesty; and they were won by the promises of toleration which the church, moved by the danger of their alliance with the king, now made.

Section 3.—*The Revolution. The Crown disposed of*

Events were hastened by the birth of a son to James. The king's opponents asserted that this was a fraud, though without any good reason. The prospect of a continued Catholic succession turned all eyes to William of Orange, who, as Mary's husband, had long been regarded as the probable saviour of the country. He had warily held aloof from Monmouth's enterprise; and its failure had removed a possible rival. While avoiding an open breach with James, he had refused the approbation which the king sought from him to the repeal of the penal laws; and he had lately broken with him so far as to evade his demand for the return of some English regiments which were in the service of the republic. In the summer of **1687** Danby, the promoter of his marriage (p. 308), Halifax the defeater of the Exclusion Bill, Shrewsbury the Whig, Nottingham the Tory, even the apostate Sunderland, had been in close communication with him. But William refused to move without a direct invitation. On June 30, **1688**, it was sent, signed by Danby, Shrewsbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Lumley, Compton bishop of London, Henry Sydney, and Admiral Russell: it bound them to join him if he would land before the year was out. With the full concurrence of the Dutch States, he at once made every preparation for the enterprise.

Birth of James's son

William of Orange invited to England

James was at length seriously alarmed. He tried to induce the States to forbid William to move; he tried to retrace his steps in England. He appealed to the loyalty of the church; accepted the advice of the bishops; restored Compton to his see; gave back the charters forfeited by Charles II. (p. 312), and replaced the magistrates who had refused to answer his three questions; replaced the fellows of Magdalen; offered a general pardon to all who did not actually join William; took steps to establish the genuineness of the prince's birth; removed Sunderland from office and Petre from the council. He raised the army to 40,000 men, by calling in the Scotch

Surrender of James

and Irish troops. His fleet, under the Earl of Dartmouth, consisted of thirty-seven men-of-war, and seventeen fire-ships.

Meanwhile a memorial had been published, purporting to come from the Protestants of England to William, but really drawn up by Gilbert Burnet, Mary's chaplain. It insisted upon an inquiry into the birth of the prince, and on a free parliament. It recited the legal liberties of Englishmen, and James's violations of them. It prayed William to take the rights of the Crown and people under his protection, on behalf of his wife. Two declarations from William to England and Scotland were skilfully directed to satisfy the peculiar traditions of each country. The former, like the Declaration of Breda, referred everything in dispute to parliament. The latter promised the recognition of the Scottish national rights and the establishment of Presbyterianism for ever.

The Memorial

On October 19, with sixty men-of-war, 700 transports, and 15,000 men, William set sail. A tempest drove him back with considerable loss. Starting again with a favouring 'Protestant wind,' which prevented the royal fleet from leaving the Downs, he reached Torbay on November 5. For a while his prospects were gloomy. The west was cowed by the memory of the 'Bloody Circuit,' and only a few joined him. The first nobleman to come in was Lord Cornbury, Clarendon's eldest son; shortly afterwards the officers and part of one of the royal regiments followed. Then Danby and Lumley in Yorkshire, Delamere and Brandon in Cheshire, and Devonshire in the Midlands, raised the standard of revolt. On December 22 Lord Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough, and the Duke of Grafton, a son of Charles II., went over to William. It was not, however, until his son-in-law Prince George of Denmark, and his daughter Anne, followed their example, that James felt his desolation. Then he burst into tears, exclaiming, 'God help me, my children have forsaken me!' He had already sent his wife and son out of the kingdom; and he now resolved to follow them. William could wish for nothing better; and his annoyance was great when he heard that James had been recognised as he was taking boat at Faversham in Kent and prevented from sailing.

William's invasion

Flight of James

On the news of the king's flight a provisional government had been formed of thirty peers, with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, who at once sent in their adhesion to William. The mob rose upon the Catholics, plundered their houses, destroyed their chapels, insulted the Catholic ambassadors, and arrested the king's principal adherents. Jeffreys was discovered in disguise at Wapping, and barely escaped the fury of the people, to die in the Tower a few months later. Then

came a reaction. James resolved to return to London, and his entry was welcomed with enthusiasm by the mob. William determined to scare him away once more. He sent his Dutch guards to occupy St. James's and Whitehall, and used every method to intimidate him: so successfully that James yielded to his orders to leave London. On December 19, escorted by the Dutch guards, he went to Gravesend, while William took up his lodging in Whitehall. From Gravesend James went to Rochester, where every facility was afforded him for leaving the country. Anxious to rejoin his wife and son, he took ship and arrived on the coast of France on Christmas Day. At St. Germain's he was received with sympathy and munificence by Louis XIV.

Second flight of James

Section 4.—*The Crown disposed of*

William now called together the peers, all who had sat in any of Charles's parliaments when the old charters were in force and before a Catholic king had been accepted, the lord mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the council. At their wish he temporarily assumed the government, and summoned a convention parliament elected under the old charters, January 22, **1689**. The Whigs were resolved to do away for ever with 'Divine right' by declaring the throne vacant and electing a sovereign upon their own conditions. They carried two votes in the Commons: (1) that James, having broken the original contract between king and people, having violated the fundamental laws, and having left the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant; (2) that experience had shown that it was inconsistent with the welfare of the country to be governed by a popish prince. The Tories, anxious to save the principle of hereditary right, fought hard in the Lords for a regency; but Danby, who wished Mary to be queen, joined the Whigs on this issue, and the proposal was defeated by two votes only. After long debate the resolutions of the Commons were carried.

Convention parliament

The throne declared vacant

The throne was vacant; but who was to fill it? Danby urged the cause of Mary, Halifax that of William. That William should have the power was settled by both Mary and himself declaring that they would accept no other solution. It was finally decided that they should be jointly king and queen. With the offer of the crown came the conditions, in the shape of the *Declaration of Right*, the goal to which all had been moving since the accession of James I. It first recited, and then condemned as illegal, the unconstitutional acts of James—viz. (1) the dispensing power; (2) the

Declaration of Right

exactions of money without a grant from parliament; (3) a standing army without the consent of parliament; (4) the Ecclesiastical Commission, and all similar courts. The chief things claimed were: the right of petitioning the king; free election of members of parliament; freedom of debate; and frequent parliaments. It had been determined to include the transference of the militia from the crown, the independence of the judges, and the denial of the right to claim, as Danby had claimed (p. 309), a royal pardon in bar of impeachment; but for the present these questions were passed by. With the Declaration came the *Act of Settlement*. The crown was to be held by William and Mary for their joint and separate lives; it was then to fall to Mary's children; next to Anne and her children; lastly to the children of William by any other wife. A Catholic, or one who should marry a Catholic, should forfeit the right to the succession, and the next Protestant heir should succeed. 'Divine right' was dead and buried, in the eyes of the English constitution. The monarchy was practically once more declared elective, as it had been up to the reign of Henry VIII. (p. 11); and parliament was the guiding power of the State.

Act of Settlement

Dates of Reign of James II.

	A.D.		A.D.
Rebellions of Argyle and Monmouth	1685	Birth of James's son	1688
Dismissal of Rochester	1686	Landing of William	1688
Liberty of conscience proclaimed	1687	Flight of James	1688
Attack on Oxford and Cambridge	1687	Declaration of Right and Act of Settlement	1689
The Seven Bishops	1688		

BOOK IX

THE NEW MONARCHY

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM AND MARY. 1689-1702[1]

SECTION 1.—*The Crown secured. Reorganisation*

WILLIAM'S difficulties now began. The Tories cried out against usurpation; the church bethought herself of hereditary right and non-resistance. Sancroft, the primate, with six bishops and 400 of the best of the clergy, refused the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and, resigning their livings, were henceforth known as 'Non-jurors.' The Whigs had looked for vengeance and exclusive possession of office, and they found that William would grant them neither. All parties were angry at the promotion of Dutchmen; while William's cold manner and ignorance of England made him personally unpopular. The army was jealous of the Dutch troops. At Ipswich a Scotch regiment mutinied. This led to the Mutiny Act, which enabled courts-martial to punish mutiny or desertion with death, and thus for the first time established a distinction between soldiers and other citizens. It was passed for six months only, but was always afterwards renewed from year to year. This annual renewal, and the fact that a similar annual vote is required for the pay and numbers of the troops, give parliament strict control of the army, and, while retaining all the advantages of a standing force, prevent it from becoming a danger to liberty.

The Non-jurors

The Mutiny Act

William now formed his ministry. Danby became the president of the council; Halifax, the 'trimmer,' midway between Whigs and Tories, was lord privy seal; Nottingham, a keen Tory, was one secretary of state, and Shrewsbury, an equally keen Whig, the other. Herbert had charge of the admiralty, Mordaunt and Godolphin of the treasury; the twelve best men attainable were made judges. Of the subordinate offices the Whigs had the chief share. In a ministry so constituted peace was impossible.

A mixed ministry

[1] The leading authority for William's reign is Macaulay. He should be consulted especially for the Non-jurors, the siege of Londonderry, the massacre of Glencoe, the National Debt, the battles of Steinkirk and Landen, Party Ministry, the Bank of England, the Darien expedition, and the Irish forfeitures.

Danby and Halifax quarrelled; so did Nottingham and Shrewsbury.[2] The division spread to every board and office in the kingdom. One post, that of foreign minister, William reserved for himself. The first object of his life was the humbling of the power of Louis XIV.; and this he meant to do through the might of England. The great question of the last two reigns, that of the treatment of Protestant dissent, had now to be settled. In the face of the opposition of the church, comprehension was found impossible.[3] Toleration, however, was a necessity, and with William as king could have no danger. The Toleration Act suspended penal laws against all but Catholics and Unitarians. It was now that the terms 'High Church' and 'Low Church' came into use. The High Churchmen, who formed nine-tenths of the lower clergy, hated the Toleration Act. The Low Churchmen, of whom Gilbert Burnet was the ablest, were favourable to the Dissenters. Few in numbers, they were powerful in learning and ability. William, a strict Calvinist, supported them, and the bishops were soon principally Low Churchmen. Naturally the High Churchmen became more and more favourable to the restoration of James.

The Toleration Act

High Church and Low Church

The revolution in England had been that of Episcopacy against Popery. In Scotland it had been that of Presbyterianism against Popery and Episcopacy. The convention parliament there was almost entirely Presbyterian. It declared that James had forfeited the crown, and offered it to William and Mary. With the offer there came, as in England, a 'claim of right.' The abolition of Episcopacy, the exclusion of Catholics from the throne, the independence of the judges, the disuse of torture,[4] were insisted on. William made no opposition. Just as he accepted the will of the church in England, to the disadvantage of the Presbyterians, so in Scotland he accepted the will of the Presbyterian kirk to the disadvantage of the Episcopalians. He was then required to root out all heretics. But he utterly refused to become a persecutor. The demand was withdrawn and the crown accepted. This arrangement satisfied all moderate men. But the favour shown to Presbyterians made the High Churchmen in England still more bitter than before; while to the extreme Covenanters William was but as Jehu; for, though he

Revolution in Scotland

[2] The situation was thus expressed: 'Every Whig,' said Nottingham, 'is an enemy of your majesty's prerogative.' 'Every Tory,' retorted Shrewsbury, 'is an enemy of your majesty's title.'

[3] William was anxious for the comprehension of Dissenters in the Church. But the bill was referred to Convocation, and there defeated by the High Church lower house.

[4] This had been habitual under the Scotch privy council, and James, when governor of Scotland (p. 311), had been personally concerned in much atrocious cruelty.

had overthrown Episcopacy in their own land, he had upheld it in England.

The Highlands

Among the Highlanders the revolution meant something entirely different. They were really two peoples, bitterly hostile: the Campbells, whose head was the Duke of Argyle; and the Macdonalds, Camerons, and other clans at feud with them. Argyle was a foe to James II.; and the clans opposed to him, though they knew little of English politics, were therefore ready to fight for the dethroned king. James Grahame of Claverhouse, to whom, with the title of Viscount Dundee, James II. had given a commission to command any forces raised for him in Scotland, flew to the Highlands, and gathered these clans around him. With 3,000 Highlanders and a few Irish troops he seized Blair Castle, commanding the northern end of the rugged pass of Killiecrankie. Anxious to defeat him at once, Mackay, William's general, toiled through the pass. On the evening of July 27 Dundee made one headlong charge. Mackay's tired troops were broken and swept down the pass in utter rout. The victory was complete; but it was dearly bought by the death of Dundee. An attack on Dunkeld, at the southern end of the pass, was repulsed after desperate fighting, and the Highland host dispersed. In the spring Mackay built Fort William, in Inverness-shire, to bridle the Highlands, and made several military roads.

Battle of Killiecrankie

William's great danger was in Ireland, whence James was endeavouring, with the help of Louis XIV., to regain his throne. As a Catholic he had the sympathies of the native Irish, who hoped to overthrow the Irish Act of Settlement (pp. 313, 320). James himself was anxious to defer such a revolution until he was firmly repossessed of his throne, and meanwhile to reconcile the Protestants. But his wishes were not regarded. On May 20 the Irish parliament met. The Protestant members dared not take their seats. James was recognised as king, and all connection with England abjured. James was then forced to assent to the abrogation of the Act of Settlement. The property of 2,500 nobles and gentry was confiscated; the Protestant clergy were ejected, and driven from Trinity College; and the Protestants were everywhere disarmed. With 50,000 men James was soon master of the whole country. Londonderry on Loch Foyle, and Enniskillen on Loch Erne, alone held out. To the former James went in person. Lundy, the governor, proved traitor; but the inhabitants would not hear of surrender, and deposed him. The siege began on April 20, **1689**. On the 29th James returned to Dublin, leaving the French generals who were serving with him to carry it on. On July 30, when

James in Ireland

Londonderry and Enniskillen

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

F.S.Weller.

the starving garrison were at the utmost extremity, help reached them from England, and James's army had to retreat in confusion. At Enniskillen 5,000 Irish came to the attack. Reinforced by Colonel Wolseley, the garrison took the offensive. At Newton Butler, on July 30, they utterly routed the enemy, killing 1,500 and taking 400 prisoners with all their stores.[5] In the autumn Marshal Schomberg arrived from England at Carrickfergus with 6,000 men. But the Catholics rallied in Dublin to the number of 30,000, and supplies came from France. Schomberg was obliged to remain behind his entrenchments; while Admiral Herbert, attacking the French fleet in Bantry Bay, was driven off with heavy loss.

On the whole James's prospects were very hopeful; the more so since in England there was ever-increasing confusion. The Whigs were bent on the political persecution of the Tories. Their temper was seen in their patronage of the infamous Titus Oates, who was pardoned, and who actually received a salary of 300*l.* a year. They also attacked both Danby and Halifax. To the Indemnity Bill they attached so large a list of exceptions that it had to be abandoned. The country was angry at the bad administration under Herbert, now earl of Torrington; French war-ships swept the Channel, and captured our merchant-vessels under the very guns of Plymouth. In the session of October **1689**, indeed, all parties united to pass the *Bill of Rights*, which confirmed the Declaration. It insisted also that every sovereign should, in full parliament, and at the coronation, deny transubstantiation (p. 307); and that if the reigning sovereign contracted a marriage with a papist, the subject should be freed from allegiance. But then the Whigs resumed their course of violence. They again refused the Indemnity Bill, except with the addition of a bill of pains and penalties; voted impeachments; appointed a murder committee to investigate the responsibility for the deaths of Russell, Sydney, and others (p. 312); brought in a Corporation Bill to restore the charter of London forfeited by 'Quo warranto?' under Charles—not apparently restored by James (p. 322)—and attached to it clauses rendering any one who had had part in the surrender of any charter to Charles II. incapable of holding any office in his borough for seven years, under penalty of 500*l.*, and of holding any public office for life. But, as in **1681**, they were ruined by their own violence. The clauses were defeated, and the bill passed without them. Then William, who

Violence of the Whigs

Bill of Rights

Defeat of the Whigs

[5] At Killiecrankie Celts defeated Saxons; at Newton Butler Saxons defeated Celts. See Macaulay's comparison of these battles (which were fought in the same week), vol. iii. p. 93.

had threatened to leave the country if they had succeeded in thus ostracising the Tory party, dissolved parliament. A reaction declared itself; the Tories had a large majority in the new elections; and Danby became chief minister.

Settlement of the revenue. The civil list

The revenue was now fixed. Parliament was as jealous of the crown as in the days of Charles II. William, to his intense disgust, was left with only about 800,000*l.* free of parliamentary control, henceforward known as the 'civil list,' since the royal household and a large number of civil offices were paid from it. About 600,000*l.* more from the customs was granted for four years only; and 80,000*l.* a year was given to the Princess Anne. William himself then settled the question of indemnity by sending down an Act of Grace, May 20, **1690**, which, as coming from the crown, had either to be rejected or passed at once. The surviving members of the high courts of justice (pp. 279, 280, 284), and thirty of James's most hated agents, were left to the law; but even these exceptions were not carried out.

Act of Grace

This vital question settled, William set out for Ireland, having first dealt with a formidable conspiracy, in which Lord Preston, one of James's secretaries, and the late queen were engaged. To guide Mary during his absence he left a council of nine members of both parties, Danby being the president. Scarcely had he embarked when a French fleet entered the Channel. Torrington was ordered to engage it, and a battle took place off Beachy Head, in which the Dutch squadron was shamefully left to be overpowered by numbers while the English looked on from a distance. An invasion of our coasts seemed probable. But the spirit of the nation rose with the danger. London armed at its own expense. Torrington was sent to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by court-martial for cowardice, and, though acquitted, was dismissed by William from the service.

Battle of Beachy Head

On landing at Carrickfergus, William found that Schomberg had made himself master of Ulster, and that James's army was utterly disorganised. Advancing rapidly through Dundalk, he overtook his rival, on June 30, on the Boyne. James had 30,000 men, but only 10,000 were French regular troops. William had 36,000, all Protestants, drawn from many different nations. The armies encamped on opposite sides of the river. The next morning, July 1, William's right wing crossed the bridge of Slane, a few miles up the river. Schomberg, with the centre, dashed through the stream at Oldbridge. A desperate fight took place in the river itself. Schomberg was killed, and the issue seemed doubtful, when William, in spite of a wound received on the previous evening,

William in Ireland

Battle of the Boyne

passed the river lower down with the cavalry, and by his timely arrival decided the battle. James fled to Dublin, reached Waterford, and thence escaped to France. The battle of the Boyne is memorable as being the last great fight between the rival religions.

William then occupied Dublin and Waterford; but at Limerick he received so severe a check from Sarsfield, the most gallant of Irishmen, that he was obliged to raise the siege. Returning to England, he sent John Churchill, earl of Marlborough, to besiege Cork, and within five weeks Marlborough had accomplished his task.

Marlborough in Ireland

In June **1691**, St. Ruth, a French general, with Sarsfield and Tyrconnel, again took the field for James. But on July 11 he was routed by the Dutch commander Ginkell, at Aughrim in Galway, with a loss of 7,000 men in killed alone. Galway then surrendered, and on August 12 Ginkell began the bombardment of Limerick, which fell on October 1. By the military treaty then made, all the officers and soldiers were allowed to go to France in English transports. By the civil treaty, which needed parliamentary sanction, a full amnesty was announced, and Catholics were to enjoy the privileges they had had under Charles II., with permission to carry arms and exercise professions. As long as parliament was not sitting William and his officers loyally carried out these terms; but in **1692**, and again in **1695**, the Irish parliament, composed of Protestants, shamefully repudiated the Treaty of Limerick, and passed penal laws of such crushing severity that the Catholics could not even attempt further resistance. In **1698** the Act of Settlement was re-enacted.

Treaty of Limerick

The settlement of Scotland was defaced by a terrible crime. The task of quieting the Highlands had been given to Lord Breadalbane, a Campbell, who found himself thwarted by M'Ian, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe. Pardon was offered to all who, by December 31, should swear allegiance to William and Mary. M'Ian at the last moment appeared at Fort William to take the oaths. Finding no one qualified to administer them he went to Inverary, and was there sworn in on January 6. Breadalbane, Argyle, and Sir John Dalrymple, the lord advocate, saw their opportunity, the two former for private vengeance, the third for ridding the country of some of the 'thieves,' as the Highlanders were called in the Lowlands. The fact that the oaths had been taken was suppressed, and William signed an order for the extirpation of the Macdonalds. Glencoe was then surrounded, and 120 Campbells of Argyle's regiment, with orders 'not to trouble the government with prisoners,' asked for hospitality, which was granted at once, and which was enjoyed for a

Glencoe

fortnight. Before daylight on February 13 they rose upon their sleeping hosts and began the work of slaughter. Between thirty and forty were slain in cold blood; many died of exposure on the bleak hills. For a long time this black treachery escaped notice. Not until **1695** did the Scotch parliament enter upon an inquiry; it then recommended the prosecution of those principally concerned. However guiltless William may have been in signing the first order, it is disgraceful to him that no punishment adequate to the crime was inflicted. Breadalbane was committed for high treason, but was never tried. Dalrymple was merely forced to resign his post.

Section 2.—*The War with France to the Treaty of Ryswick. Financial Reforms*

Meanwhile England was fairly engaged in the first act of the great struggle with France, which was to last, with short respites, until **1815**. From boyhood William had been fighting ceaselessly with Louis XIV., and he now put England in the van of all the European powers who were resolved to bring France to her knees. In **1689** he had formed an alliance with Austria, Spain, and the Dutch. Marlborough went out in command of a brigade, and parliament voted two millions for the war. In February **1691** a congress was held at the Hague, at which William presided. But Louis was beforehand; and the allies had not taken the field when he captured the strong fortress of Mons. During the indecisive campaign of **1691** William had to confront treachery at home. A formidable Jacobite conspiracy was discovered in the spring, and suppressed with remarkable leniency. Then followed

Treachery of Marlborough

treason among his own servants. Marlborough not only furnished James with details of the plan of campaign and the strength of the English army, but offered to carry over to Louis the forces under his command. But when the time came he evaded his promise, and the disappointed Jacobites betrayed him to William. The king did not publish his knowledge of the plot, but dismissed Marlborough on other pretexts from all his offices. This led to a rupture with the Princess Anne, who was completely under the influence of Marlborough's wife, and who now, with her husband, left the court. Then Fuller, a disciple of Oates, accused Halifax of being in James's interest, and named more than fifty leading men who had signed an address to Louis. But careful examination proved the whole statement to be an imposture; and Fuller was fined, imprisoned, and pilloried.

Louis determined to invade England during William's absence. He hoped that Russell would desert with the fleet. James issued

a declaration so foolish that the government thought best to reprint it with comments and send it throughout the country. A fleet of ninety vessels was soon equipped; and the sailors were roused to enthusiasm by a letter from Mary, which Russell read out to the captains. Russell himself, though attached to James, had no intention of letting an English fleet be beaten. On May 19, **1692**, was won the great battle of La Hogue, a victory which ranks with the defeat of the Armada and with Trafalgar; and this was followed by the destruction of six men-of-war in Cherbourg harbour under the very eyes of James.

Victory of La Hogue

On land matters went less favourably. Louis, again first in the field, captured Namur, the strongest fortress in the Netherlands, in spite of all William's efforts. The king was then pitted against Luxembourg, the ablest marshal of France. At Steinkirk he surprised and nearly routed Luxembourg. But after a desperate fight the charge of the French household brigade drove back the English regiments, five of which, through the incapacity of Solmes, a Dutch general, were cut to pieces. The discovery that a plot had been hatched in the French foreign office to assassinate William took men's thoughts somewhat from this disaster. All felt that the war must be carried on with vigour, and that for this purpose the revenue must be increased. Two great measures were therefore passed. A new land valuation was made, and a tax of four shillings in the pound was levied on the increased rentals, producing two millions a year.[6] But even so another million was needed. In January **1693** Montague, a commissioner of the treasury, proposed to raise a loan for this amount, the interest being defrayed by new duties on liquors. This interest was to be paid in annuities, so that when the annuitants died the debt would be extinguished. This was the beginning of our National Debt.[7] The rest of the session was spent in abortive attempts at parliamentary reform. The Place Bill, to exclude all servants of the crown from parliament, as being exposed to corrupting influences, was lost in the Lords. William himself vetoed a new Triennial Bill, providing

Defeat of William at Steinkirk

Land tax

National debt

[6] This tax was voted annually until 1798, when it was made permanent. A great part has since been redeemed for a lump sum, and at present about a fiftieth only of the revenue is raised in this way.

[7] As the war went on the same plan was adopted, until at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 the debt was fifty millions. As commerce increased, and confidence grew in the stability of the country, people were more and more glad to lend money to the government, until at the end of the great Napoleonic war the national debt was more than 800,000,000*l*. So long as the government can pay the interest on the national debt without difficulty it is stable; and if, as has happened in other countries, it were obliged to repudiate the payment, it would be bankrupt.—Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 611.

that no future parliament should last more than three years, as trenching on his prerogative (pp. 261 and 301, *note*). The expiring law for the censorship of the press was renewed for two years only.

James now put out a fresh declaration, in which he promised, if restored to the throne, to give up every point of the dispute. So complete a surrender merely excited universal derision. In June William again took the field. On July 19 took place the battle of Landen, or Neerwinden, in which, despite his splendid personal courage, he was again defeated by Luxembourg, after a long day of awful carnage. But William was never so great as at the moment of defeat. In three weeks he was once more at the head of an army full of fight; while the exhaustion of France compelled Louis to think of peace.

Defeat at Landen

The conduct of the Tories, who were now beginning to oppose our taking so leading a part in a Continental war, led to a very important change in the system of government. Hitherto the ministers were merely the king's servants, chosen without direct reference to parliament; and William's object had been to keep the balance between parties. Now, however, he determined to rely solely upon the Whigs. They had placed him on the throne, and they were the advocates of the war. Since their defeat at the polls in 1690 they had been growing stronger every day in parliament, under the direction of the 'Junto,' a small knot of able men. Before long William had made such changes that Danby, now Earl of Caermarthen, and Godolphin were the only Tories in office; and the modern idea of a ministry formed out of the party which had a parliamentary majority was fairly started[8] (p. 287, *note*).

Beginning of party government

The need of money for the war had another effect of the greatest moment. Montague suggested that a loan of 1,200,000*l.* should be raised at a rate of 8 per cent. guaranteed by the government; the subscribers being formed into a corporation known as the 'Governor and Company of the Bank of England.' Thus a national bank was created, in which people placed their money, and from which the government could at any time draw supplies at 8 per cent., instead of borrowing from individuals or the Corporation of London. This became a great source of strength to William. The trading classes were chiefly Whigs. Every member of the Corporation knew that both his principal and his 8 per cent.

Bank of England

[8] The Whigs were not actually in a majority until the next parliament. For party government, see Erskine May, *Const. Hist. of England*, vol. ii. ch. viii., and especially page 92; and Lecky, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 106.

depended upon the firmness of William's government; for James, had he returned, would doubtless have repudiated a debt incurred to support his rival. Everyone, too, who had placed his money there became an adherent of the established government. The credit of the Stuarts had been ruined by such deeds as the 'Stop of the Exchequer' and the illegal exactions of James II.; that of William was secured by the Bank of England. To conciliate the Whigs still further William assented to the Triennial Bill (p. 333), December 1694; the press was freed from censorship, and corrupt practices in parliament were largely checked. Caermarthen, now Duke of Leeds, was ordered to be impeached for taking bribes, but escaped from want of evidence.

During 1694 the war had languished; the French, for the first time, making no progress. At sea, through Marlborough's treachery an expedition against Brest failed. The next year showed that the tide had turned. Luxembourg was dead, and had left no great successor. Helped by the Bank of England, William did great things. By the recapture of Namur, September 1, 1695, he broke through an almost continuous record of defeat; while the English fleet rode triumphant over all seas. With the prestige of this success he dissolved parliament, and a majority was returned at the new elections pledged to the war policy.

Successes of England

The death of Mary (December 28, 1696) was a grievous blow to William. Without intellect of a high order, she had completely won him by her loyalty, her gentleness, and her tact. By the court, too, she was beloved, and she had done all in her power to lessen the bitterness of religious controversy. Her death brought one advantage. Anne was now certain to succeed, and Marlborough would then be supreme. He therefore attempted no more disloyalty. The Jacobites held the moment favourable for a fresh attempt upon William's life. But the plot was betrayed, and the leaders executed. Disgust at the baseness of the attempt caused all regular opposition to cease; and an association was formed, as in the days of Elizabeth (p. 223), signed by nearly the whole parliament, to avenge William's life if he were killed, and to maintain the succession.

Death of Mary

Assassination plot. The Association

An additional safeguard, prompted no doubt by the scandals of Charles II.'s reign, was secured for liberty by this parliament. After three unsuccessful attempts, the Treason Bill was passed. The act laid down: (1) that a copy of the indictment should be furnished to the prisoner; (2) that he should be allowed counsel (p. 246); (3) that two witnesses on oath should,

Treason Act

within three years of the alleged offence, give evidence to the indictment; (4) that a list of the jury should be given to the prisoner; (5) that he should have the privilege of calling witnesses on his own behalf.

The National Debt Act and the Bank of England Act had been meanwhile followed up by a third great financial measure. The silver coinage, not being milled, was subject to continual depreciation by clipping, often to the extent of half its weight, in spite of the horrible penalties attached to the practice. By the Coinage Act the clipped money was all called in; a tax upon windows defrayed the loss incurred by recoinage;[9] and the old money was accepted in payment of taxes. The new coinage, carefully milled, was issued under the direction of Sir Isaac Newton, the great philosopher, who became master of the Mint.

Reform of the silver coinage

That England could, in spite of the drain of war and of the distress caused by a succession of bad harvests, undertake so vast a reform, must have struck Louis XIV. with envy; for he could raise no more from his impoverished country, and he knew, in his own phrase, that 'the last piece of gold would win.' After another indecisive campaign he offered acceptable terms. On September 10, **1697**, England, Spain, and the Dutch made peace with Louis at Ryswick; and on October 30 the emperor also complied. England and France agreed that each should restore the conquests made in America, that Louis should respect the existing government, and that William should cease from encouraging French Protestants in rebellion. When William returned to London he was greeted with an enthusiastic welcome. England was proud of the part she had played in guarding the liberties of Europe. Commerce had been rapidly developing. The great financial measures had restored public credit, and there was peace at home and abroad.

Peace of Ryswick

Section 3.—*The Spanish Succession. Death of William*

With peace came new trouble. William was anxious to keep on foot a large part of the army. But the hatred of a standing army (p. 289) was as strong as ever. Every member knew that he must vote against this if he wished to be returned at the next election. While, therefore, maintaining the navy in full strength, the Commons reduced the army to 10,000 men, and the Mutiny Act (p. 326) was not renewed. At the same time, however, they increased William's income, and strengthened his position by several severe laws against declared Jacobites.

Reduction of the army

[9] Houses where the absence of windows is noticeable will generally be found to have been built subsequently to this act.

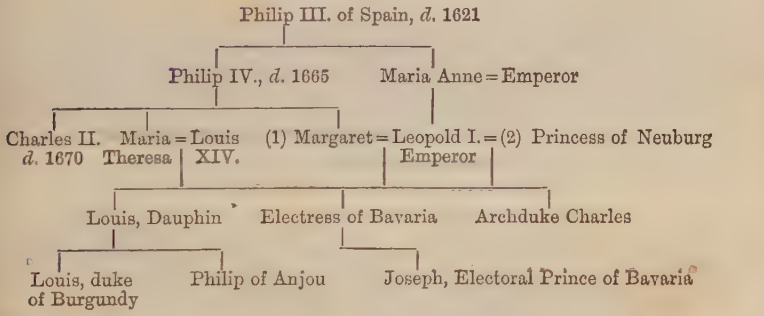
Suddenly the peace of Europe was again threatened by the prospect of the death of Charles II. of Spain without heirs. To his world-wide dominions[10] there were three claimants. (1) First in blood was the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV. Both she and her husband had renounced their rights at marriage; but Louis had easily found reasons for holding this renunciation invalid. (2) The Emperor Leopold, duke of Austria, son of Philip IV.'s sister Maria Anne, who had made no renunciation. (3) Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, grandson of Leopold and Margaret, Philip's youngest daughter. He, as the least powerful, was also the least dangerous; in the other cases either France and Spain, or Austria and Spain, would be joined. After prolonged negotiation, Louis agreed to support him, if the Dauphin received Guipuscoa, Naples, Sicily, and some small Italian islands; while the Duchy of Milan was to go to the emperor's son by a second wife—the Archduke Charles; the emperor himself being regent of Spain during his grandson's minority. This was the First Partition Treaty.

Spanish succession

First Partition Treaty

GENEALOGICAL TABLE XIV

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION


Philip III. of Spain, d. 1621
Philip IV., d. 1665
Maria Anne = Emperor
Charles II. d. 1670
Maria Theresa = Louis XIV.
(1) Margaret = Leopold I. Emperor
= (2) Princess of Neuburg
Louis, Dauphin
Electress of Bavaria
Archduke Charles
Louis, duke of Burgundy
Philip of Anjou
Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria

By the Triennial Act parliament now came to an end. With peace had come a Tory reaction, and in December **1698** the Tories had a majority. To William's bitter anger, they once more reduced the army, to 7,000 men, though still providing amply for the navy. They attacked the ministers and the naval administration, and passed a bill appointing commissioners to investigate the grants made by William

[10] *I.e.*, Spain, the Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Duchy of Milan, Mexico, Peru, Chili, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands.

to his Dutch friends from forfeited lands in Ireland, to the amount of 1,700,000 acres; 'tacking' the bill, as it was called, to the annual Land Tax Bill, so that the Lords must pass or reject both at once. Parliament was then prorogued until November 1699.

Irish forfeitures

In the interval the Electoral Prince died. This made a fresh partition treaty necessary. It was now agreed between France and England that the Archduke Charles should be heir to Spain and Spanish America, while Louis took the Milanese in addition to the countries ceded him by the first treaty. Against this disposal of her without her own consent Spain vehemently protested; all the more as she had at the time special causes of grievance against England.[11]

Second Partition Treaty

When the Commons met in November 1699, they were in no better temper than before. They again attacked the king's ministers, especially his great lord chancellor, Lord Somers, and Bishop Burnet, who was hated by the High Churchmen. Upon the commissioners' report the Commons passed a bill for annulling the Irish grants, and for vesting in trustees all Irish property belonging to the crown at the accession of James II., or since forfeited. To ensure its passing the Lords they again tacked it to the Land Bill. William consented to it perforce, in the utmost anger, and immediately prorogued parliament again. In July 1700 the young Duke of Gloucester, the last of Anne's children, suddenly died. A further provision for the succession was thus rendered necessary. By the *Second Act of Settlement*, 1701, it was laid down that after the death of William and Anne, if no children were left, the crown should go to Sophia, the aged Electress of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. (p. 239). But conditions were attached, some of which vastly increased the supremacy of parliament. (1) The sovereign must be a

Resumption of Irish lands

Second Act of Settlement

[11] Between her northern and southern possessions in America lay the Isthmus of Darien, which she had left unoccupied. Paterson, a Scotchman, suggested to his countrymen the project, founded upon the success of the East India Company, of placing a colony there, with the idea of commanding the trade which would pass across the isthmus between Asia and Europe, instead of rounding the Cape of Good Hope. The soil and sea were rich and productive, the climate delightful, and there were rumours of vast wealth of precious metals. In June 1695 the Scotch parliament formed the Darien Company, with a monopoly of the trade with Asia, Africa, and America. The shares were eagerly bought up. The scheme was opposed in England, as likely to damage her own trade. The Scotch were all the more determined. On July 25, 1698, 1,200 settlers sailed; and in August 1699, 1,300 more went to join them. They found that the first colony had disappeared under disease, famine, and the attacks of the Spaniards. The second body fared as badly; and on April 11, 1700, a few wretched survivors departed from the ill-fated spot. See Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 476.

member of the Church of England as by law established. (2) If the crown should fall to anyone not a native of England (as the Electress), the consent of parliament should be necessary before the nation engaged in war for the defence of any land not belonging to the crown of England. (3) The sovereign should not be allowed to leave the country (as William had done) without permission from parliament. (4) The whole privy council (and not a cabal) were to be consulted, and were to sign the resolutions adopted. (5) No foreigners (as Dutchmen) were to hold civil or military posts. (6) No one holding a crown office or pension might sit in parliament (p. 333). (7) Judges were to be deprived of office only upon an address from both houses (see *note*).[12] (8) No royal pardon could henceforth be claimed in bar of a parliamentary impeachment (pp. 309, 325). These conditions were to take effect at the accession of the House of Hanover.

Independence of the judges

In December **1700** Charles II. died. It was found that Louis, false to the treaty, had induced him to leave his whole dominions to the Dauphin's younger son, Philip of Anjou. Gross as was the treachery, it did not bring about war. Since Philip was the *younger* son, there was no danger of the union of France and Spain; nor were the English enthusiastic for the Partition Treaty, on account of the great advantages it conferred on France. Philip V. of Spain was therefore acknowledged by England and the Dutch. But then Louis roused the anger of all parties in England by inducing the Spaniards to acquiesce in his garrisoning several towns in the Spanish Netherlands, hitherto part of the barrier against French aggression towards the north-east. To keep the Netherlands out of the power of France had, ever since the days of Edward III., been the desire of England (p. 113). Public opinion swung round rapidly. Petitions poured in to the Commons to support the alliance which William had at once made with the Dutch, and which, in September **1701**, was joined by the emperor.

Treachery of Louis

Louis seizes the Barrier Towns

[12] By this provision the independence, and therefore the purity, of the judicial bench is secured. Hitherto there had been no law and no constant practice on the subject. There were two forms of words in which the judges' commissions had been drawn. By the one they held office 'Quamdiu se bene gesserint'—*i.e.* during good behaviour; by the other 'durante placito'—*i.e.* at the discretion of the crown. Under James I. it was 'durante placito.' Charles I., at the beginning of the Long Parliament, adopted the 'quamdiu' form. Charles II. went back to 'durante placito,' and the servility of the judges and the degradation of justice were most marked. William restored the 'quamdiu' form, and parliament now took care to lay down the most important doctrine in the English administration of justice. The judges still gave up office at the death of the sovereign. The last step was taken when this restriction also was put an end to, in the first year of George III.

Only ten days later James II. died. By recognising his son as king of England, Louis made the renewal of war certain. The army and navy were each raised to 40,000 men. With the prospect of war came a Whig reaction. William seized the moment to dissolve parliament; and the new elections returned him a Whig majority, prepared to go to all lengths against France.[13] They attainted the pretender of high treason; declared it high treason to correspond with him; and passed an act imposing an oath, called the *Abjuration Oath*, upon all civil officers, ecclesiastics, members of the universities, and schoolmasters, by which William was acknowledged lawful and rightful king, and any right or title in the pretended Prince of Wales denied. Hereditary right was, as it were, pulled from its grave and buried again. No peace was to be made with Louis until he had given satisfaction for the insult. William was indefatigable in preparation. Prussia joined the Quadruple Alliance, and William was ready to take command in April. But on February 21, **1702**, while he was hunting, his horse stumbled on a mole-hill and threw him. His collar-bone was broken, and he was otherwise hurt. The fever to which he was annually subject attacked him while thus weakened. On March 7 he performed his last official act by affixing, with a stamp prepared for the purpose, his signature to the Abjuration Act. On the 8th he died, in the fifty-second year of his life.

Death of James II. Louis recognises the pretender

Death of William

Summary of the Seventeenth Century

It is only by looking back to the beginning of the seventeenth century that we can see what its work had been. The sixteenth had been the century of despotism, and, as such, had, as it were, set before the nation certain questions to which the revolution of **1689** and the reign of William furnish the answers. Had Elizabeth been succeeded by sovereigns as great-hearted and as English as herself, who could say, as she said, 'Nothing, no worldly thing under the sun, is so dear to Us as the love and goodwill of Our subjects,' the answer would no doubt have been a very different one, and, at any rate, given in a very different way.

From the day when, on entering the kingdom, James I. hung a thief without trial, to the establishment of the independence of the judges in **1701**, the claim, practically enforced by the Tudors, to the power of arbitrary arrest, had been under discussion; we have seen

[13] Fresh ideas must from time to time be attached to the terms 'Whig' and 'Tory.' But the main differences were at present that the Whigs favoured dissent, and were the war party; the Tories upheld the exclusiveness of the church, and were opposed to the war.

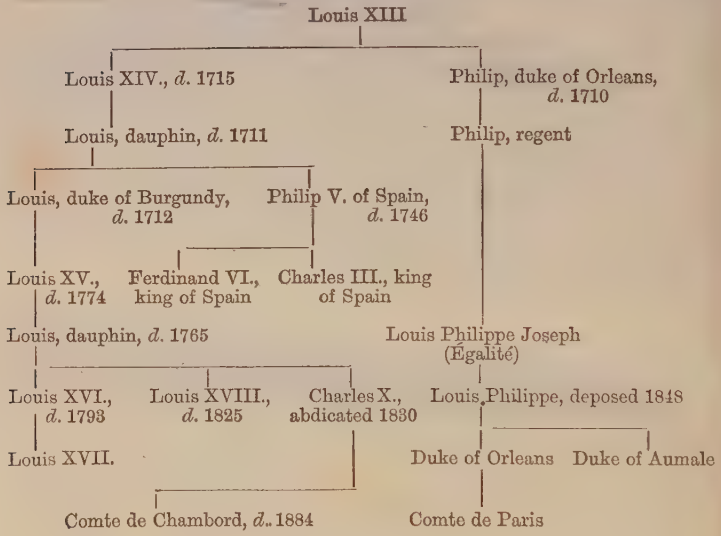
the successive steps in the Petition of Right, the abolition of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, the decision of **1670** in favour of the rights of juries, and the Habeas Corpus Act of **1679**. So, too, from the day when Bate refused to pay the duty on currants in **1607**, to the condemnation in **1689** of James II.'s illegal exactions, the answer had been given to the claim to exact money by the use of the prerogative; and the doctrine of 'appropriation of supplies' had placed the spending as well as the raising of money, at least nominally, in the hands of parliament. The Tudors had left the constitution of the church doubtful; the century was one of intense religious ferment and strife, and the doubt was removed by the failure of the Comprehension Bill and the passing of the Toleration Act in **1689**. Puritanism, which had sprung to fresh life under the folly of James I., allied itself with the parliamentary spirit under Charles I. Its tolerant side, with the sword in its hand, fell into bitter strife with the intolerant side, and in so doing became divorced from parliament. It triumphed, but in its triumph was its ruin. The Restoration restored above all the parliament; and now Puritanism and the parliament were no longer in union. Puritanism seemed to wither away as a political force, though not until it had left an ineffaceable stamp upon the character and literature of the nation. The foreign Stuarts had done their best, with the enthusiastic and unscrupulous help of the church, to uphold the doctrine of Divine right; and the same church joined with another foreigner to dismiss a king because he was a Catholic, and in so doing to send the doctrine of Divine right to the winds. At the beginning of the century no one dreamed that the armed forces of the nation could be under any other sway than that of the crown; but before the end of it they had quietly passed to that of the Commons. The century saw the supremacy of parliament recognised by law; and it saw the final and practical reassertion of the doctrines of Magna Carta.

Dates of Reign of William III

	A.D.
High Church and Low Church	1689
Battles of Killiecrankie and the Boyne	1689
Bill of Rights	1689
Glencoe	1692
Battle of La Hogue	1692
National Debt	1693
Bank of England	1694
Coinage Act	1696
Peace of Ryswick	1697
Partition Treaties	1698, 1699
Second Act of Settlement, and Independence of the Judges	1701
Alliance against Louis	1701
Death of William	1702

GENEALOGICAL TABLE XV

KINGS OF FRANCE


Louis XIII
Louis XIV., d. 1715
Philip, duke of Orleans, d. 1710
Louis, dauphin, d. 1711
Philip, regent
Louis, duke of Burgundy, d. 1712
Philip V. of Spain, d. 1746
Louis XV., d. 1774
Ferdinand VI., king of Spain
Charles III., king of Spain
Louis, dauphin, d. 1765
Louis Philippe Joseph (Égalité)
Louis XVI., d. 1793
Louis XVIII., d. 1825
Charles X., abdicated 1830
Louis Philippe, deposed 1848
Louis XVII.
Duke of Orleans
Duke of Aumale
Comte de Chambord, d. 1884
Comte de Paris

CHAPTER II

ANNE. 1702-1714. *GREAT BRITAIN*

SECTION 1.—*Politics decided by the War.*

THE accession of Anne satisfied at once the Tory sentiment of hereditary right and the Whig sentiment of parliamentary election. The High Church party especially rejoiced, for she was known to be, above all, a good churchwoman. The nation as a whole, which had borne with one foreign sovereign and looked forward to another, welcomed her declaration that her heart was entirely English. She was a woman of irreproachable private life, but devoid of strength either of intellect or character.

A Tory ministry was at once appointed. But the dominant facts were that the war, to which she pledged herself at the coronation, was a Whig war; that in it Marlborough could alone find scope for his

ambition and genius; and that in all but purely church questions she was a mere puppet in his hands. The difference between the views of the strong Tories and Marlborough was soon shown. Rochester, the queen's uncle (pp. 317, 320), urged that England should enter the contest merely as an auxiliary; Marlborough insisted upon her being a principal in the war, and had his way. Rochester angrily resigned his office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and war was declared May 4.

Marlborough, the Tories, and the war

In the parliament which met six months after the accession the High Church had a majority of two to one. They struck forthwith at dissent, their hatred for which, necessarily suppressed under William, was the keener because the fear of the Catholics was now past, and dissent was the only antagonist of the church. During William's reign Nonconformists had been allowed to hold office, in spite of the Test and Corporation Acts, by occasionally conforming to the established worship. The *Occasional Conformity Bill* forbade this under ruinous fines. Favoured by the queen, it passed with large majorities in the Commons. The Lords, however, led by Marlborough and Godolphin, added amendments so unpalatable that the Bill was dropped; and the same thing happened in **1703**.[1]

Occasional Conformity

The war had meanwhile been actively carried on; and so marked had Marlborough's success been on the Upper Rhine and in the Netherlands, where his great exploit was the capture of Liége, that on his return he was thanked by parliament and created a duke by Anne. At sea our fleet had sacked Port St. Mary near Cadiz, and burnt part of the Spanish Plate fleet. In **1703**, in spite of the sluggishness of the Dutch, Marlborough captured Bonn and other places on the Rhine. But on the Danube the French, joined by the Elector of Bavaria, were preparing to crush the emperor, who was distracted by a revolt in Hungary. In Italy, too, they were very strong. Louis, however, was hampered at home by a Protestant insurrection the Duke of Savoy, who held the passes between France and Italy, had declared against him, so had Portugal, who had con-

Campaigns of 1702–1703

[1] The antagonism between the Tory Commons and the Lords, who maintained the principles of the Revolution, was shown when the former passed a bill giving a year of grace to those who were required to take the abjuration oath, and when the Lords added an amendment making it high treason to try to defeat the succession as settled. It was rendered still keener in 1703 by the Aylesbury election dispute. The Commons took up their old ground (p. 236) that they had exclusive cognizance of all questions relating to the election of members. The Lords maintained that a man whose vote is refused by the returning officer might bring an action before them as the highest court of appeal. As in the Skinner case, the matter was never settled, but the Lords tacitly gave up their claim.

cluded a treaty with England arranged by Methuen, the English agent at Lisbon, by which she admitted our woollen manufactures, while we charged a duty on her wines only two-thirds of that upon those of France.[2] And in September **1703** the Archduke Charles was escorted to Lisbon by an English fleet, under the title of Charles III. of Spain.

Before returning to the war in **1704**, Marlborough insisted upon a ministry being formed upon which he could rely. The violent Tories were therefore dismissed. Harley, his personal friend, succeeded Nottingham as secretary of state; and Henry St. John, a young man of splendid talent, became secretary at war. Godolphin, another intimate friend, upon whose appointment as lord high treasurer he had alone consented to take the command of the army, retained his post. It was a critical moment, for the destruction of the emperor seemed certain. He was crippled by the Hungarian rebellion; the Elector of Bavaria was master of the Danube, and Tallard with a large French army was about to join him. But the fate of Europe was changed by the genius of Marlborough. Concealing his plans from all but Godolphin and his wife, he induced the Dutch to let their forces accompany him for a campaign, as they thought, on the Moselle. Then, boldly leaving the French garrisons in his rear, he made a forced march to the Danube, destroyed a Bavarian army in a severe battle at Donauwerth, and joined the emperor's general, Prince Eugene of Savoy. On August 13, **1704**, they fell upon the French and Bavarians at the village of Blenheim, on the left bank of the Danube, and overthrew them utterly. This was one of the decisive battles of the world. It prevented the destruction of the Austrian power, the probable invasion of England, and the possible restoration of James II., and it set a limit once for all to French supremacy on the Continent until the time of Napoleon. Laden with honours from the emperor, Marlborough returned to receive the thanks of parliament, with the royal manor of Woodstock, upon which was erected the palace of Blenheim at the public expense, and a pension to himself and his descendants. On the sea England gained that which was of more importance than Blenheim: by a sudden assault Admirals Rooke and Cloudesley Shovel captured Gibraltar.

The anti-war party in the ministry dismissed

Marlborough

Blenheim

Gibraltar

For the third time the Tories, whose bitterness was satirized by Daniel Defoe in his 'Shortest Way with Dissenters,' had brought in the Occasional Conformity Bill. To beat down the resistance of the

[2] It was from this that the habit of drinking port wine instead of claret began in England. But it was noticed that the desire for the wines of France sensibly strengthened the opposition to Marlborough and the war.

Lords they proposed to 'tack' it (p. 338) to the Subsidy Bill. But the Whigs and moderate men succeeded in defeating this violence; and parliament was at once dissolved, April **1705**.

Section 2.—*The Marlborough-Godolphin Ministry. Succession War, and Triumph of the Whigs. Union with Scotland.* **1705–1710**

The war spirit, excited by Marlborough's triumph, was at full height, and the new elections therefore returned a Whig majority. A ministry was formed around Marlborough and Godolphin pledged to the war, and, with the exception of Harley and St. John, composed entirely of Whigs. Cloudesley Shovel, a Whig, was in command of the fleet.

A Whig parliament and ministry

During **1705** fighting was indecisive. The chief interest lay in Spain, where the French failed to recapture Gibraltar, the investing squadron being attacked and dispersed by Admiral Leake; and where in October the gallant and wayward Earl of Peterborough, the 'last of the knights-errant,' landed with 5,000 men at Valencia with Charles III., and by a most daring exploit captured Barcelona, a place of great strength.[3] In parliament the Whigs passed the Regency Bill, which provided for the death of the queen without issue. It declared that the privy council should proclaim her successor without delay that the seven great officers of state should be charged with the government until the arrival of the new sovereign; that with them should be joined others nominated by the heir in a sealed document, of which copies were to be kept by the lord chancellor, the primate, and the minister of the heir resident in England. At the same time the clause in the Act of Settlement excluding office holders from sitting in the House of Commons (p. 339) was modified. A certain number of offices were named as absolutely disqualifying the holders; the acceptance of any other office vacated the seat, but the holder might be re-elected; and this has remained the law to the present day.

Peterborough in Spain

Regency Bill

Place Bill

Rochester and Nottingham now raised the cry of 'the church in danger.' The Whigs in reply carried resolutions that 'the church is in a most safe and flourishing condition,' and that those who asserted the contrary were enemies to the queen, the church, and the kingdom.' The queen was then forced to express her intention of punishing with severity the promoters of such reports.

'The church in danger'

A memorable year now opened. Marlborough forced the line of

[3] For Peterborough, see Macaulay's Essay on the Succession in Spain.

defences which the French had erected from Antwerp to Namur, and by the decisive, though easily won, victory of Ramilies, May 23, 1706, over Marshal Villeroi, and the subsequent reduction of the French garrisons, drove them from the Netherlands; while Eugene cleared them out of Italy at Superga, September 7. In Spain Peterborough had continued his meteor-like course, and an army of English and Portuguese under the Irishman Galway and Las Minas had entered Madrid and proclaimed Charles III. But the feeling of the country was generally in favour of Philip V.; and the allies were shortly forced to retreat upon Portugal, leaving their conquests in the hands of Louis's general, the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II.; while Peterborough, who was by this time on bad terms with every other leader with whom he had to act, and who had not heard of Superga, sailed to north Italy to help the Duke of Savoy.

The 'wonderful' year

Ramilies

Failures in Spain

Meanwhile Louis, anxious for peace, had offered to give up Spain and India to Charles III., to recognise Anne, and to cede the barrier of fortresses on his north-east (p. 339), if Philip might retain Naples, Sicily, and Milan. The Dutch were anxious to close with so reasonable an offer; but Anne, at Marlborough's bidding, refused it, and the war went on. Marlborough was again given the thanks of parliament, with an additional 3,000*l.* a year. The Tory opponents of the war were struck off the privy council. Whigs were promoted to all vacant posts; and in especial Anne was obliged to appoint Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, for whom she had an intense dislike, to the secretaryship of state.

Peace refused by Marlborough

But that which especially made this year 'wonderful' was the union with Scotland. England wanted safety on her borders; Scotland wanted development of her commerce. But the Scotch remembered bitterly their humiliation at the hands of England, especially under Cromwell. Their pride revolted at the idea of loss of nationality and repute among foreign nations (p. 200). The nobles were jealous of their importance. The Presbyterians were scandalised at the thought of union with a country which maintained an Episcopal church. In **1702**, however, commissioners had been appointed. They agreed on the great principles of the Hanoverian succession and one parliament; but the treaty broke down over matters of finance and trade. At this moment the whole Presbyterian body was stirred to the utmost by the plea of the queen for protection of Episcopalians in Scotland, and by her recommendation to the ministers to live with them in brotherly love. These words, it was declared, proved the intention of England to force Episcopacy upon

Union with Scotland

them. The Scotch parliament therefore passed an act ratifying Presbyterianism, and refusing to recognise any other church; and another making it high treason to impugn any article in their Claim of Right (p. 327). No sovereign after Anne might make peace or war without the consent of parliament. All restrictions upon the import of French wines into Scotland were removed, though England and France were at war. Finally an Act of Security was passed, which debarred the same succession in Scotland as in England, unless the religion and trade of the Scottish nation were fully secured. The queen granted the former acts, but refused assent to the Act of Security.

The proposal of this act, though intended to make union impossible, actually, by the prospect of confusion which it opened out, made it inevitable. In July **1704** it was again passed by the Scotch, and this time Godolphin induced Anne to assent to it. The English government then determined to retaliate in such a way that Scotland should be literally starved into union. An act was passed that after Christmas Day **1705**, unless the question of succession had been already settled, all Scotchmen, not regular inhabitants of England, or serving in the army or navy, should be treated as aliens; and the import of all Scotch staple products into England should cease. Hereupon the Scots, after looking in vain to France for help, gave way. By July **1706** they had agreed upon the terms to be submitted to the two parliaments.[4]

Act of Security

To avoid any appearance of pressure from England, these conditions were first laid before the Scotch parliament. To meet Presbyterian scruples a fresh Act of Security was passed, declaring the Presbyterian church government unalterable and the only church government in Scotland; exacting an oath from the sovereign to this effect, and a profession of uniformity from all professors and schoolmasters. In January **1707** the Union passed in the Scotch parliament; in February in that of England; and on March 6 it received

[4] (1) England and Scotland were henceforth to be one kingdom, known as 'Great Britain,' with one parliament; the Act of Settlement was to be maintained. The crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were to be united, the national arms quartered, and a new Great Seal made. Scotland was to send 45 members to the Commons to England's 513, and 16 peers by election to England's 185—more than one-twelfth of the whole, though her contributions to the taxation would be but one-fortieth. (2) The same laws were to rule taxation and trade in both countries, though out of consideration for the poverty of Scotland she was to be exempt from some taxes for a time; and to make up for any immediate loss she was granted an 'equivalent' of 400,000*l.*, of which the greater part was devoted to relieve the Darien shareholders. Finally, the heritable jurisdictions—much valued by the nobles—were to remain, with her whole legal system. Not a word was said about the church. Any attempt to touch Presbyterianism would have wrecked the treaty at once, and it was expressly excluded from debate.

the royal assent. The strength of England was doubled; and Scotland, from being the poorest nation in Europe, soon became rich and prosperous.

There was, however, much discontent left in Scotland; and the knowledge of this induced the pretender to attempt a landing. But Admiral Byng was sent in pursuit, the landing was frustrated, and the expedition returned ignominiously to France.

During **1707** Spain was again the scene of failure. The commanders of the allies quarrelled; Galway and Las Minas were crushed by Berwick at Almanza, April 25; and Catalonia was soon all that was left to Charles III. Any disaster in the war tended to weaken Marlborough at home. But he was now being attacked by one of those back-stair intrigues which always flourish under a weak sovereign. Anne had found courage to revolt against the domination of Marlborough's wife, and had transferred her intimacy to Abigail Hill, a poor relation for whom the duchess had obtained a post at court. Harley was Abigail's cousin, and he made use of her to aid him in supplanting Marlborough and Godolphin. But this only gave the Whigs the chance of compelling these two ministers to join them without reserve. They allied themselves with the High Tories, like Nottingham, and passed a resolution which would have limited the war to Spain. Marlborough and Godolphin at once gave the pledges required; the Whigs threw over the Tories, and, by raising a report that Harley was in communication with France, drew upon him such a storm of obloquy that he was compelled to resign the secretaryship, February **1708**. St. John went with him, and the ministry was now a purely Whig one, the latest of the recruits being Robert Walpole, who took St. John's place as secretary of war.

Failures in Spain. Battle of Almanza

Attack upon Marlborough; its failure

This meant a vigorous prosecution of the war. Louis had made a supreme effort. Four great armies were sent out to the Netherlands, Italy, the Rhine, and Spain. Marshal Vendôme surprised Ghent and Bruges, but was overthrown at Oudenarde, July 11, by Marlborough and Eugene, who then invested and took Lille, December 9, upon which the famous engineer Vauban had expended his utmost skill, and recaptured Ghent and Bruges. Sardinia and Minorca were seized by General Stanhope in the name of Charles III., and the latter, with its splendid harbour, became an English possession at the Peace of Utrecht, **1714**. Peace was again possible, had the allies been moderate. The state of France was appalling. Crushing taxation and famine were depopulating the country. An intense frost, lasting for five weeks,

Oudenarde

Distress of France

had destroyed the orchards, olive gardens, and vineyards. The death-rate had doubled, the birth-rate decreased. Louis was willing to come to terms of the most humiliating character. But then the demand was made that he should aid in turning Philip out of Spain. This was too much for his pride. 'If I must fight,' he answered, 'I prefer to fight against my enemies rather than against my children.' Once more he appealed to his country, and the country gallantly replied. Villars, with 100,000 men, marched to relieve Mons. But it was in vain. At Malplaquet, on September 10, 1709, was fought a terrible battle, in which Marlborough and Eugene triumphed once more, though the half-starved French fought with such desperation behind their entrenchments that they inflicted on the allies a loss of 20,000 men—double their own. Mons then fell. The misfortunes of France were relieved only in the Peninsula, where Galway was once more defeated, May 17, at La Guardina, in Portugal. On his return Marlborough asked for the commandership-in-chief for life. But Anne steadily refused, and was supported by that dread of military despotism which was the abiding result of Cromwell's rule.

Malplaquet

Section 3.—*Fall of the Whigs, and the consequent Peace of Utrecht. Harley and Bolingbroke*

The triumph of the Whigs had been complete; but it had been purchased by the alienation of the queen, and the enmity of the High Church party had grown continually keener. The union with a Presbyterian country and an act for the naturalisation of foreign Protestants, who were chiefly Nonconformists, had increased the bitterness; and at this moment an opportunity occurred for an outburst. Henry Sacheverell, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, had preached two violent High Church sermons, in which the church was declared in danger, the bishops and government abused, revolution doctrines reviled, and non-resistance and passive obedience upheld. The second was published, and in a few days 40,000 copies were sold. In spite of the advice of Somers, Marlborough, and Walpole, the government determined to impeach Sacheverell. The trial lasted for three weeks, amid growing excitement. The mob rose, burnt the meeting-houses, made bonfires in the streets of their furniture and books, and attacked the persons of well-known Low Churchmen. The queen herself, as she drove to the trial, was stopped by an excited crowd shouting, 'We hope your majesty is for High Church and Sacheverell.' The Lords found Sacheverell guilty; he was suspended for three years, and the sermons burned by the hangman. But a fatal blow had been struck at the Whig power,

High Church feeling. Sacheverell

and Anne at once availed herself of the incident. She shook herself free of the Marlboroughs, and broke up the ministry, dismissing first Sunderland, and then Godolphin. Walpole, Somers, and the other Whig ministers resigned. Harley was made chancellor of the exchequer, and St. John secretary of state. Parliament was dissolved in September, and the new elections, turning on the Sacheverell excitement, resulted in a large Tory majority.

Downfall of the Whigs. Harley and St. John

During the campaign of **1710** Marlborough took more towns on the French frontier; but the masterly operations of Villars had prevented the capture of Arras, which would have left the road open to Paris. In Spain Stanhope gained two great battles at Almenara and Saragossa; and it seemed as if Madrid must again fall. But, badly supported by the Austrians, and out-manœuvred by Vendôme, he not only failed in this, but was forced to capitulate with his whole army at Brihuega; and Philip was left master of Spain.

Failures in Spain

The new parliament at once attacked the Marlboroughs. So long as the war lasted the duke was indispensable; but no vote of thanks was given him, and the duchess was deprived of all her offices. The attempted assassination of Harley increased that minister's popularity, and on May 20 he was made lord treasurer and Earl of Oxford.[5] Bills were then brought in for strengthening the landed interest and the church. By the first no one was qualified to sit in parliament for a borough who possessed less than 300*l.* a year in land, or for a county with less than 600*l.*; and this act was not repealed until **1858**. The second placed a tax of a shilling on every chaldron of coal brought to London for three years; and with the money fifty new churches were built in London alone.[6]

Harley, earl of Oxford

A Tory ministry meant peace. The whole situation, too, had been changed by the sudden death of the emperor. Charles III., his brother, succeeded him; and if by our help he became also king of Spain, a union of crowns would take place as dangerous to Europe as that of France and Spain. Harley, therefore, began secret negotiations with Louis, and on September 11 preliminaries were signed between France and England. The Dutch and Austrians shortly afterwards consented to a conference at Utrecht.

Negotiations for peace

But Harley was already in difficulties. The people had acquired

[5] For the last time in English history a clergyman was a member of the ministry, Robinson, bishop of Bristol, being made lord privy seal.

[6] The years which saw these churches built formed the worst period of English architecture. Wherever there is an especially ugly church it will generally be found to be one of these fifty, or built about the same time.

the idea that he was giving way too much to France; while the extreme Tories regarded him as too moderate a party man. Once more, therefore, the Whigs and the Nottingham faction made an unscrupulous alliance, by which the former consented to the passing of the Occasional Conformity Bill, while Nottingham aided in carrying addresses to the queen in favour of the war.

Occasional Conformity Bill passed

Harley retorted by striking down Marlborough. He was charged with appropriating 177,000*l.* during the war. The report of the committee of investigation was laid before Anne, and the duke was dismissed from all his employments. Walpole, too, was found guilty of corruption and sent to the Tower. England threw over her engagements with the Dutch; and Prince Eugene was treated with marked discourtesy when he visited England. In every way Harley made the Tory dislike to the war prevail.

Matters stood thus, when all was again changed by the malady which swept off all the immediate heirs to the French crown but one —Louis's great-grandson, afterwards Louis XV. (p. 342). The frail life of this boy alone stood between his uncle, Philip V. of Spain, and the French crown. Thus the original cause of war (pp. 337, 339) appeared again in full force. But the old king, solitary and bereaved, had no heart for further effort. He proposed that, when the occasion arose, Philip should make his choice between France and Spain. But St. John insisted that the choice should be made at once. Louis yielded, and a separate armistice was proclaimed, June 6, **1712**, between England and France, to the anger alike of Eugene, the other allies, and our own troops. To show that this was done with the queen's approval, St. John became Viscount Bolingbroke, and Oxford received the Garter. The result of the armistice was that Villars gained ground so rapidly that the allies too were forced to peace. The death of Godolphin and the departure of Marlborough into privacy at Antwerp left the hands of the government free; and on March 31, **1713**, the various treaties which formed the Peace of Utrecht were signed by all but the Emperor Charles, who, however, gave in his adhesion at Rastadt next year.[7]

Peace of Utrecht

[7] (1) Philip retained Spain and her colonies. Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands went to Austria; and Sicily (afterwards exchanged for Sardinia) to Savoy. (2) France and Spain were never to be united, nor was Spain ever to alienate any of her possessions or her trade with the Indies. (3) Louis acknowledged Anne and the Protestant succession, promised to dismiss the pretender, to give him no assistance, and to dismantle Dunkirk. Equal colonial trading rights were to be exercised by both countries, and free trade was to be established between them. (4) England retained Gibraltar and Minorca, thus securing the command of the Mediterranean. From

Section 4.—*The Schemes of Bolingbroke. The Succession doubtful*

In the Tory party there were two sections—those who upheld the Hanoverian succession, and the 'Jacobites,' who hoped to see the pretender on the throne. The latter were strong among the clergy, and had forty votes in the Commons.[3] But there was one fatal obstacle in the way of the pretender: no entreaties would move him to desert the Catholic faith, and no Tory would pledge himself till he did. Anne, though she wished her half-brother well, was equally loyal to her coronation oath.

The Jacobites and Bolingbroke

But there was much to cause alarm among the friends of the Hanoverian cause. Bolingbroke attached himself closely to the Jacobite wing, and promoted its leading members to high office. The officers who had served under William were replaced by men devoted to himself. The Duke of Ormond, a vehement Jacobite, was put in command of the Cinque Ports, Berwick-on-Tweed, and Edinburgh. The Whigs, who were gaining ground when it was seen that Louis XIV. did not mean to fulfil his treaty obligations, were however on the alert, under the leadership of General Stanhope; while the moderate Tories began to fall away from the government. To retain the influence of the church, Bolingbroke now introduced the Schism Bill. By this measure no one might be a schoolmaster or tutor without a license from the bishop, upon penalty of imprisonment; such license to be granted only upon a certificate of having received the sacrament according to the established church within the past year, and having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This tyrannical measure was passed by 237 to 126 in the Commons, and in the Lords by 77 to 72. But events shortly occurred which prevented it from ever coming into action.

Hanoverian Tories

Schism Bill

To check the growing alienation of the Hanoverian Tories, the ministry then offered a reward of 5,000*l.*, which the Commons increased to 100,000*l.*, for the pretender's arrest, should he land in

France she gained Hudson's Bay Territory, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; Cape Breton and fishing rights being reserved to France. The 'Assiento,' or contract between France and Spain, giving the former the sole right of importing negroes to Spanish America, was now transferred to England. (5) The Dutch gained a strong barrier and a favourable commercial treaty with France. Prussia, with increased territory, was recognised as a kingdom. The Elector of Bavaria was restored by the empress, and the Elector of Hanover recognised by Louis.

[3] It was probably to secure these votes, and not with any intention of restoring the pretender, that Harley and Bolingbroke held correspondence with him.

England. But Bolingbroke's great object was to make himself prime minister. He secured the help of Abigail Hill, now Lady Masham, to ruin Oxford, as Oxford had used it to ruin Marlborough. Oxford's timid and untrustworthy character was not such as to secure him firm friends; the backstairs intrigue was successful, and on July 27 he was dismissed, Bolingbroke remaining supreme.

Fall of Oxford. Bolingbroke supreme

He first tried to win over the Whigs. Failing in this, he prepared to form a purely Jacobite ministry. Suddenly the queen was seized with an apoplectic fit, July 30. Stanhope and the Whigs were ready, and Marlborough was expected from Antwerp. One of the ministers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, had concerted measures with the two great Whig peers, the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset. The council met, none but the chief officers of state having been summoned, as was customary. Suddenly Argyle and Somerset entered and took their seats, as they had a right to do, being privy councillors. They at once requested that the queen's physicians should report upon her condition. They then moved that Shrewsbury should be recommended to the queen as lord high treasurer. Taken by surprise, Bolingbroke and the Jacobites made no demur. The dying queen gave the staff into Shrewsbury's hands. The other Whig members of the council were summoned to London; the Tower and all important posts were secured; and Bolingbroke saw his hopes scattered to the winds.[9] The skill and decision of a few Whig peers had overcome the danger now, as at the Revolution. The next morning, August 1, Anne died. The council met at once, and the list of regents (p. 345) was read. They were all Whig peers. Marlborough was not one, but the reception he met with in London on his return made up for the slight. King George I. was then proclaimed without an attempt at resistance in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin.

Death of Anne; fall of the Tories

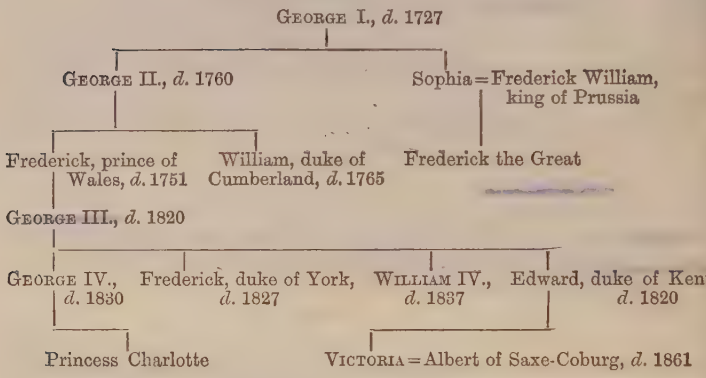
Dates of the Reign of Queen Anne

	A.D.		A.D.
Blenheim and Gibraltar	1704	Sacheverell	1709
Peterborough in Spain	1705	Stanhope capitulates at Brihuegen	1710
Ramillies	1706	Occasional Conformity Bill	1710
Union with Scotland	1707	Peace of Utrecht	1713
Almanza	1707	Schism Act	1713
Oudenarde	1708	Death of Anne	1714

[9] 'The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday—the queen died on Sunday! What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!' exclaimed Bolingbroke.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE XVI

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER


GEORGE I., d. 1727
GEORGE II., d. 1760
Sophia = Frederick William, king of Prussia
Frederick, prince of Wales, d. 1751
William, duke of Cumberland, d. 1765
Frederick the Great
GEORGE III., d. 1820
GEORGE IV., d. 1830
Frederick, duke of York, d. 1827
WILLIAM IV., d. 1837
Edward, duke of Kent, d. 1820
Princess Charlotte
VICTORIA = Albert of Saxe-Coburg, d. 1861

CHAPTER III

GEORGE I.[1] 1714-1727. *THE WHIG SUPREMACY*

SECTION 1.—*Party Government. The* 1715 *Rebellion and the Septennial Act*

THE accession of George I. was the final triumph of the party which had carried out the Revolution. A ministry was formed, containing but one Tory, Nottingham, whose support as the champion of the High Churchmen helped to silence church opposition. Townshend and Stanhope—both men of the highest character—were secretaries of state; Walpole, Sunderland, Halifax, Cowper, and Wharton, were their principal colleagues. The Tories refused the inferior posts offered them; and party government (p. 334, and the whole reign of Anne) was henceforth the recognised practice. Its effect was to lessen the power of the crown, and greatly to increase that of the Commons. Ministers acted more and more as members of, and responsible to, their party. The crown, not yet beyond danger, rested upon the party in power, which in turn demanded its support against their opponents. This tendency was increased by the character of the king. He was a middle-aged man, without ability, though benevolent, industrious, and upright. He had little knowledge

Party government

[1] Mahon, *History of England.*

of the constitution, and was ignorant of the English language; such of his ministers as knew no German were forced to converse with him in Latin.[2] Hanover was his home, and he seemed unable to grasp interests wider than those of Hanover. And thus, while he governed Hanover, England was governed, not by him, but by the Whig party.

The complete overthrow of their opponents was the first thought of the triumphant Whigs. Bolingbroke and his colleagues were impeached. He and Ormond fled to France and entered the pretender's service; the rest remained to face the storm. The charge against Bolingbroke of having been in the pretender's interest broke down. But all were condemned on the ground of betraying the interests of England at the Peace of Utrecht—a flagrant injustice, for the Peace had since been approved by two successive parliaments. Harley was sent to the Tower, and Acts of Attainder were passed against Bolingbroke and Ormond.

The new dynasty had now to face its first danger. The riots which had accompanied the elections, to the cry of, 'Ormond and High Church!' and which gave rise to the Riot Act,[3] were but indications of the generally disturbed temper of the country. The persecution of the late ministers roused the Jacobite spirit in England, while the Highland clans, as usual, offered a fertile field for agitation. The pretender had gathered around him at Paris a motley crowd of English, Scotch, and Irish refugees; and Louis XIV. secretly gave him money, with which ships were fitted out at Havre. But the death of the old king threw out all these plans. The new regent, the Duke of Orleans, could not afford to quarrel with England; and on the first demand, backed by a squadron, the ships were unladen. But the pretender did not despair. In December he sailed with one small vessel and but six attendants.

The rebellion of 1715

The north was already in revolt.[4] On September 28, **1715**, the Earl of Mar had entered Perth at the head of 5,000 Highlanders. Three hundred English Jacobite gentry, under Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater, met at Morpeth, hoping to surprise Newcastle. A third body came together at Moffat, under Lord Kenmure. Failing to surprise Dumfries, they joined Forster's force, and marched to Kelso,

[2] 'I managed the king with good punch and bad Latin,' said Walpole.

[3] Still in force. The magistrates are permitted, after reading the Riot Act before the mob, to call out the troops to break up any collection of more than twelve persons who refuse to disperse when ordered to do so in the king's name. Notice that it is the *civil* magistrate who sets the soldiers in action.

[4] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*.

where they expected reinforcements from Mar. On October 22 Brigadier Macintosh, after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Edinburgh, joined them with 2,000 Highlanders. The combined force exceeded 3,000 men, but they had no leadership and no common aim. A march into Lancashire was at length resolved upon; and Preston was entered on November 9. Without cohesion or knowledge of regular warfare, they nevertheless drove back the attack of General Wills from their barricades. But it was known that a fresh body of royal troops was approaching. Forster determined to treat, and the next day the whole force surrendered. Mar alone remained in arms. He had proved himself a timid and incapable commander. Had he vigorously attacked Argyle, who, with only 1,000 men, lay at Stirling to block the road from the Highlands to Edinburgh, he would probably have won a great success. But all he had done hitherto was to send Macintosh's force to join the southern rising. In November, however, he left Perth with 10,000 men. Argyle, strongly reinforced, faced him at Sheriffmuir, November 13. The two right wings were victorious, and returned for a final struggle. But again Mar's heart failed him, and he withdrew to Perth, where his force rapidly melted away. At this moment the pretender landed with his six followers, and, having created Mar a duke, made a public entry into Dundee. But he was little qualified in person or character to lead a Highland rising. Argyle pushed steadily northwards; and the northern, like the southern, revolt came ignominiously to an end. On February 5 the pretender once more re-embarked with Mar; the clansmen dispersed, and the rebellion of 1715 was over. Walpole, now first lord of the treasury, insisted that a severe example should be made of the leaders. He refused a bribe of 60,000*l.* for the pardon of Derwentwater. Nottingham, however, succeeded in saving Widdrington and Carnwarth, but lost his own office, as well as those of his son and brother, as the price. Stanhope saved Lord Nairn. Nithisdale, Wintoun, Forster, and Macintosh escaped from prison. Derwentwater and Kenmure alone of higher rank, with twenty-six of lower station, suffered death. An Act was passed to disarm the Highlanders. The penal laws were once more executed against Catholics, and they were forbidden to enlist in the army. Next year, however, an Act of Grace was passed, which released all who still remained in prison.

Collapse of the southern rising

Battle of Sheriffmuir

Punishment of the rebels

The government resolved to provide against the recurrence of this danger. On April 26, 1716, they carried the Septennial Act, by which seven instead of three years (p. 335) was fixed upon as the

full duration of parliament.[5] The act was applied to the existing parliament (p. 262), so that the present government was assured of power, and the hopes of the Jacobites for a turn of fortune at the elections three years hence were baffled. The ministers now felt strong enough to gratify the Nonconformists by repealing the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts. But the Test and Corporation Acts, the really oppressive ones, were maintained, lest the dormant church feeling should be again roused to dangerous activity.[6] The knowledge that the pretender was still receiving help both from France and Spain then brought about a defensive league with the Dutch and the emperor; and, a little later, an agreement with France itself. The regent Orleans was next in succession to the young Louis XV., since Philip of Spain had renounced his claim at the Peace of Utrecht. But he did not put trust in Philip's sincerity. For England's guarantee, therefore, he consented to reverse the policy of Louis XIV., to guarantee the Hanoverian line in England, to send the pretender out of France, and to carry out the promised demolition of Dunkirk. In January 1717 the Dutch acceded to this treaty.

Consequences of the rebellion.

1. The Septennial Act

2. Treaties with the Dutch, the emperor, and France

The course of this affair had unfortunately led to differences between Townshend and his schoolfellow and brother-in-law Walpole, in England, on the one hand, and Stanhope and Sunderland, who were in attendance upon the king in Hanover, on the other. The former had, moreover, an enemy in the king's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, whose greed they resisted as Clarendon had resisted the greed of the mistresses of Charles II.; while the deference which they properly showed in the king's absence to the Prince of Wales, of whom George was keenly jealous, placed them still more out of favour. Moreover, while they approved the acquisition of Bremen and Verden from Sweden for the Electorate of Hanover, as commanding the inlets for British ships into Germany, they resolutely refused to further other Hanoverian ideas which did not help British interests. Before long they had both left the government, which fell entirely into the hands of Stanhope and Sunderland; and Walpole, with reckless

Split in the Whig party

[5] This act, like party government, clearly increased the power of the Commons; and the ablest men, who had hitherto looked for a peerage, now found their better ambition satisfied by remaining leaders in the Lower House. See Burke, *Duration of Parliaments*.

[6] Walpole adhered to this principle in 1736. He tried, indeed, never to leave the Dissenters without hope. But when pressed to give a date for their relief, he said, 'I will answer you in one word, "Never!"' The Sacheverell affair prevented him from interposing in church affairs unless absolutely necessary, especially as the Dissenters were peaceful and law-abiding.

inconsistency, became its leading opponent, that he might make himself indispensable.

Section 2.—*The Stanhope-Sunderland Ministry. Revival of Spain; Peerage Bill; South Sea Bubble*

Meanwhile a striking revival had been taking place in Spain. Her trade was vigorous, her finances flourishing, her fleets came as of yore from her colonies laden with gold and silver, her army and navy were once more capable of holding their own in Europe. This was the work of the minister, Cardinal Alberoni, a man of low origin, but of great though unscrupulous genius, who dreamed of restoring to Spain her ancient supremacy, regaining Italy from the emperor, and, in spite of the Peace of Utrecht, securing the French succession for Philip V. To England he was a bitter foe, for she was allied both to the emperor and to France, and her naval power was the chief obstacle to his schemes. He quarrelled with the emperor, and struck the first blow by taking Sardinia. He strained every nerve to create an overwhelming force against England and France, stirred up conspiracy in both countries, espoused the pretender's cause, and made ready to invade our coasts with thirty ships of war and 35,000 men. Admiral Byng was hereupon sent to the Mediterranean with twenty ships; and in July **1718** England, France, and the emperor entered into a fresh alliance, afterwards joined by the Dutch, to preserve the Peace of Utrecht. Alberoni's fleet sailed in July, landed unexpectedly in Sicily, overran the island and besieged the citadel of Messina. Suddenly Byng's fleet appeared, and, attacking the Spanish armament off Cape Passaro, August 11, destroyed it so utterly that for a while Alberoni's scheme of invasion was given up. The Duke of Savoy joined the alliance, while the plans of Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great of Russia—who both personally hated George I. —for an attack on England, came to an end through the death of the former. But the disaster of Passaro only spurred Alberoni to greater efforts. A fresh fleet was equipped at Cadiz, and the pretender was received at Madrid with royal honours. Scarcely had the armament sailed, March **1719**, when it was dispersed by a hurricane and driven back to Cadiz to refit. Two frigates only, with the Earls Marischall and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, reached Scotland. They collected a few men in Kintail, but were completely defeated in the difficult valley of Glenshiel. Discomfitures now came thick upon Alberoni from every side. The arsenals and magazines on the Mediterranean were destroyed from the land side by the French troops under Berwick;

Cardinal Alberoni

Battle of Passaro

the English fleet burnt the dockyards and sacked Vigo and the neighbouring ports; in Sicily alone Spain made head. Alberoni was driven to crave for peace; but Stanhope sternly refused his terms, and insisted upon his banishment from Spain as the common enemy of European peace, December **1719**. Philip V himself joined the Quadruple Alliance; a display of British force in the Baltic secured peace in the north of Europe; and by January **1720** the Continent was once more in repose.

Fall of Alberoni, and peace in Europe

At home the jealousy of the king towards the Prince of Wales brought difficulty upon the government. In **1718** a total alienation had taken place. The prince and princess were dismissed from St. James's, and their friends forbidden the court. The prince henceforward resided at Leicester House, which became the centre of disaffection to the government. Anxiety for the stability of the government should the king die, and especially the fear that an attempt would be made to follow Harley's example (p. 353) of overriding their majority in the Lords by a wholesale creation of fresh peers, led Sunderland and Stanhope to introduce the celebrated Peerage Bill,[7] which, by limiting the royal power in this respect, would have essentially altered the constitution.

Court quarrels, and the Peerage Bill

Before it was introduced into the Commons, the usual war of pamphlets went on. In the 'Old Whig' Addison pointed to Harley's abuse of the prerogative, and the independence which the Commons would feel when their members were no longer influenced by the hope of hereditary honours bestowed by the Crown; while in Steele's 'Plebeian' the evils of a close aristocracy were ably dwelt upon. The peers, he urged, would become a caste, isolated and unsympathetic; the beneficial mixture of classes, by which the son of the meanest peasant may become a peer, while the younger sons of peers are commoners, would disappear; those who served the state would lose one of the greatest incentives to exertion, or would seek for power and notoriety as violent demagogues. These arguments told rapidly; but it was to Walpole that the defeat of the measure was due. His party were favourable to it, but he converted them. The bill was allowed to pass unchallenged in the Lords that they might have the odium. But when it reached its last stage in the Commons, December 8, **1719**, Walpole delivered so masterly a harangue that

[7] The number of peers was not to be increased beyond six, except in cases of princes of the blood. A new peerage might be made only upon the extinction of a title. No peerage should henceforth be granted further than to the grantee and his heirs male. Instead of the sixteen elective Scotch peers, the king was to name twenty-five hereditary peers, which number was to be kept up from the remaining Scotch peers in case of failure of male heirs.

the ministry were beaten by 269 to 179. Such a defeat would now carry with it the resignation of the ministry. It then only led to the closing of the schism in the Whig ranks by Townshend and Walpole rejoining the cabinet. This had the advantage of healing to a large extent the quarrels at court, since Walpole was an intimate of the Prince of Wales.

The Whigs united

The year **1720** is noted for that scene of commercial madness known as the 'South Sea Bubble.' In **1711**, with the view of saving the state part of the burden of interest, about 8 per cent., which was paid upon the floating debt of 10 millions, Harley had formed the South Sea Company, which took over the debt on condition that the state paid them 6 per cent. and gave them the sole enjoyment of the trade with the Pacific and the east coast of Southern America, of the wealth of which fabulous tales were believed. They had the monopoly of the slave trade, and the right to send one ship a year to the Spanish colonies. In **1720**, the company having meanwhile flourished, the scheme was further applied to lessen the interest, 6 per cent., upon the National Debt, then about 31 millions. The government said to the South Sea Company: 'Take over our debt, and we will pay you 5 per cent. Our creditors will be glad to exchange their 6 per cent. from us for 4 per cent. from you, if allowed to take shares in your company, with a chance of a share in the profits of your trade.' So great was the advantage of the regular income of 5 per cent. that the South Sea Company not only consented, but were willing to pay 3½ millions to the state for permission to accept the scheme. The creditors of the government, believing in the vast profits of the South Sea trade, were eager to transfer their debt from government to the company. But here the Bank of England stepped in and said: 'We are willing to give more than 3½ millions for the privilege.' The two companies then bid against each other, until the South Sea Company prevailed with a bid of 7½ millions.

The 'South Sea Bubble'

The different parties were thus in the following positions: *The state* paid 5 instead of 6 per cent., and pocketed besides 7½ millions. *The company* received a certain 5 per cent. from the state, and paid only a certain 4 per cent. *The creditors* lost 2 per cent., since they were paid only 4 instead of 6 per cent.; but were willing to do this on the chance of a share in the company's profits. Had this been all—had 100*l.* lent to the state simply become 100*l.* lent to the company, the worst that would have happened, supposing these profits not to have been made, would have been a loss to the creditors of 2 per cent. But the belief in the profits went so far that people were at last willing to transfer not 100*l.* only, but 1,000*l.* from the state, for which they re-

ceived 60*l.* interest, for only 100*l.* of stock in the South Sea Company, for which they would receive only 4*l.* interest certain, with the chance of more out of the expected profits.

This madness lasted from April to September. Then came the crash. Taking advantage of the fever for speculation, scores of bogus companies had been formed by swindlers for objects of the wildest absurdity. These the government prosecuted as illegal, on the demand of the South Sea Company. At once the question was asked—if one project was bad, why not another? The South Sea stock fell rapidly; in a few weeks it had fallen to 135*l.*, and all who had paid more were therefore losers to that extent. The fact that it fell no lower shows that the company was not only solvent, but prosperous. The news of a similar crash in France completed the panic and the ruin. Many clear-sighted men, like Walpole, though he had opposed the bill, made large fortunes by selling out at the right time; but, for each of these, hundreds were reduced to beggary. A fierce cry arose: the fortunes, the lives even, of the directors of the company were clamoured for. One peer demanded that they should be treated like parricides in Rome, stitched up in sacks and flung into the river. They were obliged to lay a full account before the Commons, and to state the full value of their estates; they were forbidden to leave the kingdom, or to have counsel to defend them; a secret committee of inquiry was appointed. Corruption on a vast scale was disclosed, in which the king's mistresses and high officers of state, like Sunderland, were concerned. In the end the directors were disabled from taking office or sitting in parliament; and their whole estates were confiscated, a small allowance alone being allowed to save them from beggary. All eyes were turned to Walpole, as the only financier, to remedy the mischief. In February **1721** he carried a scheme by which the state remitted the 7½ millions; the sums raised from the forfeited estates went to sustain the credit of the company, while one-third of the capital invested in it was paid to the investors.

Section 3.—*Walpole's Supremacy. The Patriots. War. Bolingbroke*

The sudden deaths of the high-minded Stanhope, who burst a blood-vessel while defending himself against the charge of corruption, and of the intriguing Sunderland, cleared the way for Walpole. He took the latter's place as first lord of the Treasury, a post which henceforward carried with it the prime ministership,[8] and he held it, after eighty years of revolution, for

Walpole prime minister

[8] The term 'prime minister' now first comes into general use. Compare the *justiciar* under the Norman and early Plantagenet kings; the *chan-*

twenty-one years. This remarkable man[9] was the son of a country gentleman in Norfolk, brought up amid country sports, for which he never lost his love. He hunted to the end of his days; and in the midst of his busiest career it was said that the letter from his game-keeper was always the first opened of his budget. Of robust physical health, he displayed a grossness and indecency of language and thought noticeable even in that coarse time; and his influence over young men was in this respect very unfortunate. His temper was unfailing,[10] his nature buoyant. 'It would have done you good,' said his son, 'to hear him laugh.' Habitually a hard drinker, he never became a sot. His industry was wonderful, and yet he always seemed to have time for everything; and he possessed the power, as he said, 'of putting off his cares when he put off his clothes.'

As a politician, his great characteristic was good sense. He was at once intrepid and cautious, determined to have his way against all opposition, but seeing clearly what the country needed for prosperity, and bent upon obtaining this. He applied himself always to the present difficulty, without looking far ahead. He was not rigorous as to methods: 'He durst do right, but he durst do wrong too.' He loved power, because he felt conscious of his strength, and was happy only in activity. As a parliamentary debater, he had no equal for plain, logical, fearless, and incisive speech. A skilful manager of men, he was an unrivalled man of business; and as a financier he was, to friends and foes alike, beyond comparison the ablest man in the country. The moneyed classes especially trusted him. For literature, except as a political weapon, he cared little; for music less. But for painting he had a genuine love and sound judgment.

As a ruler, he is to be remembered as a great peace minister, coming between two periods of war. Under him the Whigs, till then the war party (p. 345), became the party of peace and diplomacy. He over and over again kept the nation out of war. 'Madam,' he said to the queen in **1734**, 'there are 50,000 men slain in Europe this year, and not one Englishman.' He gave way to the cry for war rather than abandon power; but in the midst of war he strove constantly to gain

cellor—as Wolsey or Clarendon—in later times; the *lord treasurer*, as Danby or Harley. The Treasury was now always in the hands not of one man, but of a board. The prime minister has almost invariably been first lord of the treasury. The Admiralty is also under a board with a first lord.

[9] Morley, 'Walpole,' in *English Statesmen* series; and Lecky, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 327.

[10] 'Here we are, my lord'—he said to Pulteney after his own fall, and after Pulteney had retired into 'obscurity and an earldom—'the two most insignificant fellows in the kingdom.'

peace. 'My politics,' he said, 'are to keep free from all engagements as long as we can.' And thus he 'scattered plenty o'er a smiling land,' and gave it time to gather that strength and resource which Pitt was soon to spend in conquering continents.

The principal charge brought against Walpole was that he enormously extended, and unblushingly used, the system of bribery, which Danby (p. 307) had so successfully put in action. There is no doubt that in the last resort he did bribe; but the charge has evidently been greatly over-stated. Only one case of direct parliamentary bribery has been proved; and, after his fall, the bitterly hostile committee of investigation failed to find anything upon which they could lay hold. It is often quoted against him that he said, 'Every man has his price;' but this was really uttered in scorn of some of those loudest in opposition against him, of whom he declared that 'All these men have their price.' He himself was no money seeker. With a large fortune, with every opportunity of enriching himself, he died, in 1745, a poor man, and heavily in debt.[11]

Another charge brought against him is that, jealous of rivals, he surrounded himself with mediocrities. But it is hard to see what other course could be pursued by a minister with clear, strong views, resolved to be supreme, who found those views combated by able men. He must either give up his opinion or get rid of the able men.

He had to deal at once with the renewed activity of the Jacobites, who were encouraged by the birth of the pretender's son, Charles Edward. The pretender's interests were in the hands of a 'junto' (p. 334) of five, of whom Atterbury, the brilliant and impetuous bishop of Rochester, was the chief. They had long been preparing for an invasion, which James and Ormond were to make so soon as George should again leave the kingdom for Hanover. But Walpole was on the alert; the principal agents were seized and punished; Atterbury was banished. A declaration of the pretender in 1722,

[11] Walpole's rule did much towards still further impressing upon party government (pp. 334, 354) its present type. The characteristics of this system, as now fully developed, are:— (1) Government is carried on in harmony with the views of the majority of the House of Commons. (2) A cabinet chosen exclusively from the party which has this majority, though nominally selected by the crown, is charged with the executive. (3) The responsibility of the cabinet is united and indivisible. (4) The prime minister is the 'keystone of the cabinet arch;' he chooses his own colleagues, and gives them their respective offices. (5) A hostile vote of the House of Commons dismisses this cabinet. One circumstance which particularly helped to develop this system was that George I., being ignorant of English, refrained from attending cabinet meetings, and this absence of the sovereign became recognised as the constitutional practice.

promising that if George would quietly give up his throne the title of 'King' of Hanover, with the succession to the British dominions, if James himself left no heirs, should be secured to him, was met by a tax of 100,000*l.* upon Catholic non-jurors.

Failure of Jacobite plans

A fresh contest now took place for power in the Whig party between Townshend and Walpole on the one side, and the brilliant Carteret on the other. Carteret had a great advantage in his knowledge of European languages, which enabled him to converse easily with the king and the foreign ambassadors. But in the end he was obliged to content himself with the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. All his ability was needed to calm the excitement which had risen in that country over 'Wood's Halfpence.' To supply a deficiency of copper coinage there an Englishman, named Wood, had obtained a patent to coin farthings and halfpence to the amount of 108,000*l.* For this he had bribed the king's mistresses, and the whole arrangement had been made without reference to Irish opinion. Ireland was not disposed to accept anything from England; for in 1719 the semblance of independence left to its parliament by Poyning's law (p. 174) was taken away by an act enabling the English parliament to make laws binding on Ireland. So keen was the opposition that it was resolved to reduce the amount to 40,000*l.* But Dean Swift, in his celebrated 'Drapier's Letters,' in which, under the guise of a drapier of Dublin, he exerted his unrivalled powers of literary invective, so excited the people, that it was clear that force alone could carry the matter through. The government gave way; the patent was withdrawn, and Wood was compensated for his loss by a pension of 3,000*l.*

Carteret and 'Wood's Halfpence'

Disturbances and armed riots took place in Scotland also upon the repeal of the malt-tax, which had been largely evaded, and by the imposition instead of a duty of 3*d.* on every barrel of ale; but these also were put down by firmness and conciliation. The event led to the discontinuance of the secretaryship for Scotland.

Meanwhile, Bolingbroke, who had left the pretender's service (p. 355) in disgust, had returned to England. By large bribes to the royal mistresses he had secured, first, a pardon, and then restoration to his estates. But Walpole, in spite of every pressure, insisted upon his continued exclusion from the House of Lords. He hereupon joined Pulteney, the eloquent, able, and incorruptible leader of the Whig section of the opposition, though formerly one of Walpole's closest friends. The discontented men who gathered around them called themselves the

Return of Bolingbroke, Pulteney, the Patriots, and the 'Craftsman'

'Patriots;' and the 'Craftsman,' a political paper, published every day, which these two conducted, became Walpole's most formidable assailant.[12]

Europe had now enjoyed peace for five years. But a serious difference had arisen between England and France on the one hand, and the emperor on the other, with regard to the new East India Company, which he had established at Ostend, and which threatened interference with their trade in India. Spain, too, had quarrelled with France, and had made common cause with the emperor. By the Treaty of Vienna (May **1725**) she supported the Ostend Company, and guaranteed the 'Pragmatic Sanction,' the law which the emperor, having no sons, had obtained to permit the succession to pass to his daughters; while the emperor was to support her demand for the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca (pp. 344, 348), and to assist in placing the pretender on the English throne in case of a refusal. Peter the Great of Russia assisted both with large sums of money. To meet these dangers, a defensive alliance was formed at Hanover between England, France, and Prussia, September **1725**, which was later joined by Sweden and the Dutch. This treaty was the work of Townshend. As such it was coldly approved by Walpole, who was resolved that the firm should be, as he said, not 'Townshend and Walpole,' but 'Walpole and Townshend.' It was opposed alike by the king and his German friends, who declared that Hanover would be ruined for England, and by the 'Patriots,' who declared that England would be ruined for Hanover.

Alliance war of Spain and the emperor against England and France. The Pragmatic Sanction

Treaty of Hanover

Meanwhile the pretender was busy in every court of Europe. Much was hoped from Scotland, where the Disarming Act (p. 356) had taken the arms from the hands of the loyal portion alone. Ministers were kept fully informed of the vast preparations of Spain. Fleury, the old man who was ruling France with such skill that the exhaustion of the War of Succession seemed to have passed away, cordially supported them.

At this moment the emperor, by an act of discourtesy, contrived to alienate all parties in England. Three millions were voted; three fleets were sent out to the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and the Baltic. A Spanish siege of Gibraltar in **1727** failed utterly, since our fleet kept the garrison supplied with provisions. The emperor therefore made peace, May 31. The Ostend Company was suspended for seven years, and active hostilities ceased between England and Spain.

[12] See the vivid description of Bolingbroke in Morley, 'Walpole,' p. 78.

Bolingbroke, through the Duchess of Kendal, had so far gained ground that Walpole fully believed that the next session would see his own fall. But never was a life of intrigue so marred by disappointment. Fortune again 'bantered' him (p. 353, *note*). The king was seized with an apoplectic fit while travelling to Hanover, and died on June 10, 1727.

Death of the king; disappointment of Bolingbroke

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE II. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND[1]

SECTION 1.—*Administration of Walpole during the Life of the Queen*

GEORGE II. had little to commend him beyond his personal courage and the fact that he could speak our language.[2] He was managed by his wife, Caroline of Anspach, a woman of learning, sense, and character, whom Walpole had already wisely made his friend, while others were courting the royal mistresses. She convinced her husband that both as the only financier—one who 'could change stones into gold'—and as leader of the Whig majority, Walpole was indispensable. Thus supported, and freed before long from the rivalry of Townshend, he was absolutely supreme during the queen's life. The stability of his power was shown by the retirement of the pretender to Italy to wait for better times.

Walpole supported by the queen

The fact that George II. was king of Hanover as well as of England compelled us to maintain an army in Germany. This was done by taking into English pay German forces. The Commons voted 250,000*l.* to maintain 12,000 Hessian troops, and 25,000*l.* a year to the Duke of Brunswick for furnishing 5,000 more when required. The age of foreign subsidies had begun. The negotiations with Spain, long hindered by our refusal to give up Gibraltar, were brought to an end by the Treaty of Seville, November 9, 1729, a brilliant triumph for English diplomacy. England, France, and Spain made a defensive alliance. Spain tacitly gave up the demand for Gibraltar, and restored all captured English ships with compensation. The 'Assiento' (p. 352, *note*) was confirmed to the South Sea Company; all privileges conferred upon Austria by the Treaty of Vienna (p. 365) were revoked,

Subsidies to foreign powers

Treaty of Seville

[1] Mahon, *History of England*; Seeley, *Expansion of England*.
[2] Morley, 'Walpole,' p. 90.

and other terms agreed upon opposed to the interest of the emperor. But the 'balance of power' (p. 180) was as important a matter for England now as ever. Should the emperor be too weak in a war with France and Spain, France might gain possession of the Austrian Netherlands, a possibility always regarded by England with the utmost jealousy since the days of Edward III. (pp. 113, 303). Walpole therefore secretly made another treaty with the emperor at Vienna, in March **1731**, by which, upon his accepting the Spanish terms and abolishing the Ostend Company, England guaranteed the 'Pragmatic Sanction' (p. 365), so long as the emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, did not marry a prince of the Bourbon houses of France and Spain.

Second Treaty of Vienna

In **1733** Spain and France attacked the emperor with success. Peace was not made until Naples was wrested from him and made into a new kingdom for Don Carlos, the son of Philip V. of Spain. France gained Lorraine, the young duke of which married Maria Theresa; and France and Savoy guaranteed the 'Pragmatic Sanction,' which now had the assent of all the great powers.

Maria Theresa. The Pragmatic Sanction

Walpole had sedulously kept England from joining in this war. The country was daily growing more wealthy; taxes were light, trade flourishing. So favourable was the outlook that Walpole was once asked by an old Jacobite 'what he had done to God Almighty to make him so much his friend.' A foreign contest would not only arrest the progress, but would probably lead to a fresh Jacobite rebellion. He was cordially supported by the two secretaries of state, Lord Harrington and Thomas Pelham, duke of Newcastle. The latter, a man of extreme ignorance, became, by his vast wealth and willingness to spend it, by his love of power, court craft, and diligence, a leading figure in English politics for more than forty years.[3]

Walpole a peace minister. The Duke of Newcastle

But meanwhile Walpole had suffered his first defeat. The customs —the duties, that is, levied on foreign goods at the ports when they enter—led, of course, to extensive smuggling. So far had this gone, that in the case of tobacco alone a duty which should have returned 750,000*l.* really brought in only 160,000*l.* Walpole therefore proposed, in the cases of tobacco and wine, to free them of customs duty, but to place the tax upon the excise (pp. 268, 298), that is, that the shopkeepers should pay it instead of the importing merchant.[4] By this means smuggling would have been put an end

The Excise Bill

[3] Macaulay, *Essays*, on 'Letters of Horace Walpole,' last page; and the 'Earl of Chatham,' first essay.

[4] He had already done great things

to, and the collection of the tax made easy and certain, since the excise officers had power to enter shops and warehouses to find out what excisable articles the shopkeeper had in store. The shopkeeper would be no worse off, though he paid the tax, since he would buy the wine or tobacco from the importer, minus the former duty; the consumer would be no worse off, for the shopkeeper's price to him would not have altered. London, thus made a free port, would become the market of the world. But the exciseman, on account of the power mentioned, was the most unpopular person in England.[5] A cry arose that this was but preliminary to a general exeise, and that the army of officials and informers which it would create would be only so many more creatures of government. The state of the French peasant was adduced as an illustration of what we should come to; and 'No slavery, no excise, no wooden shoes!'—the French peasant wore wooden shoes—was the universal cry. Led by the 'Craftsman' (p. 365), the clamour grew daily fiercer; petitions poured in; mobs besieged the Houses of Parliament; the great towns instructed their members to vote against the bill. Walpole's majority dwindled from 60 to 16. He saw that force alone could carry the scheme through; and he would never enforce taxes with bloodshed. The dropping of the measure was celebrated with extravagant rejoicing, to the cry of 'Liberty, property, and no excise!' But Walpole, while submitting to the popular will, would brook no opposition among his subordinates. He had marked the mutineers in his own camp. Lord Chesterfield and several other high officials were dismissed; the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham were deprived of their regiments. The new elections were bitterly contested. Walpole's majority was diminished, but was perfectly compact; and the prospects of the opposition seemed so hopeless that Bolingbroke again left England.

Two more instances of Walpole's practice of avoiding opposition may be mentioned. Drunkenness was then, as now, the besetting English vice. To lessen it a bill was brought in to lay a crushing tax upon gin. Walpole held, of course, that such a tax was a direct incentive to smuggling; but he made no objection to the bill passing. His opinion was justified by the result, and it was not until 1754

for English commerce by favouring a policy of free trade In 1721 he had removed export duties from 106 articles of British manufacture, and import duties from 38 articles of raw material; and in 1730 he had passed an act allowing the planters in Carolina and Georgia to export rice direct to Southern Europe, so long as it went in British ships and with British crews. He did the same later with the sugar of the West Indies.

[5] In Johnson's *Dictionary* 'excise' was thus defined:—'A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.'

that effective laws were passed to lessen an appalling evil. The second instance was that of the Porteous Riots in Edinburgh. An officer of that name in the city guard had fired upon the mob during a riot following the execution of a popular criminal. Porteous was tried, and sentenced to death, but at the last moment was reprieved. The mob thereupon rose, stormed the Tolbooth, dragged Porteous from his cell, and hung him in the street. Unable to discover the authors of this outrage, the government brought in a bill which would have destroyed the liberties of the city. Opposed in both houses, it was carried in committee by the casting vote of the chairman alone. Walpole immediately withdrew the bill for a milder one, which was accepted without demur.[6]

Walpole yields to opposition. The Gin Act and the Porteous Riots

Meanwhile, Frederick, prince of Wales, was imitating his father's conduct to George I. Ordered to quit St. James's, he established himself at Norfolk House, which, like Leicester House in the former reign, became the home of the opponents of the government.[7] Among these were Pulteney, Carteret, Wyndham, Chesterfield, and William Pitt. William Pitt[8] was born in November **1708**; his grandfather had been governor of Madras. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, became cornet in the Blues, and in **1735** entered parliament as member for Old Sarum. He went at once into opposition to Walpole, who thereupon deprived him of his cornetcy. His private fortune was now but 100*l.* a year; but he was appointed to an office in the prince's household, and before long was in the foremost place among Walpole's opponents. His figure was tall and striking; his face noble and expressive; his voice of wonderful compass, delicacy, and strength. His intellect was highly cultivated, and the effect of his speaking was such as was never known in England before or since. But that which especially distinguished him was the lofty disinterestedness of his mind, the intense belief, at a time of national depression, in the power of England to stand against the world in arms, and the determination that as far as lay in him she should never go back a foot, whatever enemies might attack her. In him, as in Nelson in later days, seemed to be concentrated the whole national spirit.

[6] The best account of this is in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*.

[7] This division in the royal family, like the preceding one, was useful in one way. Those who would otherwise have become Jacobites and assisted the pretender, satisfied their desire for opposition by joining the Norfolk House party, and thus still remained attached to the cause of Hanover.

[8] Macaulay, *Essays*, 'The Earl of Chatham.'

Section 2.—*Administration of Walpole after the death of the Queen*

On November 20, 1737, Queen Caroline died. Walpole now stood alone against the most skilful debaters, the ablest pamphleteers, and the young rising men, the 'boys,' as he disdainfully called them. And before long he found himself again opposed by the popular feeling.

Death of the queen

For a long time Spain had been complaining of English smuggling in her American colonies. By the Treaty of Utrecht the South Sea Company had the right of sending one ship a year to trade. The limitation was widely evaded, and Spain had assumed the right of search of other vessels. The English declared that Spain exercised this right with insolence and barbarity.[9] One story especially made a great impression. A captain named Jenkins declared that he had been taken on the high seas, tortured, and mutilated of one of his ears; and that in his distress he had 'commended his soul to God and his cause to his country.' He had no proof of his story; but the words rang throughout the land, and the war fever grew uncontrollable. The real object of England was the abolition of the right of search. A convention on fair terms concluded by Walpole did but increase the war spirit. He saw that he must either resign or declare war. People had become 'profoundly fatigued with twenty years of good sense.' A minister under such circumstances would in these days of course resign. But Walpole could not bear to leave office. He gave way, and war was declared on October 19, 1739. 'They are ringing the bells now,' he exclaimed; 'they will soon be wringing their hands.'

Jenkins's ear

War declared against Spain

Walpole was no better off for his concession. Like Clarendon (p. 303), he was held forth as the cause of every grievance. To regain popularity he gave way on all points where he was strongly opposed. He tried in vain to induce the king to consent to an act forbidding the crowns of England and Hanover to be united in future. And he sought to catch Jacobite votes by offering his services to the pretender on the strength of which a formidable conspiracy was set on foot both in England and Scotland. Led by Pulteney and Pitt, the opposition grew daily fiercer. Walpole's health and spirits began to give way.[10]

[9] Behind the Spanish readiness to quarrel lay the knowledge that she would be supported by France. Bourbons reigned in both countries, and in 1733 the two kings had signed the 'Family Compact,' intended to counteract our naval supremacy and our growing influence in the New World.

[10] 'He who was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow . . now never sleeps above an hour without waking; and he who at dinner always

Still he fought the losing battle, not indeed scrupulously, but with defiant courage; and when at length a formal motion of censure was brought against him on February 13, **1741**, his reply was so able and spirited that the motion was rejected by large majorities in both houses. This did, however, but delay the inevitable fall.

On October 20, **1740**, the emperor died, and the Pragmatic Sanction came into force. But the elector of Bavaria, the nearest male heir, refused to acknowledge its validity. France and Spain broke their pledges (p. 367) and supported him. England and the Dutch kept to theirs.[11] But now stepped in a new combatant. Prussia (p. 352, *note*) had become a great military power under Frederick the Great. Taking advantage of the distress of Maria Theresa, he invented a cause of quarrel, overran part of her territory, and defeated her army at Molwitz. Walpole was forced to come to her aid. A subsidy of 300,000*l.* was sent her, and 12,000 men equipped for her service. But George II., alarmed for his Hanoverian dominions, when France sent two large armies into Germany to support Prussia, concluded a treaty, as elector of Hanover, by which he promised not to support the queen's husband at the election for emperor, so long as the neutrality of Hanover was respected.[12]

Repudiation of the Pragmatic Sanction by France and Spain

Frederick the Great

Neutrality of Hanover

Meanwhile two squadrons had been sent out to attack Spanish America: one, under Commodore Anson, to harass the coasts of Peru; the other, under Vernon, to attack Porto Bello and the eastern coasts. In June **1744**, Anson, after sailing round the globe, returned with a record of hardship, disaster, and heroism unsurpassed in our annals, and with treasure to the amount of a million and a quarter.[13] Vernon, a vainglorious man, took Porto Bello in **1741**, and, as he was a political opponent of Walpole, his success was celebrated as a triumph over the minister. With an immense fleet, and 12,000 troops under Wentworth, he then attacked Carthagena; but both here and at Santiago, in **1742**, he failed utterly, and returned to England a discredited man.

Anson's voyage

Vernon's failure

In December **1741** a new parliament met, and Walpole found that he had a majority of only sixteen. Every grievance, the Hanover treaty, the Vernon failures, were at once made subjects of attack.

forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together.'

[11] This breach of faith on the one hand, and adherence to it on the other, was the end of the union of England and France, and the beginning of the great war which was to last until 1815.

[12] The Elector of Bavaria was elected Emperor Charles VII.

[13] Mahon, ch. xxii.

Twice he was defeated, and in the great debate on a motion of 'no confidence,' on January 21, 1742, had a majority of only three votes. He tried to win the support of Norfolk House by inducing the king to offer the prince an additional income of 50,000*l.* a year. But the offer was refused, and in February, to the unaffected grief of the king, he resigned, with a pension of 4,000*l.* a year, the earldom of Orford, and a patent of rank to his illegitimate daughter.[14]

Resignation of Walpole

Section 3.—*Pulteney and Carteret. Dettingen. Henry Pelham, Prime Minister*

At Walpole's advice the prime ministership was offered to Pulteney, a great parliamentary figure, but uncertain and unstable of mind; and upon his refusal, Lord Wilmington, a nonentity, was appointed. Henry Pelham, brother of the Duke of Newcastle, entered the cabinet with Walpole's principal colleagues; but Carteret, who became secretary of state with Newcastle, was really prime minister. His acquaintance with European languages gave him the control of foreign affairs; his readiness to further the king's Hanoverian policy made him supreme at court. His abilities were brilliant and his self-confidence extreme. All patronage he scornfully handed over to the Pelhams, who, therefore, speedily gained great influence. For himself, he said, it was not his business to make judges or bishops, but 'to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of power.' But so flighty was his nature, and so intemperate his habits, that his government earned with justice the title of the 'Drunken administration.'

Carteret

Carteret, ignoring the Hanover treaty, threw himself zealously into the cause of Maria Theresa. Sixteen thousand troops and 500,000*l.* were sent her. Thus supported, she overran Bavaria, made peace with Frederick by the cession of Silesia, and drove the French out of Bohemia with terrible loss. The Spaniards were expelled from North Italy; one English squadron, by a threat to bombard Naples, forced Don Carlos to withdraw his troops from the Spanish army; another entered French ports and burned the Spanish vessels there. A defensive alliance with Russia still further weakened the influence of France. Carteret, indeed, roused the English jealousy of Hanover when he proposed to hire 16,000

Support of Maria Theresa

[14] A secret committee, consisting of his declared enemies, was appointed to inquire into his conduct during the past ten years. It entered eagerly upon the business; but the results were so insignificant, not a single important charge being proved, that the only effect was to bring ridicule upon the new ministry.

Hanoverian troops; and Pitt, who had already, under Walpole's rule, struck the splendid note of British supremacy which he maintained to his death, inveighed against England being 'considered only as a province to a despicable electorate.' But the proposal was carried, and in the summer of **1743** some 40,000 English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, under the Earl of Stair, were met on the Maine by Noailles and 60,000 French troops. Stair, completely out-generalled, was fortunately joined by George II., by his second son, the Duke of Cumberland, and by Carteret. An advance through the defile of Dettingen was resolved upon; and on June 27 a great battle was fought, the last in which a king of Great Britain took part. The allies narrowly escaped a crushing defeat; but a happy mistake of Noailles's nephew, the Duke of Grammont, was so well aided by the conspicuous coolness and courage of the king and his son, who fought in the first rank, that disaster was turned into victory, and the French were driven from the field with the loss of 6,000 men.

Battle of Dettingen

But Englishmen generally, though proud of the victory, saw no good in continuing the war. They feared lest the balance of power should now be endangered by Maria Theresa more than by the French; and the Hanoverian policy of Carteret roused increasing opposition. Upon the death of Lord Wilmington, therefore, Carteret's advice was ignored, and Henry Pelham was, upon Walpole's suggestion, made prime minister. He was a timid politician; but, like Walpole, a peace minister and a good financier—sensible, industrious, and experienced.

Henry Pelham, prime minister

Section 4.—*Henry Pelham's Administration. Fontenoy and the* **1745** *Rebellion. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*

But all thoughts of peace were put aside when it was learned that France and Spain had bound themselves to assist a Jacobite invasion of England. The whole nation rallied to the throne. A supply of ten millions was voted; fresh subsidies were granted to Maria Theresa; the country was put in a state of defence, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and severe laws passed against the Jacobites. Meanwhile 15,000 veteran French troops, under the famous Marshal Saxe, had been collected at Dunkirk; and the young pretender came there to be ready to sail at a moment's notice. Part of this army had already put to sea, and the French fleet was sweeping the Channel, when the elements came to the help of England. The transports were dispersed and wrecked by a tremendous tempest, and the expedition had to be abandoned. On February 22 an indecisive battle between the fleets took place off

French invasion frustrated

Toulon. In March France formally declared war, and the two nations appeared in form, what they had long been in fact, principals and not mere auxiliaries in the conflict. It made little difference that the original cause of quarrel, the Austrian succession, was peaceably settled upon the death of the Emperor Charles VII. in **1745**. His son acquiesced in the choice of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, while she restored Bavaria. She was thus left to confront Frederick, who had broken through his treaty, and again attacked her. So disastrous was the campaign that on Christmas Day, **1745**, she was forced to sign the Treaty of Dresden, by which Frederick kept Silesia, but acknowledged Francis as emperor.

Peace between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa. Her husband acknowledged emperor by all but France

The real struggle of England, that against France, only waxed the fiercer. In April **1745** Louis XV. and Saxe invested Tournai on the Scheldt. Cumberland marched to its relief, and on May 10 a great battle was fought at Fontenoy. The attacks of our right wing, and of the Dutch on our left, failed. Then a serried column of 16,000 British, led by Cumberland, advanced through a terrible flank fire upon the French centre, beating off the attack of regiment after regiment, and carrying everything before it. But at the critical moment Saxe brought four cannon to play upon the dense column, while the household troops (p. 333), and the Irish brigade, burning for revenge upon England, charged with irresistible fury, and won a great victory. Tournai and almost the whole of the Austrian Netherlands fell into French hands. In Italy, too, France won marked success. But in another quarter of the globe England had achieved a significant triumph. The island of Cape Breton, which commanded the St. Lawrence, protected the Newfoundland fisheries, and was of the utmost importance to the safety of the French possessions in America, yielded to a spirited attack of New England volunteers and royal troops.

British defeat at Fontenoy

Capture of Cape Breton

The immediate result of Fontenoy was the rebellion of **1745**.[15] On July 25 the young pretender suddenly appeared at Moidart, on the west coast of Inverness-shire, with but seven followers. His reception was not encouraging; he was plainly told that he was not wanted. At length the gallant Cameron of Lochiel yielded to his appeal; his example was followed by the anti-Campbell clans (pp. 272–328); a successful skirmish with two English companies raised their spirits. On August 19 the royal banner was raised in the wild valley of Glenfin-

Result of Fontenoy. The young pretender in the Highlands

[15] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*.

nan; and within a week Charles had round him 1,600 men. Tall and athletic, handsome and engaging, able and ready to bear fatigue and hardship as the strongest of his followers, he was as well suited as his father was unfit to create enthusiasm in this wild and romantic race.

Sir John Cope, who commanded at Edinburgh, at once marched to Stirling, and thence set out, on August 20, with 1,500 men for Fort Augustus, hoping to crush the rising at once. Finding his path blocked by Charles, and afraid to attack with so small a force, he directed his march to Inverness, to join the well-affected clans, thus leaving the Lowlands unprotected. The prince seized the opportunity (p. 283). On September 3 he was at Perth, where he was joined by the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray. Without attacking Stirling, he made straight for Edinburgh, which was in his hands on the 17th, though the castle held out. Cope meanwhile had embarked his force at Aberdeen and carried it to Dunbar, to get between Charles and England. But the prince, after but one day's stay, had left Edinburgh, and on the 20th Cope suddenly found the Highlanders in his rear, close to the village of Preston Pans. At break of day they fell upon him. One wild charge—the Highlanders firing as they ran, and coming to close quarters at once—scattered all but the English regiments; a second broke them also; and in less than ten minutes the battle was over, with a loss of 30 killed and 70 wounded to the victors, of 400 in slain alone to the vanquished.

Charles was now master of Scotland, except the fortresses. He was at the head of 6,000 men, and money, arms, and ammunition reached him from France. In England Marshal Wade lay with 10,000 men at Newcastle; Cumberland was forming an army in the Midlands; a third force, on Finchley Common, guarded the capital. The real danger arose, not from the strength of Charles, but from the apathy of the people.

Charles now felt the difficulties always presented by a Highland army. A prolonged campaign was foreign to their nature, and they began to desert in numbers to store their plunder. He pressed on, however, through Carlisle, Wigan, and Manchester, sorely disappointed (p. 283) that the people did not rise to join him. Out-manœuvring Cumberland, he got between him and London, and on December 4, long known as 'Black Friday,' reached Derby. London was in dismay: the gates were shut, the Tower was closed, the guards were ordered out, and the train-bands placed on duty night and day. A rush was made on the Bank of England, and it escaped bankruptcy only by a trick. Agents were employed to enter

Charles reaches Derby

with notes before the rush came; and, to gain time, they were paid in sixpences. They went out at one door with the specie, and brought it back by another. As those who came first were served first, the *bonâ-fide* creditors could never get up to the counter to present their notes.

But here, just when Charles looked for final triumph, his hopes were overthrown. His officers declared that in the absence of all support a retreat was absolutely necessary. In bitter dejection he gave way perforce. But a rebellion which does not advance is lost. The people rose upon them. In Westmoreland, Cumberland came up with them, but received a serious check at Clifton, near Penrith. Unable to enter Edinburgh, which had armed itself as soon as he had left it, Charles arrived at Glasgow on December 26 with but 3,600 men, having marched 580 miles in fifty-six days. At Stirling he received reinforcements. With 6,000 men he besieged the castle, and on January 17 gained a signal victory over General Hawley at Falkirk. But on February 1 he was forced to continue his retreat before Cumberland, and at length reached Inverness, closely pursued. He was soon in dire distress. He had neither money nor provisions; the French vessels which brought aid were captured by English cruisers. In April Cumberland set out from Aberdeen with 9,000 veterans. A night surprise by the rebels at Nairn failed, and Charles retired to make his last stand with 5,000 men on the fatal moor of Culloden.

The retreat

Culloden

The battle was fought on the 16th. The Highland rush broke Cumberland's first line; but the steady fire of the second line—the front rank kneeling, the second stooping, the third standing—was too much for undisciplined men. The right and centre were routed; an unsparing slaughter followed, which earned for Cumberland the name of 'Butcher,' though Hawley was more responsible than he. The story of the prince's flight is one of romantic wanderings, hardships, perils, and touching fidelity on the part of the Highlanders, in spite of the offer of 30,000*l.* for him dead or alive (p. 283). At length he escaped from the Western Islands, and reached France on September 29. The heroic part of his life was over; the wanderings in Europe, the debauchery by which he drowned sorrow, his death in **1788**, do not belong to English history. Of the prisoners, Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed, with eighty of lower rank; about 350 were transported. An Indemnity Act was then passed, though clogged with eighty exceptions, and further executions, including that of Lord Lovat, took place in later years. Other acts were passed to destroy for ever the feudal power of the Highland chiefs—the Disarming Act, the abolition of heritable jurisdictions re-

tained at the Union (p. 347, *note*), and the prohibition of the Highland garb. Never again has Great Britain felt the alarm of civil war. The great dynastic dispute of sixty years was settled in a battle that did not last as many minutes. The Stuart race, so long one of the pieces with which the great powers had played their game, disappears from the politics of Europe.

The withdrawal of English troops from Flanders to face the rebellion enabled the French to overrun the country during **1746**. In **1747** they even invaded Holland. In **1747**, at Lauffuld, near Maestricht, they defeated Cumberland and the Prince of Orange. But on the sea England continually advanced. Anson destroyed a French squadron off Cape Finisterre; Hawke won another great victory at Belleisle; and during **1747** no fewer than 644 prizes were captured.

British defeat on land and victories at sea

Meanwhile, in **1744**, the Pelhams had driven out Carteret, now Lord Granville, and had included some of the opposition. Chesterfield was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and shortly became secretary of state. The Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, two of the richest nobles in England, had taken office. Lyttelton and George Grenville among the Tories also had posts. One great name alone did not appear. The antipathy of George II. to Pitt was invincible; while Pitt himself haughtily refused any place but that of secretary-at-war. But in **1745** the Pelhams, whose parliamentary interest was overwhelming, insisted that the king should give way; while Pitt, too, relaxed his terms, and became paymaster.[16] The new government, known as the 'Broad Bottom' administration, and especially Chesterfield, bent themselves to secure peace. France and Spain were willing, for their commerce had been almost destroyed; and Philip V. of Spain had lately died. The English court, however, looking at the question from the German point of view, set itself against peace. Chesterfield, therefore, resigned. The beginning of the campaign of **1748** was unsuccessful, and the strain upon England was shown in the fact that the government could only borrow money at the high rate of 12 per cent. George was again forced to give way; and on October 18 a truce was secured by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. There was little to show for all the blood-

The 'Broad Bottom' ministry

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

[16] This gave Pitt his first opportunity of showing his perfect integrity regarding money. His office was extremely lucrative, since custom allowed the paymaster to pocket the interest of the large sums—often 100,000*l.*—in his hands, as well as a percentage on foreign subsidies. Pitt, though a poor man, refused to touch a farthing from either source. This was in sharp contrast with the conduct of Fox, who three years later held the same office.

shed. Except that Prussia had obtained Silesia, everything went back to the state of things previous to the war. England, indeed, kept Cape Breton, but gave hostages for its restoration. France acknowledged the Emperor Francis (p. 374), and renewed her guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction.

The repose which followed in Europe was reflected in English politics. Party spirit seemed dead; in the election of **1754** only forty-two contests took place. The army was in large part disbanded; 4,000 of the soldiers set free were assisted to emigrate to Nova Scotia, where they founded Halifax. Several useful measures were passed. Hardwicke's Marriage Act put an end to the ease with which clandestine marriages could be performed. Effective laws were passed to hinder the spread of drunkenness (p. 368). Chesterfield, with the help of the Earl of Macclesfield and of Bradley the mathematician, effected a reform of the calendar, by which the legislative year henceforth began on January 1 instead of March 25. The nucleus of the British Museum was formed by the union of the collections of Sir Robert Cotton, an antiquary of Charles I.'s time, Sir Hans Sloane, president of the Royal Society, and Harley, earl of Oxford, Queen Anne's treasurer. Pelham effected a saving to the country by reducing the interest on the National Debt to 3 per cent. Even the death of the Prince of Wales in **1751** scarcely ruffled the quiet. He left the future George III. a boy of twelve years old.

Useful measures passed during peace

Section 5.—*England and France in America. Pitt's first War Ministry. Alliance with Newcastle*

But in March **1754** Henry Pelham died. 'I shall have no more peace,' said George II., on hearing the news. Newcastle became prime minister; and the question was who should succeed him as secretary of state. Pitt's reputation had been constantly growing; but Newcastle feared him, and the king hated him. Newcastle therefore turned to Henry Fox, a political adventurer of great ability; but Fox insisted upon having a share of patronage, which Newcastle would not surrender. A certain Sir Thomas Robinson was finally made secretary. 'Sir Thomas Robinson lead us,' said Pitt in scorn to Fox; 'the duke might as well send his jackboot to lead us.' Night after night these two made the ministry ridiculous, until in January **1755** Fox was won over, and entered the cabinet without office.

Newcastle prime minister. Henry Fox

Meanwhile, like the English and Dutch in **1664**, or the English and the Spaniards in **1739**, England and France, though there was formal peace, were at constant war in Africa, East India, and,

especially, North America. The limits of Nova Scotia had never been defined. Both countries claimed the tract round the Bay of Fundy. England also asserted that, having settled the eastern coast, her right extended across the continent to the Pacific, within the latitudes of their settlements. English stations already existed on the Ohio. But

England and France in America

the French, who held Canada, and also Louisiana on the mouth of the Mississippi, and who claimed the great river basins west of the Alleghanies, determined to cut us off from central America by a chain of forts connecting the two. During **1754** they established Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, and compelled George Washington to capitulate at Great Meadows. General Braddock was then sent out from England with 2,000 men; while Hawke attacked and defeated a French fleet convoying 4,000 troops. The forts on the Bay of Fundy were captured; but, on the other hand, Braddock's army fell into an ambush of French and Indians, July **1755**, and was utterly routed. Hawke was ordered to scour the seas and take every French vessel he met; swarms of privateers were sent out; and by the end of **1755** 300 French merchantmen and 7,000 sailors were brought into English ports.

It now became known that the French were preparing a vast armament for the reconquest of Minorca (p. 351), then held by

Loss of Minorca

Blakeney with 2,800 men; and Admiral Byng, son of the victor of Passaro (p. 358), was sent to the rescue with a small fleet. An action took place, in which West, his second in command, behaved with spirit; but Byng's conduct was characterised by what his friends called want of judgment—his enemies, cowardice. He sailed back to Gibraltar without attempting further action; and Blakeney, after a long and gallant defence, capitulated on June 27, **1756**, with all the honours of war. The people were furious; West became a popular hero; Byng was imprisoned to wait for a court-martial. War had meanwhile been declared, May 18.

All Europe was once more in arms. But while England again faced France, and Austria faced Prussia, there was in other ways a remarkable change. Alarm at the growing might of Prussia, and a personal quarrel with Frederick, had thrown Louis XV. on the side

Alliance of England and Frederick the Great

of Austria; Russia, Poland, Saxony, and Sweden had joined the alliance. Naturally, therefore, England joined Frederick, and thus gained in her quarrel with France the support of the best army led by the best general in Europe.

England herself, through a great change at home, was readier for the conduct of a great war. In **1755** Pitt, himself a member of the government, had led the popular feeling against the incapacity of

Newcastle and the system of subsidies to German powers with such vehemence that he had forced Newcastle to dismiss him. Jealousy of Fox, who had become secretary, added to his invective. It was now that he made the memorable comparison of Newcastle and Fox to the Rhône and the Saône at their junction at Lyons—'the one a gentle, languid stream, and, though languid, of no depth; the other a boisterous, impetuous torrent.' But in **1756** Fox, finding that he had no real power, resigned; and Newcastle, without a supporter who could look Pitt in the face, at length gave up the prime ministership. The king then tried to form a coalition of Pitt and Fox, but Pitt refused. At length he consented to become secretary under the Duke of Devonshire; his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, and most of his political friends taking office with him. The change was at once felt. The German troops quartered in England were dismissed; 55,000 men were voted for the navy, 45,000 for the army; reinforcements were sent to America. By forming regiments from the Highland clans Pitt at once removed a frequent source of danger, and brought into the army, in a disciplined shape, the finest fighting material in the island. The militia, too, were remodelled so as to become a real strength to the country. Pitt then carried a vote of 200,000*l.* for the defence of Hanover. The situation had changed since he had opposed all such grants. Then it was merely spending English money to defend 'a despicable electorate;' but now England was attacked through Hanover, and Hanover was therefore 'as dear to England as Hampshire.' He had resolved 'to conquer America in Germany.'

Newcastle resigns

The Highland regiments

At this moment Byng was brought to trial. The court-martial acquitted him of cowardice; but he was found guilty of not having done all in his power to save Minorca, and by the 12th article of war was condemned to death, with a unanimous recommendation to mercy. In the teeth of the popular cry, and against the resolve of the king, Pitt strove his utmost to save him. His efforts were vain. After forty years of brave service the admiral was shot, March 14, **1757**, a victim to popular discontent, and Pitt, with all his friends, was dismissed. He at once became a hero to the whole country, which he had already inspired with his own enthusiasm. The common council of London protested, the stocks fell, the chief towns gave him their freedom—for a time 'it rained gold boxes.' It was impossible to form a government in which he was not the principal figure. The king was once more forced to give way. An alliance was brought about in June **1757** between Newcastle, and his immense parliamentary influence, and Pitt,

Execution of Byng

Dismissal of Pitt

backed by popular favour. Newcastle was prime minister in name, but Pitt made his own terms; he was to have absolute control of the war. 'I borrowed the Duke of Newcastle's majority,' he said, 'to carry on the public business.' All his friends came back with him; Fox consented to join the government as paymaster (p. 377, *note*). Thus began the most glorious administration since the days of Elizabeth. The country made a sudden step into a heroic age.

Coalition of Newcastle and Pitt

SECTION 6.—*Pitt's Great Administration. Wolfe in Canada*

Pitt's first act was to reverse a humiliating treaty. In **1757** our ally Frederick was so ruinously beaten by the Austrians at Kolin that the French were enabled to garrison Ostend and Nieuport, defeat Cumberland at Hastenbeck, and occupy Hanover. Cumberland hereupon made a convention at Closterseven, the terms of which roused such indignation in England that Cumberland was recalled, and never again employed. But Frederick retrieved his disasters by the great victories of Rosbach, November 5, over the French, and of Leuthen, December 5, over the Austrians. In **1758** Pitt sent him 670,000*l.*, and the Closterseven treaty was repudiated.

Convention of Closterseven repudiated by Pitt

A new spirit pervaded the administration. 'I know that I can save the country, and I know that no one else can,' was no empty boast of Pitt. The estimates went up enormously, and he gloried in the expense. To win the New World he was ready to spend with both hands the treasure which Walpole's rule had given him. By the end of the year there were 95,000 British troops under arms, as well as subsidized forces. A British army was placed under Frederick's best general, Ferdinand of Brunswick, and the subsidy renewed. All who served Pitt gained something of his spirit—'no man ever entered his closet who did not come out of it a braver man'—especially when it was seen that officers were selected, not by seniority or family claims, but by merit. The word 'impossible' did not exist for him. When Anson declared that the fleet could not be ready, Pitt said he would impeach him, and the fleet *was* ready. When our Dutch allies sent stores to France, he ordered every Dutch ship thus laden to be seized. English admirals no longer stayed, like Byng, to ask whether the enemy were superior. The French were driven out of their African settlements at the mouth of the Senegal. A fleet of 150 ships, under Boscawen, carried General Amhurst and 12,000 men to attack Cape Breton. Second in command was a young colonel named Wolfe, who had entered the army at fourteen, and had

Pitt as war minister

fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Lauffeld. Boscawen and Amhurst worked loyally together: Cape Breton was retaken; St. John's also fell, and was henceforward known as Prince Edward's Island. Abercrombie, indeed, one of the old generals, was badly beaten by Montcalm at Ticonderoga; but Fort Duquesne was captured by our men, and its name changed to Pittsburg. A squadron sailed to the French coast and destroyed Cherbourg—'breaking windows with guineas,' Fox spitefully called it. This was but one instance of Pitt's plan of harassing the enemy and dividing its resources. Our command of the sea may be seen in the fact that by the end of **1758** there were 24,000 French prisoners in England.

But with **1759** another 'wonderful' year (p. 246) opened. Rodney bombarded Havre, and destroyed a French armament which was preparing to invade England. Boscawen destroyed the Toulon fleet, and Hawke blockaded Brest, while Hopson and Moore took Guadeloupe in the West Indies. And then Pitt bent all his energies to the conquest of Canada.[17]

The year 1759. Conquest of Canada

To gain this noble prize he sent out three expeditions: one to reduce Fort Niagara and threaten Montreal; the second, under Amhurst, to renew the attack on Ticonderoga, and thence make its way by Lake Champlain and the river Richelieu towards Quebec; the third, under Wolfe, to sail up the St. Lawrence and besiege the town.

The three expeditions

The first reached Niagara in the middle of July, defeated 2,000 French and Indians, with great slaughter, and forced the garrison to capitulate, thus removing all fear of Canada and Louisiana joining hands. Amherst drove the French out of Ticonderoga. But the late season prevented the further progress of either expedition.

In June, Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence in the fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders. Quebec was, after Gibraltar, the strongest fortified place known. It is built upon, and below, a range of rocky heights, ending at the junction of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence, just where the latter broadens from a stream less than a mile across to a wide estuary. Three miles below this point is the Isle of Orleans, twenty miles long. A sand-bank guards the harbour from attack. The cliffs extend several miles above the town, and are there called the Heights of Abraham. Below the town the ground is difficult as far as the point where the Montmorency falls into the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite the upper end of the Isle of Orleans. Montcalm's army, of about 10,000 men, chiefly Canadians and Indians, lay entrenched on the heights between the Montmorency

Situation of Quebec

[17] Mahon, ch. xxv.

F. S. Weller.

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

and the St. Charles, with a bridge of boats across the latter river to Quebec. Thus the city could not be invested, nor his force attacked with advantage.

On June 27 Wolfe landed on the Isle of Orleans. Several attempts to destroy our fleet with fire-ships were skilfully baffled by Saunders; and on the 29th batteries were established both on Point Levis, somewhat higher up on the right bank of the river, and on the point of the island, the fire from which soon reduced the town to ruins. On July 9 Wolfe crossed the river below the Montmorency, at the same time sending a squadron above Quebec. Unable to draw Montcalm from his entrenchments, he crossed the ford at the mouth of the Montmorency, and tried to carry them by assault; but, owing to the very impetuosity of his troops, the attempt was beaten back with heavy loss. The men grew dispirited, and Wolfe himself fell seriously ill. Upon his recovery he carried back his army, reduced by sickness and death to less than 4,000 men, to Point Levis, and thence several miles up the river on the right bank, Montcalm despatching 1,500 men along the Heights of Abraham to watch its movements. So hopeless did the prospect seem that, on September 9, Wolfe sent home a despatch in terms of the utmost despondency.

Attempt upon the French lines defeated

Long before that despatch reached England the famous exploit had been accomplished. During the 12th the attention of Montcalm was distracted by feigned movements of the squadrons above and below Quebec. At 1 A.M., on the 13th, the night being very dark, the troops were embarked in boats, which, as the tide flowed out, fell down, unobserved, to a small inlet, ever since known as Wolfe's Cove, under the Heights of Abraham, two miles above Quebec. The only voice heard, as with muffled oars they approached the beach, was that of Wolfe, reciting, in low tones to his officers, Gray's 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard.' 'Now, gentlemen,' he said, as he finished, 'I would rather have been the author of that poem than take Quebec.' The men sprang silently to land, Wolfe among the first, and without a moment's pause dashed at the face of the cliff, every man with the spirit of Pitt within him. Pulling themselves up by the bushes and projecting pieces of rock, they had nearly reached the top, when a challenge and one wild volley from the French picquet above showed they were discovered. But the picquet then fled in panic; the leading men—they were Pitt's Highlanders—leaped to the table-land and formed in line. The boats were sent back for more men, and at daybreak the whole force, with a single piece of cannon, which had somehow been dragged up, stood in order of battle.

The Heights of Abraham

Montcalm could scarcely credit the news. He at once left his lines, crossed the St. Charles, and hurried to the attack, while the English waited motionless. The French charged, firing as they came. By Wolfe's orders his men withheld their fire until the enemy were within forty yards; and then one crashing volley was poured in from the whole line. The smoke had not cleared away when Wolfe, already wounded in the wrist, bounded forward and cheered on the grenadiers to a bayonet charge. A second ball struck him in the groin; still he calmly gave his orders. But a third pierced his breast, and he fell. As he lay dying he lifted his head from time to time to watch the fight. His eyesight failed; he lay without sign of life, save heavy breathing, or a stifled groan. Suddenly an officer exclaimed, 'See! they run!' 'Who run?' cried Wolfe, eagerly raising himself on his elbow. 'The enemy; they give way everywhere!' 'Then God be praised!' cried Wolfe; 'I die happy.' A moment later he gasped out his last command, an order to send a regiment to cut off the French retreat; and then, turning on his side, expired. Montcalm too was wounded, as he tried to rally his men, and died in Quebec next day. On September 18 Quebec capitulated. Montreal fell next year, and Canada passed into the hands of England.

Capture of Quebec. Death of Wolfe and Montcalm

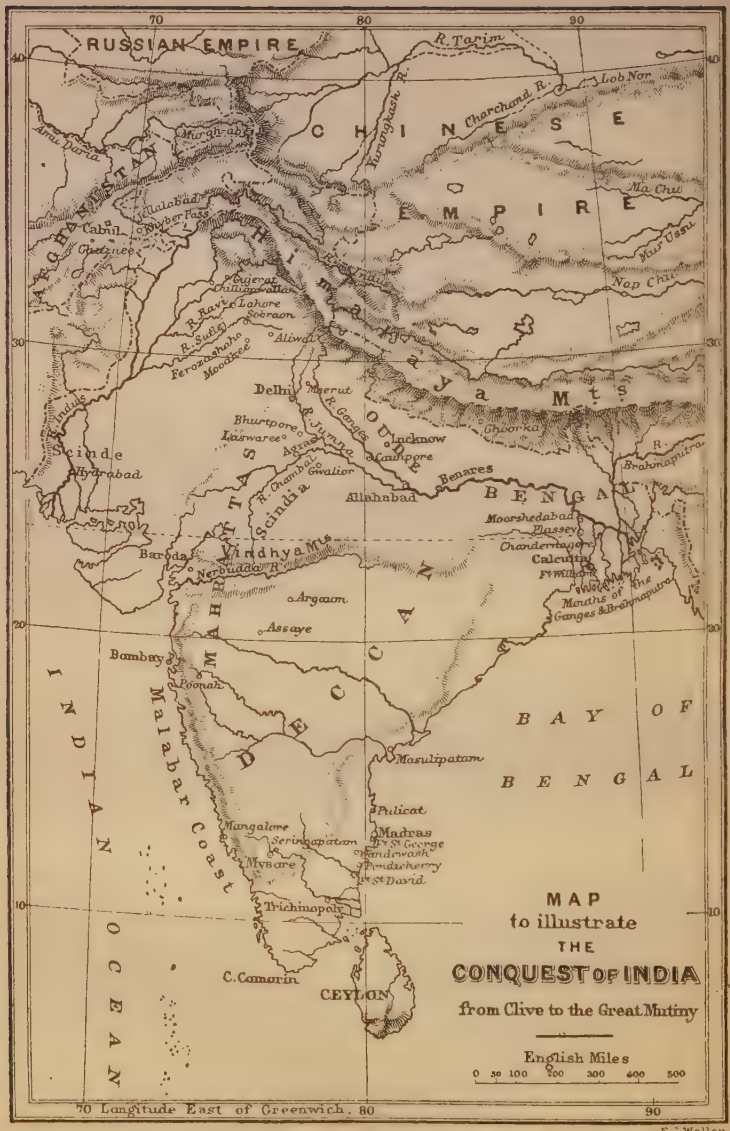
But not yet were the triumphs of **1759** exhausted. In the midst of a fierce storm, on a dangerous coast, Hawke intrepidly engaged the French fleet, which had sallied from Brest, off the Point of Quiberon, November 20, and utterly defeated it. The fear of a French invasion was removed, and a final blow given to their naval power.

Such then were some of the achievements of this 'wonderful year.' The navy and commerce of France were destroyed, and her government brought so low that she was forced to declare herself bankrupt, by repudiating her national debt. North America—except the mouth of the Mississippi—had fallen to England; our own commerce was increasing 'by leaps and bounds;' our western empire was assured; and all this was the work of Pitt.[18]

Meanwhile Frederick had been brought almost to despair by disaster upon disaster. Ferdinand of Brunswick, however, with whom were serving 12,000 British troops, won a great victory at Minden on August 1, which would have been still more crushing had Sackville, the English commander, led the cavalry to the charge at the proper moment. For Wolfe the whole nation was in mourning; Hawke was pensioned, and made a peer. Sackville was recalled, court-martialled, and dismissed the service. In **1760** Frederick

Battle of Minden

[18] He 'united commerce with, and made it flourish by, war.'



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recovered his ground completely at the terrible battle of Torgau. Ferdinand beat the French at Warburg, a charge of our horse under Lord Granby redeeming Sackville's blunder, and going far to decide the day. On October 25 George II. suddenly died, like his father, of a fit of apoplexy. He was in his seventy-seventh year.

Section 7.—*The Conquest of India.*[19] *Robert Clive*

Meanwhile, in an opposite part of the globe, there had been accomplished a still mightier conquest. At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the settlements of the East India Company, founded in **1600**, consisted of three presidencies, each governed by a president and a council appointed by the directors in England, and guarded by a mixed force of English and natives. They were: (1) Bombay, on the west; (2) Madras, in the region known as the Carnatic, protected by Forts St. George and St. David; (3) Fort William, on the Hooghly, in the north-east, under the shelter of which rose Calcutta. Here, as in Canada, France was our rival. She held Chandernagore, a little above Calcutta; Pondicherry, eighty miles south of Madras; the islands of Mauritius (Isle de France) and Mascarenhas (Isle de Bourbon), in the Indian Ocean. Dupleix, who commanded the whole French power, was a man of the widest ambition, utter want of scruple, and great skill in taking advantage of the jealousies of rival native princes. He had made up his mind to get rid of the English in India altogether.

The East India Company

French rivalry. Dupleix

During **1750** and **1751** Dupleix secured the whole coast from Madras to Cape Comorin, with sovereignty over the Carnatic. He beat an English force sent against him, and shut them up in Trichinopoly. If Trichinopoly fell, it was certain that Forts St. David and St. George must succumb also.

This disaster was averted by the prowess of one man. Robert Clive was born near Market Drayton in Shropshire, in **1725**, and, as a boy, was noted for his wayward and impetuous temper, imperiousness, and courage. He was afflicted with a constitutional morbidness, which had already led him to attempt his own life; the failure convinced him that he was destined for great things. Disliking books and home life, he was sent to India as a clerk in the company's service, but shortly obtained an ensign's commission, and at the moment of peril was at Fort St. David. He urged the despatch of an expedition to capture Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic,

Robert Clive

[19] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xxxix; Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*.

and thus to draw the enemy from Trichinopoly; and in August **1751** he was placed in command of 300 Sepoys and 200 English. Of his eight officers six were civilians. The garrison fled upon his approach, and Clive took possession of the ruinous and scarcely defensible citadel. Here, for eleven weeks, one long record of incessant vigilance, he was besieged by 10,000 men, chiefly Indians. He managed to communicate with a friendly chief of the warlike Mahrattas; but the enemy resolved to anticipate their arrival. On November 14 a general assault was made upon Clive's poor ramparts. The defence, in which his coolness and courage were equally conspicuous, and in which his Sepoys showed a touching devotion to him, is one of the exploits which ranks with the capture of Quebec.[20] The siege was raised. Clive sallied forth, and with the Mahrattas completely defeated the vastly superior forces of the enemy at Arnee, and again near Madras; took Conjeveram, and razed the monuments erected by Dupleix. With Major Lawrence, he then marched to Trichinopoly, forced the besiegers themselves to capitulate, and once more defeated Dupleix. His health now gave way, and he returned to England, where he was received with the highest honours by the directors. In August **1754** Dupleix was superseded, and died in France in **1763**.

Siege of Arcot

On June 20, **1756**, Clive came back as governor of Fort St. David. On that very day an awful scene was being enacted at Calcutta. The nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, had suddenly marched upon the town in overpowering force. He promised to spare the lives of the prisoners. That night 145 Europeans, with one woman, were thrust into the common dungeon of the town, ever since known as the Black Hole of Calcutta, eighteen feet by fourteen, with but two small windows. It was the height of an Indian summer. The wretched captives could not be freed without an order from the nabob, and he was asleep and might not be awakened. The next morning twenty-three only came out alive, the woman, strangely enough, being among them.

Bengal

The Black Hole of Calcutta

The tidings reached Clive on August 16. He arrived with Admiral Watson in the Hooghly in December, and on January 2, **1757**, recaptured Calcutta. Surajah Dowlah returned to crush him, with 40,000 men. But he was cowed by a night attack and made peace on the most favourable terms to the British. When, however, Clive and Watson captured Chandernagore (p. 385), he once more changed sides and joined the French. Clive hereupon resolved to supplant him by

[20] See the account in Macaulay's *Essay*. The nearest parallel is the defence of Kars by Williams against the Russians in the Crimean war.

his general, Meer Jaffier, with whom he had had a secret understanding. With a mixed force of 3,000 men and ten guns he marched against Surajah, who lay at Plassey with 50,000 men and forty guns. The odds seemed so fearful that in a council of war Clive himself voted against attacking; but scarcely was this decided upon when he changed his mind. At sunrise on June 23, **1757**, the famous battle began. A panic seized the nabob, and he ordered his forces to fall back; two companies of English at once charged, followed by Clive with the rest of the little force. Meer Jaffier deserted with all his troops; and the fight became a mere rout, though scarcely any slaughter took place. Surajah fled, but was taken, and at once put to death by Meer Jaffier, who was acknowledged by Clive as nabob. The English acquired the sole possession of Calcutta and the tenure of the immediate district, to the sea; and Meer Jaffier paid the company 2,750,000*l.*, Clive himself receiving 200,000*l.* Clive was now made governor of Bengal. In **1759** he largely extended the English territory and reduced Masulipatam. In the same year the Dutch, who had a station at Chinsura on the Hooghly, intrigued with the nabob for a joint attack upon the English. Clive at once attacked them by land and water, defeated the land force, and captured all their ships. Then he returned again in ill-health to England, with a fortune of 40,000*l.* a year, received an Irish peerage as Baron Plassey, and entered the House of Commons.

Battle of Plassey

Fighting had been indecisive in the Carnatic. But in April **1758** a French force was landed under Lally, who at once besieged and took Fort St. David and Arcot. In December he appeared before Madras. Here, however, the defence was so vigorous that after many weeks' siege the attempt was given up. In October **1759** Colonel Eyre Coote arrived with reinforcements from England. On November 30 he stormed Wandewash, and on January 22, **1760**, gave battle to Lally, who attempted to relieve the town. This was not, like Plassey, a contest of Europeans against Indians, but of English against French. The great victory which Coote obtained gave to England the supremacy over the Carnatic, as Plassey had given the supremacy over Bengal. Coote then retook Arcot and other towns, and struck the final blow to French power in India by the siege and capture of Pondicherry, January 16, **1761**.

The Carnatic

Battle of Wandewash

While the reign of George II. witnessed these triumphs, it saw in its earlier years the beginning of one of the greatest movements in English religious history.[21] The church had for many reasons been growing cold, formal, lifeless; external morality, the decencies of life, moderation, and good sense were its themes; it made no appeal to

[21] Mahon, ch. xix.; Lecky, vol. ii. p. 550.

religious emotion. Christianity was not to be believed as a matter of faith, but as depending upon reasoning and evidence. Unitarianism was spreading, and there was a dislike to be bound by the Articles of Faith. Church-going and Sunday observances had decayed; the example of the court largely encouraged laxity. Sermons were cold and polished—never emotional or fervid. Enthusiasm was out of fashion.[22]

The Methodists

This state of things called forth the great revival known as Methodism. John and Charles Wesley, its founders, were sons of the rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire. They were both at Oxford, where John, born **1703**, became fellow of Lincoln. Here they established a little society, of which Whitefield,[23] then a waiter in an inn, but soon to be the most famous field preacher the world has ever seen, and Hervey, author of the 'Meditations,' were members. From the *method* of life which they laid down, with rigid and ascetic rules, they acquired the nickname of 'Methodists,' which the whole sect, numbering now many millions, is proud to bear. There was no idea of separation from the church; they wished to be a church within a church, a living organism within a dying one; Wesley was a clergyman to his death. But the vehemence of their attack upon the present deadness, their reversal of the ordinary practice of the church, caused their exclusion from church pulpits; and thus they were led to found Methodist chapels, to rely upon open-air preaching, and to employ lay preachers; becoming practically, though never acknowledging it, dissenters. They were treated with contempt and brutality by high and low; but they steadily made their way. Their organisation—over which Wesley was supreme to his death—was admirable. They never exercised much influence over the rich or educated; but to the poor and depraved they appealed with irresistible power. With much that was absurd, with much that was harmful in the hysteric emotion which they created in their converts, especially among the women, it is to this revival of the emotional side of religion, to the vast influence they acquired among the poor and lower middle class, that the Established Church was, as it were, shamed into the life and fervour of later years. The Wesleyan Methodists formed a middle point between Wiclif's 'poor priests' (p. 124) and the Salvation Army of our own day.

[22] Among the reasons for this was (1) the fact that through the depression of Catholics and Dissenters there was no healthy opposition to the church; that theology and politics had become confused; that tolerant bishops had become divorced from intolerant clergy; that the growth of physical science had encouraged scepticism; that the universities were in a state of decrepitude; and that through the growth of manufactures great masses of population had grown without any church provision.

[23] Stephen, *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography*, 'The Evangelical Succession.'

CHAPTER V

GEORGE III. 1760-1820. *PRIVILEGE AND PREROGATIVE.* 1760-1784

SECTION 1.—*John Wilkes. Revolt of the American Colonies. Ministries of Newcastle, Bute, Grenville, Rockingham, Chatham, and Grafton*

GEORGE III. was now twenty-two years old. He was simple, chaste, and religious; a good son, as he was afterwards a kind husband and a conscientious father. Born and trained in England, he 'gloried in the name of Briton;' he had the English country tastes and love of field sports. But he was not generous or frank; he was ignorant both of books and men, arbitrary, prejudiced, without imagination, and opposed to every assertion of liberty. His path was marked out for him by his mother's influence. 'George, be a king!' was her constant advice. He was to break through the circle of Whig grandees, the 'Revolution families,' as they called themselves, such as the Pelhams, the Cavendishes, and the Russells, who by their enormous parliamentary influence had kept the crown in subjection; and the prerogative was once more to supersede the power of the Commons.[1] Lord Bute, who had been his governor—an honest man, but pretentious, arrogant, and of small capacity—was made secretary of state, and devoted himself to forming an interior cabal about the king's person; while by profuse bribery a court party was secured in the Commons, known as the 'king's friends,' who quoted the king's personal pleasure for all their votes.

George III. Intentions of the court

To get rid of Pitt was the first object; and for this purpose a peace was to be hurried on. He succeeded, indeed, in delaying negotiations

[1] The ideas connected with the term 'Whig' must now be widened to include the adherents of the oligarchy who wished, through their parliamentary influence, to coerce the king, and to absorb all political power in their families. The Tory held that no influence should stand between king and people. The terms 'privilege' and 'prerogative' express this shortly. 'The real contest in those days was not between aristocracy and democracy, but between aristocracy and monarchy. The Tories were at least as much aristocrats as the Whigs, but they submitted to the dominion of the king. The Whigs sought to maintain a parliamentary party independent of the king's personal influence, and to establish its supremacy over the royal will.' Opposition to, and support of, the American war must also be added to the differences.

until an expedition already sent out had captured Belle Isle, which he intended to retain as a pledge for the restoration of Minorca. When France and Spain, relying on the 'Family Compact,' used threatening language towards Great Britain, he pressed for instant war upon Spain, for an attack upon whose colonies he had all ready. Opposed in the council, he haughtily declared that he was responsible to the people alone, and resigned office. His acceptance of a pension and a peerage for his wife for a time destroyed his popularity; but he was soon again the idol of the people, as Bute was the object of their execration. The aggressive tone of Spain forced his enemies to carry out his policy, and declare war. Fortunately the impulse he had given lasted still. In **1762** France lost her West Indian islands; while Havannah and the Philippines, with fifteen warships and treasure valued at three millions, were taken from Spain, and a British force drove her troops from Portugal. Frederick the Great meanwhile defeated Austria, while British and Hanoverian troops cleared Hanover of the French.

Pitt driven from office

Peace of Paris and ministry of Bute

Both France and Spain were thus ready for the peace desired by Bute, to manufacture a popular cry for which bribery was profusely employed, 500*l.* being paid for an address in favour of it from any corporate body. London, the whole Whig body, and especially Pitt, opposed the court in vain. The Peace of Paris, November **1762**, which should be compared with the Peace of Utrecht, made under similar circumstances, secured a great extension of British dominion, though not such as Pitt would have demanded.[2] Before long Prussia and Austria came to terms, and France retired from Germany. Thus Europe was once more in repose.

The ministerial changes were now completed. Newcastle gave way to Bute. George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law, was secretary. 'Now, indeed, my son is king!' exclaimed his mother. 'Never again shall those Whig grandees be admitted to power,' said George himself. Fox joined Bute as paymaster, and government was carried on by the open corruption of the Commons. Members came to Fox's office to take their bribes; 200*l.* was the lowest price for a vote. Every government

[2] *France* gave up all North America, except Louisiana; Senegal in Africa; Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago; and Minorca in return for Belle Isle. Goree in Africa was restored to her, with Guadeloupe, Mariagalante, Martinique, and St. Lucia. She kept the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Pondicherry in India was also restored, provided there was no military occupation. The demolition of the harbour and fortification of Dunkirk was again insisted upon. *Spain* gave up Florida and the Newfoundland fishery, regaining Havannah and the Philippines; the claim of the English to cut logwood in Honduras Bay was admitted; and all questions as to prizes captured by England before the war were to be settled by the English courts. The alliance with Prussia was practically abandoned by the cessation of subsidies.

post, down to that of the humblest revenue officer, was filled by a crown nominee. But Bute's power soon came to an end. The country was jealous of his influence over the king. The author of an unpopular peace, the imposer of an obnoxious tax upon cider,[3] the supposed lover of the king's mother,[4] and, lastly, a Scotchman, he rapidly became so hated that he resigned in April 1763. Fox, as a reward for his help in corrupting the Commons, became Lord Holland, retaining his lucrative post.

The new prime minister was George Grenville. He was an honest man and a good administrator, and was, like Clarendon (p. 297), thoroughly conversant with constitutional law. But, like Clarendon again, he was unfitted by this very fact for dealing with emergencies when 'the high roads are broken up and the waters out.' It was hoped that he would fall in with the designs of the court without demur; but he showed so much independence that Bute and the king repented, and applied again to Pitt. Pitt's terms were, however, still more subversive of their designs. Grenville, now master of the situation, agreed to stay on; and his government was strengthened by the accession of the Duke of Bedford, a harsh and overbearing man, but the most powerful and wealthy of the nobility.

The Grenville ministry and John Wilkes

Grenville.

Grenville's first difficulty was the affair of John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, a man of scandalous life, but of wit, courage, and shrewdness, who, under the patronage of Earl Temple, had founded a newspaper called the 'North Briton,' in which Bute and the court were virulently attacked. On April 23, 1763, the famous No. 45 appeared, containing unmeasured abuse of the speech from the throne, and practically charging the king with falsehood. A 'general warrant'—one, that is, which does not specify the accused by name—was issued by the secretaries, Lords Halifax and Egremont, against the authors, printers, and publishers, and forty-nine persons were arrested. Wilkes was acknowledged the author, and, in spite of his parliamentary privilege, was thrown into the Tower; his room was forcibly opened and his papers carried off. Two questions arose—Were general warrants legal? Was Wilkes protected by privilege? The first question, evidently of the greatest importance to the liberty of the subject, was decided by Chief-Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, in Wilkes's favour, and Wilkes and his friends after-

General warrants and parliamentary privilege

[3] The populace in the cider country dressed up a figure in a Scotch plaid and blue ribbon, leading an ass royally crowned.

[4] He was compared in broadsheets with Earl Mortimer, the infamous lover of Edward III.'s mother. John Wilkes reprinted Ben Jonson's play, 'The Fall of Mortimer,' and dedicated it to him.

wards gained damages for false imprisonment. Upon the second it was successfully argued for Wilkes that privilege covered everything but treason, felony, and breach of the peace;[5] and all that the court could do was to deprive him of his colonelcy in the militia, and to dismiss his patron, Temple, from his lord-lieutenancy and the privy council. But among Wilkes's impounded papers was his 'Essay on Woman,' a blasphemous and obscene parody of Pope's 'Essay on Man,' and the Lords, though it had not been published, demanded his prosecution for blasphemy. The Commons, in the face of the popular feeling, now resolved, retrospectively, that privilege did not extend to seditious libel; and on January 19, **1764**, Wilkes was expelled from the house, all who voted against the crown being dismissed from any offices they held. Wilkes, who had fled to France, was then prosecuted for reprinting No. 45, and, having printed the 'Essay on Woman,' was found guilty of blasphemy and seditious libel, and outlawed.

Expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons

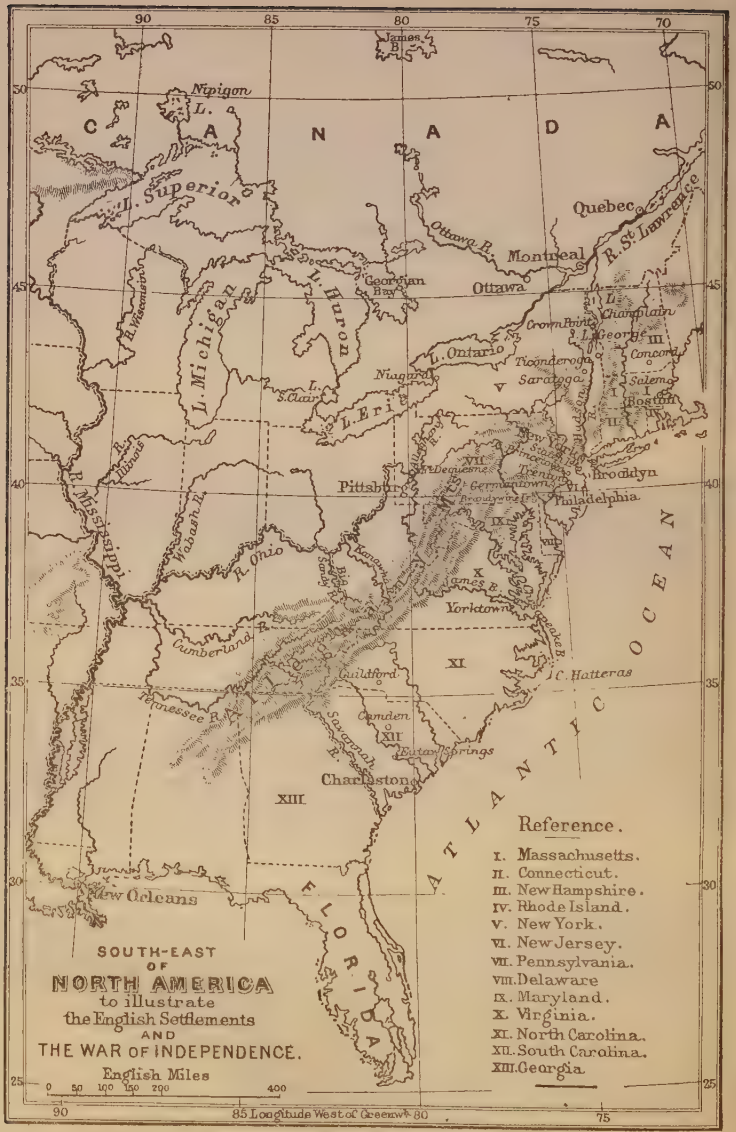
The king meanwhile chafed under Grenville's thraldom. Twice he applied in vain to Pitt. At length he sent for the old Duke of Newcastle. His terms were the dismissal of Bute from all influence, and the reinstatement of the great Whig connection; and the king gave way perforce. In July **1765** the Marquis of Rockingham, a man of good sense, unblemished character, and respectable talents, to be remembered chiefly because for his private secretary he had the famous political philosopher Edmund Burke, became prime minister; Newcastle was privy seal; General Conway and the Duke of Grafton secretaries of state. Several of Pitt's friends took office; but without Pitt himself the ministry was 'an arch that wanted its keystone.' Thwarted by the king, intrigued against by the 'king's friends,' it struggled on for a year, until, deserted by Grafton, it was contemptuously dismissed in July **1766**. But it was an honest government, and before it fell it had done much good work. 'General warrants' had been condemned; officers, dismissed for giving votes against the court, had been restored; Bute's Cider Act modified; commerce with Russia firmly established; and an unfortunate act of Grenville's government for taxing the American colonies repealed.

The first Rockingham ministry. The grandees again in office

The American colonies[6] were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode

[5] The court lawyers contended that the publication had a 'tendency' to cause a breach of the peace; the value of the independence now enjoyed by the judges (p. 339) was shown in their rejection of the doctrine that this was sufficient for conviction.

[6] The American flag, unfurled on January 1, 1776, had thirteen stripes of alternate red and white, without stars, and with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground in the



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Island, and Hampshire in the north, forming what was called New England, of Puritan origin—the very backbone of the American nation; (2) the middle states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania—the last named being a Quaker settlement; the slave states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. They had differing forms of local representative government, but the governors and chief officials were appointed by the crown. In their own affairs, especially in the great point of direct taxation, they had been beneficially left alone. But they acknowledged the right of the mother country to bind them in commercial matters; and this right was jealously and oppressively enforced.[7] They were subject to the Navigation Act; they might sell their chief products in British dominions alone; they might import nothing which had not previously been landed in England. All rivalry with England, particularly in the wool trade, was crushed. Trade with the French West Indies was forbidden; and English custom-house officers did their best to check the smuggling which inevitably followed, and which reached such an extent that not one-tenth of the tea consumed came, according to law, from England. Impatience of this control grew rapidly; during the late war the loyalty of the colonists went to the winds; George of England, it was said, was no better than Louis of France; and a vigorous trade was done with the French garrisons and fleets. The Peace of Paris indeed, by removing all fear of the French in Canada and the Spanish in Florida, caused an outburst of loyal feeling. But in **1763** Grenville passed an act levying new duties, while reducing others, enacting many harassing regulations, and enforcing the Navigation Act more strictly, in order to raise a revenue for defraying the expenses of defending and securing the colonies. And in **1765**, when the National Debt had risen to 140 millions, and a distribution of burdens was necessary to relieve taxation in England, Grenville resolved (1) to enforce the custom duties still more strictly than before by placing ships of the royal navy along the coast; (2) to quarter 10,000 men permanently in America; and (3) to tax the colonies *directly* to the amount of 100,000*l.*, a third of the cost. This was but just; but the plan adopted by Grenville, who could not see that abstract justice must be modified by circumstances, was the cause of all the evils which followed. The Stamp Act, which passed the two houses almost without comment, in

The American colonies

Their discontent

Foolish policy of Grenville; the Stamp Act

corner. The stars were added in July 1777.

[7] Ludlow, 'War of American Independence,' in *Epochs of European History*, p. 67; Lecky, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 299.

March **1765**, ordered that every legal document, to be valid, must be written upon stamped paper sent from England, payment being demanded for the stamp. The colonists, thus *directly* taxed, inveighed against this as a breach of the great principle of 'No taxation without representation.' Riots took place in Boston; the houses of government officials were wrecked, and the stamp distributors burnt in effigy; no one would use the stamped paper, the 'folly of England and the ruin of America.' All commerce with England was voluntarily stopped; the richest wore their own coarse homespun rather than clothes from England; no lamb was eaten, so that the wool of their own country might suffice. Before long the English merchants began to protest; crowds of unemployed men besieged the doors of parliament; Glasgow was nearly ruined.[8] The Rockingham ministry were anxious to repeal the act; the king and his 'friends,' with Grenville and Bedford, opposed them. Pitt upheld the colonists, though holding that on any question other than that of direct taxation parliament had the right to legislate for every part of the British dominions; and his words, 'I rejoice that America has resisted,' were soon carried to the other side of the Atlantic. Chiefly through his aid, and that of Burke, the government carried the repeal. At the same time, however, to disarm opposition, they passed a Declaratory Act affirming the right of parliament to make laws binding the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*; the very right which the colonists denied. Immediately afterwards the Rockingham ministry resigned.

Non-importation agreement

Repeal of the Stamp Act. Declaratory Act

The king once more besought Pitt to take office, and Pitt, though very ill, yielded. His idea was to form a national party; and he tried to do this by including in his ministry Whigs and Tories, 'patriots' (p. 365), and 'king's friends,' Rockinghamites and his own adherents. Of the last, Grafton became first lord of the Treasury. Too ill to lead the Commons, he accepted a peerage as Earl of Chatham. The honour was a just one, but with it vanished the popularity of the great commoner. From the first the ministry was ill-starred. The king was sullenly hostile when he found that Chatham still refused to aid the scheme of supreme prerogative; bad harvests had brought distress and discontent, and parliament seemed unable to find remedies. Chatham had hoped to unite the northern

Pitt's ministry. Created Earl of Chatham

[8] The after effects, however, were such that the merchants welcomed a second non-importation agreement. The great demand for their goods, when the demand came, enabled them to sell at very high prices, and to sell stuff which they could not sell before.

powers against France and Spain, to place India directly under the crown, to reform the Irish administration: but he failed in all. His illness prevented him from keeping the reins in his hands, and Grafton was left in charge. As his malady increased, he grew less able to command himself. He quarrelled with his Whig colleagues, and was forced to ruin his own position, while accomplishing the king's designs, by filling the places of the grandees with Tories. Soon his nerves were so shattered that he could not even see the king; the ministry was in utter confusion. France was allowed to acquire Corsica by purchase from Genoa, and thus to regain a position in the Mediterranean. The American difficulty was kept alive by an act forbidding the importation into Jamaica or Dominica of the chief staples of the northern colonies; and by another requiring the colonies to provide the king's troops with stores and barracks. Worst of all, his chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, a rash though brilliant and amiable man, pledged himself without Chatham's knowledge to raise revenue from America to support the troops; and when pressed by the Grenville opposition to fulfil the pledge, passed an act imposing duties upon tea, glass, and paper. Dying immediately after this fatal act, he was succeeded as chancellor of the exchequer by Lord North, son of the Earl of Guildford.

The ministry in confusion

Townshend's mad act for taxing America

As soon as he was sufficiently recovered Chatham resigned. Grafton, left head of the government, had first to deal with Wilkes, who, returning from France in March **1768**, stood for London but failed, and was then elected for Middlesex, when the streets of London were illuminated in his honour. Had the court taken no notice of the matter he would probably have been forgotten. But George, harsh and obstinate, was bent upon persecuting him. His outlawry was declared illegal; but on the old verdict for blasphemy and seditious libel he was sentenced to a fine of 1,000*l.* and imprisonment for twenty-two months. The mob rose in his favour; 'Wilkes and liberty' was the popular watchword; in St. George's Fields the soldiers fired on the crowd and killed many persons; they were put on trial, but only after being ostentatiously commended and rewarded by their officers and the crown, and were acquitted. On February 2, **1769**, Wilkes was expelled from the house; again elected, and then declared incapable of sitting in the present parliament, a decision which, if it were to stand, would destroy the rights of the voters. Again he was elected, and the election was then declared void. On the fourth occasion Colonel Luttrell stood against him. He obtained but 296 votes to 1,143 for Wilkes. But the

Resignation of Chatham

Wilkes imprisoned. The Middlesex election

Commons seated Luttrell, and the session was at once closed. Throughout this contest Wilkes had been in prison. But the triumph was really with him. On his release in **1770** he was the popular idol. The Mansion House was illuminated with the word 'Liberty' in letters three feet high. Subscriptions and legacies poured in upon him. He became alderman, sheriff, lord mayor, and, in time, member of parliament once more; the resolution declaring him unable to sit was expunged in **1782**, and he obtained a verdict for 4,000*l.* against Lord Halifax, the secretary of state who had issued the general warrant under which his papers had been seized. Thus, though a champion for whom no respect can be felt, he had made general warrants for ever impossible, and had vindicated the right of a constituency to select its representatives. This contest with Wilkes brought the gravest embarrassment upon the government. The lord mayor and council appeared before the king and addressed him in the boldest language. Middlesex petitioned against its practical disfranchisement; Westminster cried out for a dissolution. Discontent was rife among the people, who felt that parliament was rapidly divorcing itself from them. The government was exposed to the scathing attacks of 'Junius,' whose identity is still a matter of conjecture, though the evidence points strongly to Sir Philip Francis, formerly a clerk in the war office. The letters, while abounding in calumny and untruth, were written in a style of invective so pungent against Grafton, Bedford, and the king himself, and with such consummate literary skill, that they were read throughout England, and have taken a high place in our classical literature.

Popular discontent. 'Junius'

But far more serious was the news from America, where Townshend's mad act was bearing bitter fruit. The colonists no longer confined their resistance to internal taxation. The Assembly of Massachusetts met to concert their measures; but it was at once dissolved by the governor, and an English regiment quartered at Boston. Non-importation agreements were again entered into in Massachusetts. The use of tea was given up. A sloop named the 'Liberty,' attempting to land a cargo, was boarded by the revenue officers; but the crew resisted and locked them in the cabin until the cargo was safe on shore. The sloop was hereupon confiscated and towed under the guns of a royal frigate. Riots broke out in Boston, officials were tarred and feathered, and their houses destroyed. Two more regiments then occupied the town; the colonists thereupon met, advised all who had arms to get them ready, and called a convention of other towns. The feeling became still more bitter when the royal speech of **1769** con-

America: Resistance to Townshend's act

tained nothing but angry words of America,[9] and when Bedford carried an act to revive an obsolete law of Henry VIII., by which the leaders of resistance might be brought for trial to England.

Grafton, with the 'rump' of Chatham's administration, was meanwhile sustaining the whole onslaught of the various parties in opposition. Chatham himself appeared to denounce all that had been done in his absence. Before long the Lord Chancellor Camden (p. 391) and the Marquis of Granby, the popular commander-in-chief, resigned. Grafton found his position untenable. But the obstinacy of the king deprived the great families of their expected triumph. 'Sooner than yield to a dissolution I will have recourse to this,' he said, touching his sword. He ordered North, the only man of mark in the cabinet, to form a government. North at once accepted the task, the seventh prime minister in ten years. His one idea was the support of authority, of the crown over the grandees, of parliament over the people, of Britain over her colonies. 'In all my memory,' he said of himself, 'I do not recollect a single popular measure I have ever voted for.' He was a man of the highest courage, of imperturbable temper, and absolute probity; he was sensible, ready, and witty in debate. He succeeded to what seemed a forlorn hope; for against him stood the parties of Chatham, Rockingham, and Grenville, with the whole force of popular feeling.

Resignation of Grafton. Lord North prime minister

Section 2.—*North and the Loss of the American Colonies*

But the opposition was not united; nor was their invective of any avail against a minister who would placidly doze in his seat under their most vehement attacks. The discipline of the 'king's friends' defeated every hostile motion; the king himself met with decisive firmness the menacing language which, under the influence of Wilkes, was used to his face by the city council.

One or two important reforms were, however, carried:—(1) Disputed elections, hitherto referred to a committee of 240 members, had been decided on purely party grounds, without reference to justice. On Grenville's motion such questions were now referred to a committee of only thirteen, since reduced to five. Each member of so small a body feels greater responsibility and judges the matter more on its merits. (2) The gross abuse of parliamentary privilege

[9] But for George III. the war would have ended long before it did, if indeed it had ever begun. It was really a conflict between his obstinacy and delusion and the noble steadfastness of Washington, without which the American cause would again and again have succumbed.

which had allowed the servants of members, as well as the members themselves, to be free of arrest, was abolished. (3) The right of printing reports of debates was, after a fierce struggle, in which London, under Wilkes's influence, again took the lead, tacitly conceded. By **1777** there were seventeen papers in London, of which seven were published daily, in which political matters were eagerly discussed. Until then newspapers had confined themselves to general news, political controversy being carried on by pamphlets.

Political newspapers

Before long North's way was cleared by the deaths, in one year, of Grenville, Granby, Bedford, and the violent Lord Mayor Beckford. In **1771** Grafton was won over, with Lords Suffolk and Sandwich, the leaders of the old Grenville and Bedford sections; while the two great lawyers of the day, Thurlow and Wedderburn, became attorney and solicitor-general. North was joined also by Charles James Fox,[10] third son of Lord Holland, soon to be the greatest parliamentary debater of his day. The king had completely triumphed in his intention of breaking through the great Whig connection.

Triumph of George III

The important question was still America. So bitter was the feeling aroused there by Bedford's wantonly offensive act (p. 397), that in hope of conciliating the colonists North, March 5, **1770**, repealed all the taxes laid by Townshend except that on tea, which the cabinet determined, by one vote only, to retain. Nothing could be more foolish; the concession stimulated resistance, the retention of one article merely emphasized the ground of quarrel. On the same day a collision took place between the soldiers and people in Boston, in which several persons were killed, and which, with further obnoxious Acts of Parliament, greatly increased the irritation in Massachusetts. No outburst, however, occurred until three ships laden with tea from India arrived in Boston, December 16, **1773**. A party disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the ships, broke open the chests, and threw their contents into the

America. The tea-ships in Boston harbour

[10] He resigned his office of Lord of the Admiralty in 1772, when he opposed the Royal Marriage Act, which was passed in consequence of the scandals connected with the marriages of the king's brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester. It forbade any descendant of George II., except those born to princesses married into foreign houses, from marrying before the age of twenty-five without the royal assent under the Great Seal. After that age they must give twelve months' notice to the Privy Council, and were then free if the two houses did not signify disapprobation. All marriages contracted in defiance of this act were to be null, and all who celebrated them or assisted at them were to be subject to a *præmunire*. Fox returned to office the same year as lord of the Treasury, but resigned again in 1774 on the question of printing the debates, and henceforth acted with the Rockingham party. He opposed the American war without cessation.

sea. The government hereupon, without first demanding reparation, passed the Boston Port Act, which threatened the ruin of the town by removing the custom-house to Salem. Other acts were also passed to place Massachusetts more directly under the crown, to bring criminals for trial to England, and—most distasteful to New England Puritanism—to give toleration to the large French Catholic population in Canada. In **1774** General Gage was ordered to occupy Boston with six regiments. A colonial congress was then held at Philadelphia. It declared that none of the liberties of Englishmen had been lost by emigration; demanded the repeal of all the late acts; and resolved that without such repeal no commerce of any kind should be held with Great Britain and Ireland after September 10. Another congress was held in Massachusetts in October **1774**, at which, while repudiating all idea of separation, the colonists determined to collect arms, drill their militia, and call in the help of Indian tribes. Had the principles of Chatham and Burke prevailed—to remove all grievances, while asserting the dependence of the colonies on the crown and their subordination to parliament in matters of general weal—the danger might have passed. But the increase of the government majority at the **1775** elections encouraged North to reject all idea of compromise.

Preparation for war

The first blood was shed on April 19, **1775**. A force sent by Gage to destroy some stores collected by the colonists at Concord was stopped in Lexington by a party of militia; a scuffle took place, and several lives were lost. Upon their return from Concord, Gage's men were attacked on all sides by concealed riflemen, to whose fire they could make no effectual reply; and they regained Boston with a loss of 273 men. Then Gage was closely besieged. The forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lakes George and Champlain, with the 'Enterprise' sloop, were captured May 10; and on June 15 George Washington, a Virginian gentleman, then forty-three years old, who had already seen five years of service against the Indians, and had sat for fifteen years in the Virginian assembly, was appointed by the congress of the 'United Colonies' commander-in-chief of a continental army, drawn from the militia of all the colonies. But Gage, having received reinforcements under Burgoyne, Hall, Howe, and Clinton, drove the Americans, after two repulses, and after a desperate fight at close quarters, in which, but for the want of powder, they would have held their own, and in which he lost more than 1,000 men, from Breed's Hill, which with Bunker's Hill commanded the town (June 17). The colonists nevertheless determined, if possible, to

First period of war. Fight at Lexington

Gage besieged in Boston

Battle of Bunker's Hill

avoid separation, the rather as they were in the utmost distress, from their mutual jealousies, from want of money, of discipline among the troops, and of military equipments, especially powder. On June 18 the thirteen colonies sent a petition, the 'Olive Branch,' supported by addresses to the peoples of Great Britain and Ireland, praying for terms 'consistent with the dignity and welfare of Britain.' The reply, through the king's harsh temper, was a contemptuous rejection, a royal proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition, and bills prohibiting all trade with America, ordering the confiscation of vessels with their cargoes of other nations trading with her, and forcing the crews of captured American ships to take service against their own countrymen. As a protest against this high-handed folly Grafton left the government, and Chatham withdrew his son from serving in the British army. Nothing angered him so much, or gave Fox, Burke, and the other opposition leaders so good an opportunity of attack, as the action of the government in hiring bodies of troops from petty German princes to supplement our forces. Meanwhile the governors of Virginia and North and South Carolina had been driven away, and these provinces had thrown off all allegiance.

The Olive Branch

In September the colonists invaded Canada; they took several forts, occupied Montreal, and in December appeared before Quebec. The attempt was an absurd one. Quebec was the strongest place in America, with a garrison larger than the assailing forces, and with 200 heavy cannon. Moreover, the Toleration Act had borne its fruit. The Canadians remained loyal; the colonial army, far from its base, small in numbers, and starving, melted away; a desperate attempt to storm Quebec failed, December 31, and before long Canada was completely recovered. At the same time a useless, but desolating, raid of Lord Dunmore in Virginia took place. It was the burning of open towns—such as Norfolk, by Dunmore, and Charleston and Falmouth, by Gage—which roused feelings of revenge too violent for conciliation. Meanwhile General Howe, who had succeeded Gage, was in such straits in Boston that he resolved to evacuate it and carry his army to New York, while Clinton went to conquer the Carolinas. The latter expedition was a failure; but Howe occupied Staten Island with 9,000 men, soon reinforced to 24,000, while his brother, Lord Howe, the admiral, entered the harbour with a fleet. Here Washington faced him with some 20,000 brave but undisciplined and ill-provided men. Of these a large part were sent across to Long Island, who threw up entrenchments to cover Brooklyn. They were attacked in front of these lines by Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, and utterly beaten; but the success was

American invasion of Canada

Capture of New York by the British

not followed up, and Washington was enabled to get his men back to New York, which, however, fell to Howe and the cannonade of the fleet, Washington retreating to the heights of Haarlem. Before long he was driven across the Delaware. But, though his men were disorganised, and though he was harassed with a multitude of difficulties, especially the system of short enlistments, which prevented him from obtaining trained troops,[11] he gave the English no rest. By two daring and well-conducted enterprises against Cornwallis's forces in the dead of winter he restored the *morale* of his army, and recovered the Jerseys. At Princeton, January 13, **1777**, he fought a drawn battle with Lord Cornwallis. He was now, for military purposes, made dictator in all but name.[12]

Enterprises of Washington

The colonies had already practically declared their independence by throwing open their trade to the whole world, 'except the subjects of the king of Great Britain.' The formal expression of separation was made in May **1776**, by the 'Declaration of Right;' and on July 4 the thirteen colonies issued the famous Declaration, declaring themselves 'Free and Independent States.'[13] Henceforward England had no American colonies.

Declaration of Independence

At the end of **1776** Carleton, from Canada, recovered Crown Point; and Clinton, from New York, recovered Rhode Island. During **1777** Howe took 14,000 men up the Chesapeake, leaving Cornwallis with 8,000 in New York; defeated Washington heavily at Brandywine, and entered Philadelphia on June 26. On October 4, Washington, in attempting a recapture, was again beaten at Germantown; and, in the extremity of distress, put his army into winter quarters at Valley Forge, twenty miles away. But at this moment great news came to cheer him. Burgoyne, attempting to co-operate from Canada, had taken Ticonderoga and other forts, and had crossed the Hudson to Saratoga. Twice beaten as he advanced, at Bennington and Stillwater, he retired upon Saratoga, while Clinton, from New York, tried to make his way to his rescue. But he was too late, and on October 17 Burgoyne was forced to capitulate to General Gates, with his whole army of 6,000 men. This was the turning point of the war. For a long while France and Spain had been unavowedly helping the Americans with money and

Capture of Philadelphia

Capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga

[11] This was altered by a decree of Congress in September ordering a new army to be raised to serve throughout the war.

[12] Steadfastness and integrity were the two qualities which most distinguished Washington. Throughout his command he refused to accept any pay. When he laid it down he claimed for the whole of his expenses during the war the sum of 14,479*l.* 18*s.* 9¾*d.*

[13] The pamphlet of the Englishman, Tom Paine, who had thrown in his lot with the colonists, entitled 'Common Sense,' had a great effect in bringing them to this resolution.

arms. French volunteers, among them the high-born and enthusiastic Marquis of Lafayette, and the young Polish engineer Kosciusko, afterwards famous in his own land, had come over to fight. On the news of Saratoga, France acknowledged the independence; and on February 6, **1778**, signed a treaty of commerce and alliance at the moment that fresh offers of conciliation were sent out from England. Her real object was, of course, to win back Canada and the West Indies. The struggle between England and France for the New World was about to begin again.

Alliance of France and America

The prospect of a European war turned all eyes to Chatham, in whose favour North was anxious to retire. The old man's blood was fired in a moment at the thought of his country's danger. His belief in her power to face all Europe in arms was as firm as ever. He sent back his son to the army.[14] A year previously he had appeared in the House of Lords, after two years' absence, ill and suffering, and, in a magnificent speech upon America, had moved an address to the crown, the burden of which was, 'We have tried for unconditional submission; let us now try unconditional redress;' and he had urged the government to grant everything but independence. But when, on April 7, **1778**, the Duke of Richmond proposed to recall our troops thence, and make peace, that we might the better face France, the thought that England should fall back one step before her foes brought him to his place once more, and for the last time. He spoke with difficulty, though now and again with his old fire. Rising a second time to answer Richmond, he fell back in a swoon. He was carried home, and died on May 11. A pension of 4,000*l.* a year was granted his son, with 20,000*l.* for the payment of his debts.

Second period of the war

Death of the Earl of Chatham

Meanwhile Washington lay in great distress at Valley Forge. He had no money; his men were starving, shoeless, and in rags. The horses died; deadly fevers raged; desertions were frequent. Had he been attacked, he could have made no resistance. But Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, was ordered to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate his strength upon New York; and this he did with much skill and bravery. Georgia was reconquered, and a destructive expedition carried out in Virginia and Connecticut. But on the whole the war languished during **1779**, for England was distracted and America was bankrupt. Then Spain declared war. The French took Senegal in Africa,

Washington at Valley Forge

Spain declares war

[14] The country, too, which had never liked the American war, showed all Chatham's temper now. Hitherto it had been almost impossible to get men. But now recruits came in rapidly, and England was covered with camps. An Impressment Bill gave the government power to press into the service classes hitherto exempt.

but lost Goree, and failed in an attack upon Savannah. A great army of invasion and a fleet of sixty-six ships was prepared to attack our shores, but the commanders quarrelled, and the scheme was abandoned.

Paul Jones

The greatest harm done to us was by the pirate Paul Jones, sailing with an American commission, who with his little squadron of four ships inflicted serious damage upon our commerce.[15] In September **1779** he intercepted our Baltic fleet, defeated the convoying squadron, and carried off the merchantmen to Holland.

Attempt at economic reforms

The opposition had failed to shake North's ministry upon American questions. But the rapidly rising demand for economy in the public service gave them another ground of attack. In **1780**, under the lead of Rockingham, 8,000 freeholders of Yorkshire sent a petition to parliament for reform, and soon twenty-three counties and many large towns had formed committees with the same view. Burke in a famous speech brought forward a motion supported by Fox and the whole opposition, to sweep away the separate jurisdictions of Wales, Cheshire, Cornwall, Durham, and Lancaster; to abolish unnecessary offices in the household, and to check the daily waste there. It passed its second reading, but was then got rid of in committee. Motions to reform the pension list, and to purify the House of Commons of court influence, by forbidding the revenue officers to vote, or government contractors to sit as members, also failed. These failures only heightened the popular anger, which at length so influenced the house that a motion was carried by 233 to 215 'that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'

The Gordon riots

London now witnessed a strange scene. In **1779** a bill had been unanimously passed to relieve the Catholics from some of their worst disabilities.[16] Their priests were allowed to say mass; laymen might acquire property; heirs educated abroad were not thereby to forfeit their inheritance, nor might the nearest Protestant heir any longer take the estate of a Catholic during his lifetime. These moderate measures at once roused to frenzy the dormant but living hatred of Popery. Scotland, though not touched by the act, was covered with Protestant associations, which chose for their leader a weak-headed young nobleman, Lord George Gordon, the second son of the Duke of Gordon. 'No Popery' riots broke out, and the agitation speedily spread to England, where Lord George was also chosen president. On June 2 a mob of 70,000 persons followed him to Westminster to present to parliament a monster petition, signed, it

[15] Ludlow, p. 169.

[16] Shortly before this another act had been passed to relieve Protestant Dissenters from several disabilities.

was said, by 120,000 persons, for a repeal of the Relief Acts. Obnoxious peers were ill-treated as they drove through Palace Yard; the lobby of the house was thronged with rioters, and it was with difficulty that the members could leave it without bloodshed. Then the mob wreaked their passions upon the Catholic chapels, of which several were burned; and for four days afterwards London was given up to burning and pillage. The government was paralyzed; only a few soldiers were available, and there was then no regular police force. Scenes which recalled the days of Jack Cade now took place. At the same moment sixteen large fires were blazing. Newgate was burst open and burned to the ground, and the prisoners set free. The house of the great lawyer, Lord Mansfield, with its priceless library, was destroyed. Distilleries were broken into, and the raw spirit drunk as it flowed down the gutters; it was set on fire, and intoxicated men and women fell down and perished in the flames. At length soldiers marched in; and, after 200 persons had been shot dead and 250 wounded, the riot was stamped out. Twenty-one prisoners were executed. Gordon was arrested and tried a year later, but was acquitted through the ability of the great advocate, Erskine. He finally died a Jew. This outburst, of course, increased the dissatisfaction with the government. North therefore proposed a coalition, but the opposition would not come in unless the schemes of parliamentary and economic reform were accepted, and this was refused.

In July **1779** began the famous siege of Gibraltar, the recapture of which was really Spain's reason for war. It was gallantly defended against the combined attack of France and Spain by sea and land until **1780**, when Rodney, after a great victory off Cape St. Vincent, brought relief to the garrison. In June a desperate effort of the Spaniards to destroy the squadron in the bay with fire-ships, supported by their whole fleet, was baffled by one of the most brilliant exploits in our annals. Famine and disease, however, would have compelled surrender, had not Byng once more relieved the place in **1781**. In **1782** France and Spain again joined forces for a decisive attack. On the land side the fortress was besieged by 40,000 men, with 186 guns; and, on September 9, forty-seven ships of the line, with a swarm of lighter vessels, preceded by ten gun-proof floating batteries bearing 212 guns, anchored in the bay. To the simultaneous attack of these vast armaments the little garrison of 7,000 men, under their veteran governor, Eliott, returned an incessant plunging fire from ninety-six guns protected by the rock galleries. By using red-hot balls, the device of Boyd, second in command, they succeeded, after many hours' cannonade, in setting fire to the floating batteries. All through the

Siege of Gibraltar

night the glare enabled the English to pour an unremitting and unanswered fire upon the foe. At 3 A.M. a few English gunboats dashed out and cut off the boats which were trying to tow away the disabled ships. The whole of the floating batteries were destroyed, and 2,000 of the enemy killed; the English lost but ninety men. The siege went on from the land side, and only closed at the peace, after lasting more than three years and a half. On his return in **1787**, Eliott, then more than seventy years old, was deservedly made Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar.

All this while England had been fighting single-handed against increasing foes. In **1780**, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden formed a league of 'armed neutrality' to contest her claim to capture ships of neutral nations which carried goods to hostile countries, and to uphold the doctrine which now obtains, that 'free ships make free goods.' In the same year the Dutch Republic, with whom we had long been drifting into war, joined the alliance against us.

The Armed Neutrality. The Dutch declare war

In America, Clinton overran South Carolina, and Lord Cornwallis, whom he left there in command, marched into the northern province, after winning a battle at Camden, August 16, **1780**, but was then so harassed by guerilla warfare that he was forced to retreat. Clinton was then completely shut up in New York—by ice on the water side and on land by Washington, now reinforced by 6,000 French troops. The next year Cornwallis drove the enemy out of North Carolina, after a victory at Guildford, March **1781**, which redeemed a very serious defeat at the Cowpens in January; he then marched to join hands with a force which had been gaining successes in Virginia. Lord Rawdon, whom he had left behind, won two more fights, at Camden and Eutaw Springs. But with dwindling forces in a hostile country, and far from their base, it was impossible for either him or Cornwallis to keep their hold; and before long small districts round Charleston and Savannah were alone in their hands, while Spain easily reconquered Florida.

Fighting in Virginia and the Carolinas

Nevertheless, so bankrupt were the Americans, even with French help, that Washington felt that for ultimate triumph some great blow was necessary. Leaving his lines before New York with his whole force, he suddenly appeared before York Town at the mouth of the Chesapeake, whither Cornwallis had fallen back, and where he was closely besieged, while an overwhelming French fleet prevented succour from the sea. On October 18, after the most gallant attempts to free himself from the toils, Cornwallis was forced to capitulate. This was practically the end of the war.

Capitulation of Cornwallis at York Town

North received the news 'like a cannon-ball in the breast,' exclaiming, 'Oh God, it is all over!' Elsewhere England had hitherto more than held her own. But now bad news came fast. In the West Indies, France captured everything but Jamaica, the Barbadoes, and Antigua. An expedition against the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope failed. Minorca was surrendered, more through disease than war. The opposition pushed the unsuccessful ministry with nightly attacks; and at length Conway carried a motion against any further warfare in America. On March 20, **1782**, the stubborn king gave way, as he would have done long before if he had understood his position as a constitutional monarch; and, after a disastrous tenure of office of twelve years, North, who had long been anxious to quit office, resigned with the dignified good-humour which had characterised him throughout.

Resignation of North. The king defeated

Section 3.—*Rockingham and Reform. · Shelburne and Peace*

The Tory party was thus discredited, and the king, baffled for time in his system of government by influence, was forced to fall back upon the detested Whigs. Rockingham again became prime minister, with Fox, Burke, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Grafton, and Conway among his own followers, and others of the old Chatham party, of whom Lord Shelburne, a man distrusted even by his political friends, was the chief; while Thurlow, the Tory, remained lord chancellor. A ministry so divided was not likely to last long.

Rockingham's second ministry

The first pressing question was that of Ireland, where high rents, absentee landlords, and an absurd commercial policy were constant factors of disturbance. In **1780**, North, rendered wiser by the events in America, had yielded to the agitation for freeing Ireland from the trade restrictions maintained by the jealousy of England, an agitation encouraged by these events, and led by Henry Grattan, a young lawyer of small fortune, but of an impetuous eloquence and disinterested zeal for freedom which caused him to be compared with Chatham. But Grattan then demanded legislative independence for Ireland, the repeal of Poyning's law (p. 174), and of one passed in **1719**, which gave the English parliament power to bind Ireland by its acts. In **1782** he was able to bring a formidable influence to bear. Finding the country denuded of troops for the American war, and fearing French invasion, the people, with the encouragement of the government, had enrolled themselves as volunteers in **1780** to the number of 50,000. These volunteers now

Irish difficulties. Grattan

sent delegates to a meeting at Dungannon, who, at Grattan's instigation, passed strong resolutions repudiating the English parliament; and Grattan carried a similar resolution in the Irish parliament. The English government yielded to a demand made thus literally at the point of the bayonet, and repealed the act of 1719.

Legislative independence of Ireland

The ministry next carried, against the keen resistance of the king, the bills which had failed in **1780**, disfranchising the revenue officers, who numbered 60,000 out of a total of 300,000 electors, and forbidding persons who held government contracts to be members of the Commons. Burke's scheme of economic reform was then passed. Forty expensive posts were abolished; the pension list was largely reduced; the abuses of Burke's own office of paymaster removed. This, though far less stringent than Burke desired, was the first step in reform, and saved the country 70,000*l.* a year. William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, who had entered parliament in January **1781**, and whose first speech, which at once established his reputation,[17] had been in favour of Burke's previous scheme, then put forward a plan of parliamentary reform, by which the rotten boroughs—boroughs where a very few electors returned one or two members, and which had been largely bought up by 'nabobs,' wealthy Englishmen who had returned from India, or were completely in the hands of the crown—were to be abolished, and their members given to the large towns; but, in spite of the support of the country gentry, who were naturally jealous of the influence of the nabobs, the plan was defeated. Other attempts in **1783** and **1785** (the latter when Pitt was prime minister) were also defeated by increasing majorities, and events soon to be related prevented reform until **1832**.

Reform in England

In America fighting had now practically ceased. But on sea our supremacy was signalised by a great victory in the West Indies over the French fleet, in which Rodney adopted the plan, afterwards used by Nelson with conspicuous success, of cutting the enemy's line in two, and captured their famous ship the 'Ville de Paris.' This victory, and the failure of the siege of Gibraltar, caused both France and Spain to desire peace; but negotiations were delayed by the sudden death of Rockingham, July **1782**.

Naval victory of Rodney

Death of Rockingham. Shelburne's ministry

The cabinet at once fell asunder. The whole Rockingham connection, who hated Shelburne, resigned, and, led by Fox, went into opposition. Shelburne became prime minister. Pitt, who had previously refused any place not of the highest rank, was chancellor of the exchequer, the long rivalry between

[17] 'He is not a chip of the old block; he is the old block itself,' said Burke.

him and Fox beginning now. Peace was at once made with America. France and Spain followed the example; and the Treaty of Versailles, which gave a few years of repose to Europe, was signed on January 20, 1783.[18] The general result was that a check was given to the 'expansion of England;' Great Britain came out of the war with a diminished empire and an augmented debt; but her fleet was supreme, and Gibraltar had been saved. She had tightened her grasp upon India, almost annihilated the fleets of her enemies, and had left America, France, and Spain bankrupt, while bearing her own burdens with comparative ease. Peace was also made with the Dutch; all conquests were mutually restored, except Negapatam in India, which became English.

Treaty of Versailles

Shelburne's stop-gap ministry lasted but a few months. Fox, who six months previously had vowed he would never act with North, now offered to join him. North accepted the invitation, and a resolution condemning the peace was easily carried. Shelburne resigned, and a short period of confusion followed. The king tried every means to keep out Fox, whom he detested, by applying in turn to North, Portland, and Pitt separately. It shows Pitt's judgment that he at this time refused to become prime minister. At last George was forced to accept the coalition. Fox and North were the secretaries, while Portland was nominally prime minister. Burke was again paymaster. Pitt refused to serve in the same cabinet with North, and became leader of the opposition. But coalitions, except the famous one of the first Pitt and Newcastle, have never been permanent or successful in England. Quarrels broke out in the ministry almost as soon as it was formed; the country was shocked at so violent a repudiation of principles by Fox and North; the king, who looked

Coalition of Fox and North

[18] *America* gained the recognition of her independence, the right of fishery off Newfoundland, and the free navigation of the Mississippi. She conceded that British subjects who had not borne arms against the colonies should recover their estates. This concession, however, was not kept, and Great Britain herself was forced to help the ruined loyalists with more than 12,000,000*l*. *France* regained Santa Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies; Senegal and Goree in Africa; Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Surat, and Fort Mahé in India; the abandonment of the demand for the demolition of Dunkirk; the rights to the fishery off Newfoundland as laid down at Utrecht and Paris (pp. 351, 390), with permission to fortify the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to protect it. She gave back to England all her captures in the West Indies, with Fort James and Gambia in Africa. *Spain* regained Minorca and the Floridas, but gave up Providence and the Bahamas, with the right of cutting logwood in Honduras Bay. She tried hard for Gibraltar. Shelburne and many others were willing to surrender it for an equivalent; but the national feeling aroused by Eliott's gallant defence was too strong, and in the cabinet it was supported, with all Chatham's spirit, by his son. The war had cost Great Britain 140,000,000*l*. The national debt now stood at 245,000,000*l*.

upon North as the worst of traitors, and Fox as the worst of men, was ever on the watch to get rid of both; and the opportunity came when Fox brought in his India Bill.

The progress of the British power in India had not ceased when Clive returned to England. The year **1763** saw the conquest of Bengal, **1764** and **1765** that of Oude. But with this had come rapine, extortion, and outrage among the Company's servants; quarrels between the councils of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; confusion among the directors at home. In **1765**, therefore, Clive was sent out with supreme command to restore order. Upon the news of his arrival, Sujah Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, submitted and Clive gave back Oude to him, except Corah and Allahabad, which he reserved for Shah Alum, the titular emperor of Delhi. Then, with a strong hand, and in defiance of a general mutiny among the officers, he restored order in the service and purified the administration, but in December **1766** was forced by illness, the result of incessant toil, to return home.

India

Clive's final return

In the Madras Presidency the English power was confronted by Hyder Ali, rajah of Mysore, whose capital was Seringapatam. His large army was disciplined in European fashion, and partly commanded by French officers; and at Mangalore, on the Malabar coast, he was rapidly creating a navy. In **1768** he suddenly descended with a host of cavalry upon the fertile Carnatic, which was ruled by our ally, the Nabob of Arcot, and literally turned it into a desert. In **1769** he skilfully surprised Madras, after having enticed the garrison away, and forced upon us an unfavourable peace.

Hyder Ali in the Carnatic

Then followed the awful famine of Bengal, in **1770**, when a third at least of the population perished—a calamity whereby, to their shame, the Company's officials still further enriched themselves. In **1773**, so desperate were the Company's finances, and so gross the corruption among their servants, that Lord North was forced to relieve their immediate needs by a loan. But at the same time he insisted upon a reform in their constitution. Henceforth the Governor of Bengal was to be supreme over the other presidencies, himself controlled by a council of four, but having a casting vote; while three judges, with a chief justice, were to form a court of final appeal in law. The first governor-general was Warren Hastings, the first chief justice his schoolfellow, Elijah Impey.

The Bengal famine

Warren Hastings, born in **1732**, was a member of an ancient but decayed family. In **1749** he left Westminster School for India as a writer. In **1769** he was second member of the council of Madras, and in **1772** first in that of Bengal. Frail in body,

Warren Hastings

with gentle voice and reserved manner, he was resolute, clear-sighted, and tenacious; not wantonly cruel, but callous to suffering; firm in friendship and without malice to his enemies. To his qualifications for command he joined high intellectual gifts and scholarship; and in particular he had a thorough knowledge of India, its peoples, customs, and languages.

Under the vigorous rule of Hastings oppression was stopped, burdens diminished, revenue increased. Finding that Shah Alum was intriguing against the Company, he resumed Corah and Allahabad, but sold them for a vast sum to Sujah Dowlah. In **1774** he made a shameful bargain with Sujah Dowlah, by which, for another heavy payment, the nabob was permitted to employ a contingent of English troops in exterminating the Rohillas, a warlike Afghan people who had settled near Oude, and of whom Sujah Dowlah was jealous, but with whom the Company had no quarrel.

Rohilla war

On July 7, **1778**, news of war with France and Spain reached Hastings. He struck at once. Chandernagore was taken on the 10th, and Pondicherry as soon as orders could reach Madras. Fort Mahé, on the Malabar coast, fell next spring, and the French were completely ousted (p. 408, *note*). A war, at first unsuccessful, but signalised by gallant exploits, especially the capture of the hill fort of Gwalior, which was deemed impregnable, was waged with the Mahrattas. In **1780** Hyder Ali again swept down upon the Carnatic, and for a time carried all before him. But Hastings despatched Sir Eyre Coote in haste to the rescue. On July 1 Coote won a great victory with but 9,000 men at Porto Novo, south of Pondicherry; and, after saving Wandewash, another at Pallilore on August 27.

French driven out of India

Hyder Ali defeated by Eyre Coote

In **1781** Hastings went to Benares to punish Cheyte Sing, its ruler, for refusing demands made upon him. Cheyte Sing was seized, but the excitement roused by this violation of the sanctity of the holy city of India was so great that nothing but his own cool courage saved Hastings from imminent death. In the end Cheyte Sing was crushed, and fined in an enormous sum. For this there was some justification; but there was none for the outrage inflicted upon the 'Begums of Oude,' the widow and mother of Sujah Dowlah, who lived in retirement, and were known to possess enormous wealth. Of this wealth Hastings determined to despoil them, and he made the worthless son and successor of Sujah Dowlah his instrument. The cruelty used was atrocious; the Begums were literally starved into submission, and Hastings obtained no less than a million of money.

The 'Begums of Oude'

Upon the news that the Dutch had joined the alliance against England, Hastings acted with his usual promptitude. He himself reduced Sadras and Pulicat; in November **1781** Seringapatam with several thousand prisoners was captured, and Ceylon overrun. War went on with varying fortune against Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Saib until the peace of Versailles. From that time Hastings had no further trouble until his return to England in **1785**.

Dutch driven out of India

Incessant complaints of his conduct had meanwhile reached England. Impey had been recalled, but, so long as the European war lasted, Hastings was left in power. In the spring of **1783**, however, Fox brought in his India Bill, of which Burke was the author. It proposed to appoint seven commissioners, nominated for the first four years by parliament, and afterwards by the crown, with complete authority over the Company's territories; and a second board of eight, nominated first by parliament and then by the proprietors, for all questions of property and trade. So bold an attack upon vested interests, and what were called 'chartered rights,' raised a storm of opposition. The assumption by parliament of the *executive* authority; the creation of enormous patronage in the hands of the majority in parliament; the handing over of commercial questions to a board not conversant with such matters—were objections far more serious; and they were pressed home by Pitt, Grattan, Wilkes—now the advocate of royal power—and many others. The bill, however, passed the Commons by two to one. But the king determined to defeat it. He at first intended to let it pass the Lords and then refuse his assent. But the use of veto by the crown was already out of date; the power had not been used since the reign of William III. (p. 333). George therefore authorised Lord Temple to show to the peers individually a paper dictated by himself signifying his pleasure; and the bill was thrown out. The blow was at once followed up by the dismissal of Fox, North, and the rest of the ministers.

Fox's India Bill

Defeated in the Lords. Dismissal of the ministry

The new prime minister was William Pitt. He was but twenty-four years old. He had not a single colleague of mark, and he took upon himself to face Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and North, at the head of an immense majority. His appointment was received with a burst of derision, such as his father had expressed when Sir Thomas Robinson was made leader of the Commons (p. 378). His opponents little thought that on that day began the most powerful and enduring government that had been known; and that the party they represented would not again taste power for fifty years.

William Pitt prime minister

Pitt met the odds with calm courage. Resolution after resolution was passed against him; his own measures were scornfully rejected; a direct vote of no confidence was carried. Fox, whose consummate oratory was never more brilliantly displayed, gave him no quarter. With equal eloquence he stood, practically alone, calmly but vigilantly on the defensive. The opposition were in turns angry, puzzled, and frightened. The Lords supported him. As the son of Chatham he had a hold upon the hearts of the people, and his courage rapidly made him friends. It was to his advantage that he was too young to have been connected with the American disasters. Public meetings were held in his support, and the City—who adored Chatham's memory—gave him their freedom. The condition of things at the close of the last parliament of Charles II. was reproduced (p. 312). The violence of the coalition had overreached itself, and the spirit of loyalty to the hard-pressed king was awakened. At each division the hostile majority grew smaller; at length a motion by Fox of excessive violence was carried by one vote only. Then Pitt reaped the fruits of his splendid self-restraint. He dissolved parliament and took the reaction at its height. An immense majority in his favour was returned; no fewer than 160 of the opposition—'Fox's martyrs' they were called (p. 211)—lost their seats; and when parliament met in May **1784** he could defy his baffled opponents. The king had finally triumphed over the Whigs. He had the minister of his choice. But he had not succeeded in making permanent his scheme of government by personal influence. Nothing could be less like the period of the 'king's friends' than the great and masterful government which now began.

Dissolution and triumph of Pitt

Downfall of the Whigs

Dates of the Reign of George III. to Pitt's Ministry

	A.D.		A.D.
Peace of Paris	1762	French, Spanish, and Dutch recognition of American Independence	1778–1780
Wilkes expelled from the Commons	1764	Gordon Riots	1780
Grenville's Stamp Act	1765	Surrender at York Town	1781
Townshend's Taxing Act	1768	North resigns	1782
Middlesex election	1769	Irish parliament independent	1782
Lord North prime minister	1770	Treaty of Versailles	1783
Beginning of American War	1775		

CHAPTER VI

GEORGE III. PITT'S MINISTRY AND THE GREAT WAR. 1784–1815

SECTION 1.—*Financial Reform; the India Act; Warren Hastings,* 1784–1789

PITT at once entered upon a career of actual or attempted reform. The state of the finances claimed immediate attention. He had thoroughly grasped the principles of free trade, as taught in Adam Smith's 'The Wealth of Nations,' and he gave effect to them by reducing the duties on tea and spirits to a figure so low that the practice of smuggling—a practice so extensive that out of thirteen millions of pounds of tea imported not more than five millions paid duty—entirely lost its motive. Another step in the same direction was his commercial treaty with France, by which the prohibitory duties—duties, that is, so large as to stop the import of the article—were repealed, and those which were imposed only for revenue purposes much lessened at the same time. A fact which shows how far opinion in such matters had travelled since Walpole's day is that in 1780 tobacco, and now wine, were placed on the Excise instead of on the Customs. To defray the excess of expenditure over income, 900,000*l.*, he did not hesitate to risk his popularity by imposing new taxes upon a large number of articles, the greater number of which have never since been removed. The result of these measures was a surplus every year of a million; and with this he established what was since known as the Sinking Fund, by which he hoped in time to extinguish the national debt. The simple plan of using a surplus for such a purpose, the plan adopted now, is to extinguish that amount of stock. Instead of doing this Pitt proposed to put by a million every year to redeem so much debt at a future time, adding to it each year the interest payable upon it, and to do this whether there was a surplus or not. A similar thing had been done by Walpole in 1716, but he had at the first need used up what had been laid by. Pitt now made the sinking fund inalienable. It is difficult to understand how Pitt could have been misled by an idea so false. The interest to be added had, of course, to be raised by increased taxation; while it was obviously absurd to go on putting aside a million when, as soon happened, the government had each year to

Financial reform

The Sinking Fund

borrow that million and many more. The system was practically abandoned in **1807**; but it was not until **1828** that parliament formally enacted the plan now followed. But Pitt's great achievement was that by which he abolished all the old duties in the Customs, 3 Excise, and Stamps, which, having been imposed or altered at different times, and applied to different services, had become intolerably complicated, and substituted new ones on a simpler plan. Some idea of the amount of labour involved may be gathered from the fact that Pitt had to frame no fewer than 2,537 separate resolutions.

4 Pitt next introduced a bill for parliamentary reform, in which he proposed to buy up from their owners thirty-six rotten boroughs, to distribute the seventy-two members thus set free among London, Westminster, and the large towns; to widen the franchise, by giving it to leaseholders as well as freeholders. But the time was not ripe; the opposition of the nabobs and other great landowners easily defeated him; and he henceforward abandoned 5 the design. The Indian question, however, was settled without delay. Pitt's bill, contemptuously rejected by a previous parliament, now passed with ease, though strenuously opposed by Fox, Burke, and North. It differed from that of Fox in two most important points. The new unsalaried Board of Control was to act entirely through the present directors, so that their knowledge of India should not be wasted; while, except the highest appointments, the whole patronage was left to the same body. The board was to be one of political control, not of political influence. Pitt, like his father, took a lofty view of the public service, and refused to make the disposal of posts the reward of mere party service. This India Act remained law until **1858**. Lord Cornwallis was the first governor-general under the act, and the first who carried to India the morality of English public life.

Attempt at parliamentary reform

The India Act

6 Pitt then attempted to deal with Ireland, where parliamentary reform was far more urgent than in England, since out of 300 members at least 250 were the nominees of a few great landowners or of the government. For the present he could do nothing to check this abuse in the face of the powerful interests arrayed in its defence. But he hoped to give Ireland almost 7 complete commercial freedom, and he therefore proposed to allow the importation thither through Great Britain, or into Great Britain from Ireland, of the produce of our settlements in America and Africa—as by the act of **1780** was already allowed in the case of Europe and the West Indies. No opposition was at first raised in Ireland; and in England Pitt carried his resolutions against Fox, Burke, Sheridan,

Attempts at reform in Ire'and

and North, and against the unremitting opposition of the great manufacturing towns which clung to protective doctrines. But Fox, who had hitherto declared the measure unduly favourable to Ireland, now dexterously managed to excite a belief in Ireland that it was a breach of her newly acquired independence, that Pitt was bartering English commerce for Irish slavery; and so vehement was the feeling that Pitt was forced to withdraw the bill from the Irish parliament amid the most extravagant expressions of joy. The effect upon his mind was the same as that of the Act of Security upon Godolphin (p. 347), to convince him of the necessity of union.

The great event of this year, **1786**, was the attack upon Warren Hastings, who had returned to England in **1785**. Burke and Sheridan moved that he should be impeached upon twenty-two separate charges before the Lords. The Rohilla war, the Benares case, the outrage upon the Begums of Oude, the Mahratta war, and the receiving of presents, were the principal. The first was the gravest; but, chiefly through Pitt's opposition, the resolution to impeach him on this was defeated; then, it is not accurately known why, Pitt changed his attitude, and the other charges were passed. The trial before the Lords began on February 13, **1788**, amid scenes such as had not been witnessed since the impeachment of Strafford. Upon the three greatest orators in the house, Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, fell the chief burden of the prosecution; and they excelled themselves. The trial, however, dragged on for six years, and then ended in an acquittal. But the knowledge that great offenders in India would be brought to an account at home was of the utmost service to good government there.

Impeachment of Warren Hastings

In **1788** began the slave trade agitation.[1] Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Macaulay exposed its appalling horrors. Pitt himself introduced the question, and Fox declared at once for total abolition. But so violent was the selfish opposition of merchants and slave owners, that, until public opinion was better educated, nothing could be done. In **1789**, **1790**, and **1792** the abolitionists returned to the charge, gaining fresh adherents each time; in **1792** more than 300,000 persons promised to use no sugar, as being the produce of the slave trade. From **1792** to **1800** the cause lost ground through the objection to any reforming movement, caused by the French revolution. From **1800** to **1804** it slumbered, through the opposition of the ministry and the king. In **1804** the House of Commons agreed to prohibit the traffic for a time, but this bill did not pass the Lords. The victory was not won until

The slave trade

[1] Spencer Walpole, vol. i. p. 102.

1807, when the trade was declared illegal; the emancipation of negroes throughout British territory was not completed until 1833.

The Prince of Wales

George, prince of Wales, handsome and clever, but a liar, a spendthrift, and a debauchee, had, like all the heirs apparent of his house (pp. 357, 369), thrown himself into the arms of the opposition. Falling in love with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a widow, he determined to marry her; but she was a Catholic, and both the First Act of Settlement (p. 325) and the Marriage Act (p. 398, *note*) stood in the way. In the eyes of the Catholic church, however, such a marriage would be valid, and it therefore took place. The prince was at this moment applying to parliament to pay his debts, 250,000*l*. He knew that the knowledge of his marriage would be a fatal obstacle. He therefore deliberately denied to Fox, first the intention and then the fact of his marriage; and Fox, utterly deceived, repeated the denials unequivocally to the House of Commons. When the truth could no longer be concealed, the prince added to his infamy by disavowing Fox's action.

Insanity of the king

In November 1788 the king suddenly became insane. Fox demanded that the prince should at once assume the regency as of right. This was the great crisis of Pitt's political life. He was aware that his immediate dismissal would have been the first result, and he boldly replied that no such right existed until parliament had declared its opinion. He was resolved that the prince should have no prerogative which might embarrass the resumption of power by the king when he should recover; and the prince was compelled to accept his terms. Fortunately, just before the third reading of the bill in the Lords, the king suddenly recovered. The event was hailed with an outburst of loyalty, for pity for his infirmity had been heightened by the violence of the opposition.[2]

Thus, at the moment when the greatest conflict in which England had been engaged was about to open, the stability of Pitt's power was affirmed. England was prospering financially, and she had fairly started upon that manufacturing career which alone enabled her to

[2] In 1796 the prince, anxious to escape from his fresh debts of 700,000*l*. which he had incurred in spite of his promise now made, consented to marry a wife chosen for him by the king, and whom he had not previously seen, Caroline of Brunswick. At their first introduction he behaved with brutality worse than that recorded of Henry VIII. at his meeting with Anne of Cleves. He did not conceal the aversion he took to her person, uttering an exclamation of disgust, and calling aloud for a glass of brandy. At the marriage he was drunk, and the pair separated immediately after the birth of their first child. His debts were paid by parliament, but Pitt insisted that henceforth no debt incurred by him should be valid after three months, and that his servants should be personally liable for all contracts they entered into on his behalf.

support the enormous burdens of that contest. The invention of the fly shuttle by John Kay, which made weaving more rapid; the process of roller spinning, worked by water-power, by which Arkwright superseded the spinning-wheel; Paul's revolving machine for carding cotton; Hargreaves's spinning jenny,[3] which enabled many threads to be spun at once; Crompton's mule, which combined the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright; Cartwright's power loom, which enabled weaving to be done by machinery; the application of Watt's development of Newcomen's steam-engine by a separate condenser to supersede water-power; bleaching by chlorine, and Bell's invention for printing calicoes; and Humphry Davy's safety-lamp, formed the beginning of this career. Canals were cut by Brindley, good roads made and bridges built by Telford, the former with the help of MacAdam's invention of metalling with small stones. The proximity of the coal and iron mines made the smelting of iron and the construction of machinery easy. Lancashire and Yorkshire became hives of industry and the homes of a swarming population. Fresh inventions followed rapidly. The first steamer sailed down the Clyde in **1812**. By **1823** 215 miles of London streets were lighted with gas.

Section 2.—*The French Revolution*[4] *and its effects in England*

Causes of the French Revolution

The causes of the French Revolution were as long-standing as its outburst was sudden. Nowhere was government more despotic or corrupt; nowhere did privilege assume a more hateful and oppressive form; nowhere was the church more divorced from the people. Local government scarcely existed. The noblesse were divided by almost impassable lines from the bourgeoisie and peasants; deprived of all public duties, of all participation in government, while retaining the most cruelly oppressive rights over their tenants, almost complete exemption from direct taxation, and an absolute monopoly of all posts of honour and emolument, not only at court and in the army, but even in the church. The condition of the peasants was most miserable—worse than anything known by the villeins who rose under Richard II. They were crushed with compulsory labour on the roads and on their lords' estates; with taxation, which they almost alone paid, and which was enforced by atrocious cruelty; with innumerable restrictions of the most vexatious character upon their freedom of cultivation and barter. Nor had they any sym-

[3] Hargreaves and his wife Jenny were hand weavers; he called his invention after her name. See on the whole of this subject, Lecky, ch. xxiii.

[4] Mrs. Gardiner's 'French Revolution,' in *Epochs of Modern History*; De Tocqueville, *Ancien Régime*; Carlyle, *French Revolution*; Lecky, chaps. xx., xxi., xxii.

pathy from the bourgeoisie—the merchants, shopkeepers, and professional men: for, themselves partially exempt from taxes, all these looked upon the peasant with contempt as complete as that of the great lord. Thus there were in France a mass of famished and despairing men, ignorant of all but their own misery; and, living as it were in another world, an upper class which oppressed without governing.[5]

These causes had been acting for centuries. But during the past fifty years a succession of great writers in France had been exciting men s minds upon every subject of government and philosophy. Some had attacked the abuses of the church, and Christianity itself; some had demanded political reform, to be initiated by the government; others believed that reform could come only from the peasant. Advanced social and political doctrines were the fashionable talk, though only a few persons, at present obscure, dreamed of practical application. At length, upon the death of Louis XV., Turgot, a really great minister, attempted to transfer some of the burden of taxation from the peasants to the noblesse; but the influence of Marie Antoinette over her weak husband Louis XVI., secured his dismissal. Then came the American revolution and the war with England. The one strengthened the demand for liberty in France, the other left her bankrupt. The finance minister, Necker, who was trusted by the moneyed men as Walpole had been trusted in England, and who also tried to effect reforms, fell as Turgot had fallen; and the anger of the moneyed men determined them in favour of change. The lower classes had meanwhile, from the fact that reforms of abuses were being tried, conceived burning indignation against those abuses; whilst the noblesse, angry with the king for his evident sympathy with Turgot and Necker, themselves determined to control the crown. Ignorant of the passions beneath the surface, and supposing that they would have the work of reconstitution in their own hands, they demanded the summoning of the States-General, which bore some relation to our parliament. The meeting of this body, on June 17, **1789** —the first opportunity since **1614** of constitutional expression of political feeling —was the beginning of the revolution.

Attempts at reform

The States-General was composed of three separate chambers, representing the noblesse, the church, and the ranks below the

[5] A comparison with England heightens the picture. There, though with many imperfections, were a limited monarchy, popular if imperfect representation, parliamentary government, municipal and local self rule, a complete absence of aristocratic privilege or caste, a gentry which, however imperfectly, took its share in public work, and thus vindicated its right to lead society, one law for all, taxation paid by all, the mixture of classes from highest to lowest, a church whose highest grades were open to all.

noblesse. Hitherto the last-named, called the *Tiers Etat* (Third Estate), had practically possessed no power against the other two. But now, backed by the nation, it extorted two great changes which made it master of the situation: first, that its members should equal those of noblesse and church together; and, secondly, that all three should form a single assembly. No actual violence took place until the king called in Swiss and German troops to overawe the members. Then Paris rose in insurrection; the guards joined the people; the Bastille, a fortress like our Tower of London, was stormed, July 14. The peasantry rose in the provinces at the news, burnt and pillaged the châteaux, murdered the nobles, and destroyed, like the villeins in the Peasants' Revolt (p. 128), the title-deeds which recorded the feudal services they were bound to pay. The army was in mutiny and the government powerless. On August 4 the assembly swept away the feudal privileges and abolished the payment of tithes to the church. It then issued a 'Declaration of the Rights of Man,' declaring all men equal, dissolving all orders and corporations, and freeing the press and public worship.

Meeting of the States-General

Storming of the Bastille

Every day it grew plainer what the revolution was to be. On October 6 a hungry mob, of women chiefly, marched to Versailles with a cry for bread. They broke into the palace and into the very bedchamber of the queen (p. 129); slew two of the royal guards; and returned in triumph, bringing back with them the king, the queen, and the dauphin, and bearing the heads of the slaughtered men before them. Sweeping reforms were then passed by the assembly; all church property was sold, monasteries and nunneries suppressed, and the church reorganised as a mere department of the state. Many of the nobles now left France, and called upon foreign powers to restore the king to his full authority; those who remained were the victims of a fresh outburst of the peasantry. The violent section of the assembly continually gained influence, while Paris itself fell completely into the hands of the fiercest of the agitators.

Revolt of the women

Thoroughly frightened, the king and queen tried to escape from the country, only to be brought back prisoners to Paris, June **1791**. The queen then appealed to her brother, the emperor, in Austria, while the emigrant nobles gathered forces on the border. The Legislative Assembly, which had succeeded the National Assembly, declared the nobles traitors, gathered an army, and on April 20, **1792**, declared war against Austria and Prussia. Invasion by these powers, and the insolent manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, ordering unconditional submission, and threatening

Foreign invasion; deposition of Louis XVI

Paris with military execution, led to a second and more terrible revolution. The palace of the Tuileries was stormed, the imprisoned royalists massacred, Louis XVI. deposed, and a republic declared. The desperate courage of the army hurled back the invaders, and then the French burst into the Austrian Netherlands, or Belgium, the object of French ambition since the days of Edward III. On December 19 the Convention, which had in turn superseded the Legislative Assembly, issued the famous 'decree of defiance,' in which all nations were invited to follow the example of France, and overthrow their governments. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI. was guillotined, and on February 24 war was declared against England. 'The coalised kings threaten us,' said Danton; 'we hurl at their feet, as the gage of battle, the head of a king.'

Decree of November 19

War declared against England

We have seen how the American revolt acted upon Ireland and France. Throughout Europe, in like manner, this great upheaval roused the spirit of liberty and reform; and in England it was the determining factor in political and social opinion. Sympathy with revolution principles was keen among the comparatively unprivileged classes, dissenters and working men. It led to the formation of societies such as the 'Revolution Society,' the 'Friends of the People,' and the 'Unitarian Society,' all of which had branches in the large towns. Of the last, the leader in Birmingham was Dr. Priestley, a man of the highest scientific attainments. The members proposed to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille by a banquet. This was opposed by the church party. The mob welcomed the opportunity for pillage; the houses of Priestly and of Hutton, the mathematician, were burned, and for four days Birmingham witnessed a repetition of the Gordon riots.

Effect in England

Very different was the effect upon the governing classes. For a time indeed one section of the opposition, that led by Fox and Sheridan, expressed unbounded admiration for the leaders of the revolution. Burke on the other hand, to whom crown, church, and parliament were sacred things, was shocked almost out of self-command at finding that anyone could be found in England to support a movement so atrocious in his eyes.[6] This difference of opinion upon

[6] He at once began that splendid series of speeches and writings, of which the most famous, 'Reflections on the French Revolution,' did more than anything to check the feeling in favour of the Revolution, and to crystallise English opinion against it, which was read with admiration throughout Europe, and which is still read as the greatest essay extant upon political philosophy. Not realising how terrible were the grievances against which the outbreak was the protest, he did realise, and displayed with matchless force, its follies and injustice; and his prophecies of its future course, especially of the

a matter where he would not listen to compromise caused a total breach of his long political friendship with Fox; and the separation, which brought forth his celebrated 'Appeal from the Old Whigs to the New,' illustrated a general break-up of the Whig party. Some followed Fox and Sheridan; of the remainder a part openly joined the government. As the news from France became more terrible, the conservative feeling in parliament deepened. The effect, speaking roughly, was to put back English political progress and intellectual freedom for a generation. The crown and the church, overthrown by disorder in France, became the symbols of order at home. The repeal of the Test Act, against which there had been in **1789** a majority of only 20, was in **1790** rejected by 194. Parliamentary reform could no longer obtain a hearing; and at the general election of **1790** there was an increased majority for Pitt.[7] Before long even Fox gave up his advocacy of the Revolution; no liberal measure was listened to; royal proclamations enjoined vigilance and severity upon the magistrates. Alarmed at the formation of fresh societies to spread revolution doctrines—the 'London Corresponding Society' and the 'Constitutional Association'—the government resolved to strike at the first opportunity. But the prosecution of Tom Paine (p. 401, *note*) for the second part of his 'Rights of Man,' an answer to Burke's 'Reflections,' did but exasperate his friends in every town and village; and so threatening was the outlook that the militia were embodied, the Tower fortified, and other precautions taken against an outbreak.

The decree of the Convention of November 19, **1792**, made war inevitable. Pitt, who had looked forward to a prolonged period of peace, was forced to take up the challenge. An 'Alien Act' was passed to place all foreigners under supervision, and to remove them, if necessary, from the country. The exportation of arms, ammunition, grain, and flour to France was forbidden. The forces were largely increased. The French declaration of war rallied all parties to the government, and Fox's endeavour to limit the war to defensive operations was rejected without a division.

Alarm of the government. Beginning of war

certainty that it would be followed by a military dictatorship, were almost without exception verified.

[7] And yet in the first session was passed an act of great importance to liberty. In libel cases the function of the jury had hitherto been only to decide upon the fact of publication and the reference of the libel. The really important question, whether it *was* a libel, had been left to the judge. By the act now passed by Fox this was given to the jury; and the importance of the change was soon manifested. The later legislation on the subject of libel is in Lord Campbell's Act, 1843, amended in 1845 and 1888, which prevents a publication being held 'malicious,' if for the public benefit.—Erskine May, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 114.

Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Pitt, prime minister	1784	Insanity of George III.	1788
India Act and Free Trade	1784	French Revolution	1789
Impeachment of Warren Hastings	1786	Fox's Libel Act	1790
Beginning of slave trade abolition	1788	War declared with France	1792

Section 3.—*The War to the Peace of Amiens*, 1801

Revolutionary France now stood alone against all Europe. Royalist insurrections broke out in Lyons and La Vendée; the Austrians reconquered the Netherlands. The Duke of York with 10,000 British troops besieged Dunkirk; Hood blockaded and took Toulon. Then came the rebound; the insurrections were crushed with ferocious determination; the Austrian army which covered the English force before Dunkirk was beaten, and the duke forced to retreat with haste into Holland, leaving all his baggage and artillery to the French. Toulon was retaken; it was here that Napoleon Bonaparte first signalised himself by the skill with which he handled the artillery. At sea, however, Great Britain had taken St. Pierre, Miquelon, and Tobago. In India Pondicherry had fallen, and the French had been driven out of that country.

Success of the French in Europe

In England the revolutionary clubs were jealously watched. The government obtained a partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; a Traitorous Correspondence Act prohibited all intercourse with France; large numbers of volunteers were enrolled; prosecutions for sedition were frequent; spies and informers were active; judges were subservient. But the juries which by Fox's act had to decide on the question of libel, showed great independence, and in case after case gave an acquittal. At sea we prospered still. On June 1, 1794, Howe won a great victory off Brest; several West Indian islands, with Corsica, were taken. But on land the victorious republic sent out a million of men and won a rapid succession of battles. The English were driven out of Holland, and the French invaded Germany. In 1795 Prussia, and soon afterwards Spain, were forced into alliance with France, while Russia joined us. An expedition to help the royalist revolt in Britanny, and another to Poitou, were miserable failures; but England wrested from the Dutch, now also the compulsory allies of France, Ceylon, the Malaccas, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope, and drove them from India, where, in 1792, we had forced Tippoo Sahib to cede half his dominions, to pay 3,500,000*l.*, to release all prisoners, and to give up his sons as hostages.

And of England at sea and in the colonies

Among the working classes, bad harvests, taxation, and want of trade were causing severe distress; and distress was causing sedition and bitter class hatred. A great meeting in Copenhagen Fields passed an address praying for reform, the dismissal of Pitt, and peace. The king was insulted by the mob, and was shot at in the streets; and this led to further acts for suppressing seditious meetings and revolutionary writings. Pitt was anxious for peace; and he entered into negotiations with the Directorate of Five, the government which, representing the middle classes and the desire for order, had at length superseded the various forms of terrorism which had dominated Paris. But their haughty attitude and the refusal to evacuate Holland made the attempt useless; while the successful invasion of the Milanese by the army of Italy under Napoleon intensified the confidence and aggressive spirit of the French.

Distress in England

Aware that Ireland was our weak spot, they now sent an expedition thither. But the attempt to land at Bantry Bay was frustrated with the loss of four ships of the line and eight frigates. Another squadron succeeded in landing 1,400 men on the coast of Pembrokeshire; but they were forced to surrender to the militia and volunteers, and the convoying frigates were captured. These successes were put into the shade by the great victory of February 13, 1797, off Cape St. Vincent, over the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven line-of-battle ships and ten frigates, won by the seamanship and daring of Admirals Jervis and Parker and Commodore Nelson, who led a fleet of but eighteen ships: a victory which prevented the Spanish fleet from joining the French in Brest and the Dutch in the Texel, and forming with them an 'invincible armada' for the invasion of England. For this exploit Jervis received the earldom of St. Vincent with 3,000*l.* a year, and Nelson had the Order of the Bath. Then followed, on October 11, the destruction of the Dutch fleet off Camperdown by Admiral Duncan just as it was sailing for another invasion of Ireland. The commerce of France, Spain, and the Dutch was now at our mercy. Trinidad was taken from Spain, and thousands of merchant ships were brought as prizes into our ports.

The French in Ireland and Wales

Battles of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown

But though our navy was thus successful, its condition was thoroughly unsatisfactory. The sailors complained that the food provided by the government contractors was uneatable; that the pursers defrauded them of part of their earnings; that they were brutally treated by officers of all grades; that the hospital service was badly managed; that they had no pension when disabled; that they were allowed no liberty on shore; and, worst of all,

Mutinies in the navy

that the scale of wages was precisely the same as in the time of Charles II. At length the sailors at Spithead openly mutinied, but returned to their duty when the bulk of their demands were conceded by the Admiralty. At St. Helen's again, so just were their complaints found to be, that an admiral, four captains, and seventy-one officers were dismissed. But the mutiny at the Nore was of a different and far more serious kind. There the crews were infected with revolutionary ideas. They fired upon the frigates which would not join them, blockaded the Thames, and threatened to bombard Sheerness. The government acted with vigour; strong measures were passed through both Houses in a week; and unconditional submission was demanded. Finding no support either on shore or from the rest of the fleet, the mutineers at length surrendered. By a wise leniency Parker, the ringleader, formerly a lieutenant, alone was hung. Mutinies broke out also in the fleets off the Texel and Cadiz, and at the Cape of Good Hope. The crew on one ship, the 'Hermione,' killed their officers, and took her into a Spanish port. The danger served to compel attention to the sailors' grievances, and resulted in a great improvement in their condition.

Meanwhile no less than 135,000,000*l.* had been added to the national debt; fresh loans were raised, and fresh taxes continually imposed. The working classes suffered terribly; the price of all provisions was doubled, that of bread nearly trebled, while wages had scarcely risen. The rapid increase of the manufacturing population pressed heavily upon the food supply; between **1792** and **1796** no fewer than 1,532 acts were passed for enclosing common land for wheat-growing and stock farms.[8] For all the expense nothing seemed gained; Austria, our only ally, had lost the Netherlands and northern Italy, and had made peace. The Commons grew uneasy; and Pitt, who had been utterly deceived as to the resources of France, was ever more anxious for peace. But when, on November 5, the Directorate, flushed with their successes,[9] proclaimed the invasion of England, there was nothing for it, in spite of the secession of the Whigs under Fox's leadership from the House in protest, but to carry on the war at all costs.

Impossibility of peace

The temper of the navy, under the leadership of the greatest seaman in history, was soon proved. Napoleon persuaded the Directorate, whose master he was rapidly becoming, to abandon the idea of

[8] This enclosure of land told very hardly upon the labourer who had hitherto had free feeding on common land for his cow or pig.

[9] By the Treaty of Campo Formio Austria ceded her Netherlands, the left bank of the Rhine, and all her Italian provinces, acquiring Venice and its territory.

invading England, and to send him instead with an army to Egypt, whence he hoped, after overrunning Syria, to threaten India. This was a continuation of the great struggle for the New World, in which France had during a century been so worsted—a defeat he hoped to retrieve. Slipping out of Toulon, while Nelson's blockading fleet was driven off by a storm, and sailing first to Malta, possession of which he obtained by treachery, he reached Alexandria on July 1, **1798**. Egypt was rapidly overrun. For the complete success of his great scheme, however, he needed command of the sea; and this England was resolved he should not have. Nelson, who had gone in pursuit, had reached Alexandria before the French, while they were at Malta. Disappointed, he had sailed to Sicily for provisions, and during his absence there the French fleet had reached Egypt. Returning from Sicily, Nelson found them at anchor in Aboukir Bay, on the afternoon of August 1, **1798**. The French had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, carrying 1,196 guns and 11,230 men; the English also had thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, carrying 1,012 guns and 8,068 men. The French were drawn up in one long and compact line, as close in shore as possible. It was a well-known maxim in the service that where a ship can swing at anchor there is room for a ship alongside on either side of it. Five of the English fleet passed between the French and the shore; Nelson with the rest kept the sea side.[10] The battle raged from sunset until six next morning. All the French line-of-battle ships were taken or burnt; two frigates were taken afterwards, and only two frigates escaped. Nelson was wounded in the forehead; Brueys, the French admiral, was killed, and his flagship, the 'Orient,' blown up. The effects of this battle were vast. France was once more powerless at sea; India was saved; Napoleon was shut up in Egypt; the hopes of Europe revived; and a fresh coalition was formed against France. Nelson was loaded with gifts and honours from all the sovereigns of Europe. By his own country he was made Baron Nelson of the Nile, with a pension of 2,000*l.* a year.

Malta captured by the French

Battle of the Nile

For a time the coalition prospered. The Austrians and Russians, with an English contingent under the Duke of York, drove the French across the Rhine; while all Italy, except Genoa, which was closely besieged, was also won back. But then the fortune of war changed. The invasion of France was checked by Masséna's defeat of the allies at Zurich, while the Duke of York was forced to capitulate, his army being allowed to return to England.

Success of the French armies

[10] See atlas to Alison's *History of Europe*, where the position of each ship is carefully marked.

The capture of the Dutch fleet in the Texel was the only success we could claim.

Meanwhile Napoleon, invading Syria by the coast-road from Egypt, found his way blocked by the fortress of Acre. The place was barely tenable; but so gallant was the stand of the Turkish garrison, helped by a few English boats' crews, whom Sir Sidney Smith had thrown into it at the critical moment, that, though the French won the outer works, they were forced, after desperate hand-to-hand fighting in the breaches, to abandon the siege at the end of nine weeks; and Napoleon re-entered Cairo with forces terribly reduced by the hardships of the retreat. Baffled in his scheme of Eastern conquest, but unable to transport his army to France, he left it under the command of Kléber, and, setting sail in a single vessel with a few officers, escaped the English fleet, and arrived safely in France. Before long he had fulfilled Burke's prophecy by overthrowing the Directorate, and, as First Consul, with two nominal colleagues, becoming dictator. To rally all moderate men to his side, he released the state prisoners, reopened the churches and restored the priests, and repealed the revolutionary edicts. The people welcomed order, though under the protection of absolutism. Napoleon then tried to break up the coalition by making peace with Great Britain. When his offers were refused, he set himself to the war. While Moreau crossed the Rhine, overran Bavaria, and routed the Austrians in the battle of Hohenlinden, December 3, **1800**, by which France got possession of Bavaria and the Tyrol, he himself suddenly crossed the Alps, marched rapidly upon the Austrians, who had taken Genoa, and turned defeat into victory on the plains of Marengo on June 14. Austria made peace at Lunéville, February 9, **1801**, repeating the conditions of Campo Formio (p. 424, *note*); and Great Britain was again left to fight France single-handed. She had however recaptured Malta, and destroyed the French squadron which came to its relief.

Siege of Acre

Bonaparte's return to France; his dictatorship

Hohenlinden and Marengo

War with France had meant war with India as well, where Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder Ali (p. 409), had welcomed French help. In **1799** the English, under General Harris, stormed Seringapatam, his capital, and Tippoo was slain in the action. Mysore, with the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, and Seringapatam itself, of which Sir Arthur Wellesley, brother of Lord Mornington, the governor-general, was made governor, were taken into British hands. Shortly afterwards, Mornington's plan of placing residents in the courts of the friendly native princes to direct their foreign policy led to a war with the warlike chiefs of the Mahrattas,

British success in India

who ruled from Delhi to the Deccan. Wellesley, however, beat them at Assaye and Argaum, in the south, and Lake at Laswarree, in the north-east. The peace which followed, and the acceptance by the Mogul at Delhi of British overlordship, placed southern India and the Ganges valley completely in our hands.

The claim of the right of search of neutral vessels by England had led, in **1800**, to a quarrel with Russia, which had been gained over by Napoleon, and with Denmark. On August 29 Russia suddenly seized all English property, took prisoners the crews of 300 merchant ships, and marched them inland. Denmark and Sweden joined her in reviving the Armed Neutrality league (p. 405), and, at the same time, France made a treaty with America on the same basis. Pitt could retaliate only by a similar embargo in England.

The Northern League

The Baltic powers, though not formerly at war with England, were thus completely under French influence. Should their fleets be united against us, our position would be indeed critical. The government at once determined to prevent such a danger. The Danes defying us, Parker, with Nelson second in command, sailed to the Baltic. Nelson forced his way through the Sound and the intricate channels leading to Copenhagen, attacked the fleet in the harbour on April 2, **1801**, and, after a tremendous contest of five hours, destroyed it. Denmark sued for peace; the Northern League was broken up. Nelson then sailed to Revel, and Russia, thus threatened, also made peace, restoring the ships and prisoners she had seized, June 17, **1801**.

Battle of Copenhagen

Meanwhile great events had happened in Egypt. Kléber, surrounded by foes, was forced to a treaty, January 24, **1800**, by which his army was to be permitted to return to France. But the British government repudiated any convention but one of unconditional surrender. The French thereupon fought a desperate battle at Heliopolis, in which they routed 80,000 Turks; this was followed by another victory at Damietta; Cairo was retaken, and the French were again masters of Egypt. But on March 2, **1801**, Kléber having been meanwhile assassinated, General Abercrombie effected a landing with a small force in the face of the enemy, and, on the 21st, won a hard fight at Aboukir, in which he was unhappily killed. Cairo was once more captured, and a fresh convention made, by which the French army was taken in English ships to France.

Battle of Aboukir

France and England were now both ready for at least a truce. The one was helpless at sea, the other could do nothing on land. On March 28, **1802**, therefore, the Peace of Amiens

Peace of Amiens

was signed. Retaining Trinidad and Ceylon, the one Spanish and the other Dutch, Great Britain restored all her conquests to France. Malta, Gozo, and Comino were to be given back to the Knights of St. John, who had held Malta for nearly 300 years, conditions being imposed to prevent French aggression; and Egypt was restored to Turkey. The Cape of Good Hope was made a free port. The independence of our ally, Portugal, threatened by France and Spain, was to be preserved.

Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
War with France	1792	Successes in India	1799
Howe's victory of June 1	1794	Victory of Aboukir	1801
Victories of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown	1797	Victory of Copenhagen	1801
Victory of the Nile	1798	Peace of Amiens	1802

Section 4.—*Ireland and the Resignation of Pitt*

During the war Ireland had been the source of grave and increasing danger. The Catholics, forming three-fourths of the nation, who had received the franchise in **1793**, and had been freed from many of the disabilities placed upon them by a long series of ferocious acts during the last three reigns, were striving for total emancipation. This was fiercely opposed by the Protestants, who, in memory of William III., called themselves Orangemen, and whose scorn and hatred of the Irish were what they had always been. The secret society of 'United Irishmen,' formed by Wolfe Tone, had for its object the establishment of a republic under French protection. In **1794** Pitt sent Earl Fitzwilliam to Dublin as viceroy, hoping to secure both Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. Fitzwilliam struck boldly at abuses; removed from their offices the solicitor and attorney-general for opposing him; and dismissed from his employment the chief of the great house of Beresford, which monopolised a fourth of all the public offices in the kingdom. But Beresford and Lord Fitzgibbon, the chancellor, appealed to the king, and persuaded him that Catholic emancipation would be a breach of the coronation oath. Upon this point the bigotry of George III. was invincible. Fitzwilliam was recalled, and Fitzgibbon made Earl of Clare. All hopes of a quiet settlement in Ireland vanished at this disappointment. Grattan and the moderate men lost control of the people. Beresford's house was attacked; Clare escaped death only by his cool courage; faction fights took place between Catholics and Orangemen. Plunder and outrage increased rapidly. Then the troops were let loose in retaliation, and men were shot or transported without trial or

State of Ireland

United Irishmen

Earl Fitzwilliam viceroy

His recall

inquiry. The Orange yeomanry were allowed a free hand, and flogging, torture, murder, and rape went on without check. An act of the Irish parliament, in **1796**, actually gave the Protestants full indemnity, and this was continued by the Insurrection Act. Never, even in Ireland, had the subject race known atrocity so foul. The result was that, in **1797**, 100,000 men were ready for insurrection; guns and pikes were distributed; Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Arthur O'Connor were sent to France to arrange an invasion. We have already seen how it was foiled at Bantry and Camperdown (p. 423). But at the last moment the plot for a rising in Ireland was betrayed, and the leaders seized and executed. Partial risings however took place, and a fearful revenge was exacted for them. In Wexford alone the outbreak was really formidable; but the rebels were broken with much slaughter, first by Moore, and then by Lake at Vinegar Hill. Lord Cornwallis, the new viceroy (pp. 400, 414), was a calm and humane man. He at once issued an amnesty, and pardon to all who would come in; and of the leading rebels seventy-three were allowed to leave the country. Quiet was then restored. In August, **1798**, French troops landed in Mayo and defeated the first force sent against them; but at Castlebar they were surrounded and forced to surrender, the affair being known as the 'Castlebar Races.' The Irish who had joined the invaders were pursued and slaughtered without mercy. A second French expedition of nine ships, carrying 3,000 troops, was almost destroyed by an English squadron. Wolfe Tone, found on board with a French commission, was condemned to death, but escaped execution by suicide.

Cruelties of the Protestants

The rebellion

'Castlebar Races'

The complete legal independence of Ireland (p. 406); the violence of the ascendency party; the impossibility of establishing religious equality while the parliaments remained separate; the disaffection and the danger from France, with the consequent rebellion, turned Pitt's thoughts still more strongly than the failure of his commercial policy (p. 414) towards union. The Irish parliament being utterly corrupt, he resolved to use corruption to secure his aim. Cornwallis, aided by his secretary, Lord Castlereagh, reluctantly complied. Votes were bought up wholesale at any price that was demanded; 5,000*l.* was paid to briefless barristers to write up the Union; more than a million and a quarter were spent in compensating the owners of eighty-four pocket boroughs, which returned 168 members; peerages, titles and promotions were lavishly bestowed; the occupiers of houses in Dublin were promised compensation for the expected depreciation of house property. By such means the

The Union

Irish parliament was induced, February 5, **1800**, after weeks of vehement debate, adorned by a magnificent protest from Grattan, and enlivened by several duels, to vote its own extinction. Pitt had already carried the act in the English parliament; and, on August 2, **1800**, the Act of Union received the royal assent. Ireland was henceforth to be represented in the Imperial parliament by four spiritual peers, sitting in rotation, twenty-eight lay peers elected by their body, and 100 members in the Commons; free trade was established between Great Britain and Ireland. Ireland was to contribute to the revenue in the proportion of 2 to 15 for twenty years. Her laws, if not incompatible with the Union, were to be in force until altered or repealed by the Imperial parliament.

The promises of money payment were fulfilled. But Pitt had secured the support of the Catholic voters by leaving it to be understood that complete emancipation would follow; and every consideration of honour and policy urged him to fulfil this pledge also. The king however again expressed his resolve never to yield, and he was supported by the primates and lord chancellors of both countries, the principal judges, and half the cabinet. Pitt therefore resigned, after holding office for seventeen years, and all the men of mark in the ministry went with him.[11] He was succeeded by Addington, the speaker; but it was still Pitt to whom the country looked as the real guider of the state. Indeed, it is possible that Pitt was glad of the opportunity to put Addington in, since he saw that there must be a peace, but did not want to be the man to make it.

Resignation of Pitt

On January 22, **1801**, the first parliament of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' met. For the first time the title of 'King of France,' which had been used since Edward III., was omitted, and the French lilies were removed from the shield.

Section 5.—*The War from the Peace of Amiens to Trafalgar and the Death of Pitt*, 1802–1806

The battles of Aboukir and Copenhagen, and the conclusion of peace, had happened during Addington's ministry. But they were of course as much due to Pitt as the capture of Belle Isle (p. 390) had been due to his father. According to the burden of a song, written by Canning in his honour, he was 'the pilot that weathered the storm;' and a motion was carried by 225 to 52 that he 'has rendered great and important services to his country, and especially deserves the gratitude of the House.' Addington's cabinet was weak, for he

[11] He was deeply in debt when he left office, for he had utterly neglected his private affairs. The London merchants wished to give him 100,000*l.*, and the king offered 80,000*l.* from the privy purse. He refused both, consenting at length to borrow from a few private friends enough to free him from debt.

had but ordinary abilities, and Canning was his only really able colleague.[12] Pitt honourably gave him his support; but the situation was a dangerous one, and the country clamoured for Pitt's return to power, just as it had demanded that of his father in a similar crisis (p. 402). The alarm deepened when Napoleon annexed, first Elba, and then Piedmont; when he occupied Parma and Placentia; and when he marched 40,000 men into Switzerland on pretence of mediating in the internal disputes of that country. Fresh efforts were made to induce Addington to give way to Pitt, but Pitt utterly refused to countenance them. Napoleon hated England as the steady opponent of revolution, as the main obstacle to his ambition, and especially as the conqueror of the New World. He had made peace only until he should be ready for a renewal of war. The occasion was found in our refusal, on the ground of his annexations, to deliver up Malta in accordance with the treaty. Napoleon was specially anxious to get back Malta as the key to Egypt, whence he might again begin the attack upon India. The English *ultimatum* on this point meeting with an angry refusal, war was declared, April 18, **1803**. Napoleon at once imprisoned all the English who were then in France. Then he overran Hanover. But his great design was the invasion of England. A veteran army of 100,000 men was collected at Boulogne, and a large fleet of flat-bottomed boats built for its transport.[13] His intention was that the Toulon fleet, which was not blockaded by our ships, should sail first to Brest and then to Rochefort to disperse our squadrons and set free the ships in those ports; and that the united armament should then sweep the Channel to cover his passage. 'Let us be masters of the Channel,' he said, 'for six hours, and we are

Demand for Pitt's return to power

Renewal of war

Intended invasion of Great Britain

[12] One curious legal question was settled during Addington's rule. Horne Tooke, a former opponent of John Wilkes, was a clergyman who had renounced his orders for thirty years, and had entered parliament for Old Sarum. It was now decided (1) that a clergyman could not renounce orders; (2) that a clergyman could not sit in the House. He was, therefore, unseated. The present law is the same and was extended to Roman Catholics at their emancipation in 1829.

[13] The spirit aroused in the country was shown by the great volunteer movement. By the close of the summer 300,000 men had been enrolled. Pitt, himself, as warden of the Cinque Ports, formed a regiment of 3,000 men, and gave much personal attention to their drill and equipment. He got in readiness, too, 150 light gunboats. It was at the great review of 30,000 volunteers in Hyde Park that the Inns of Court corps gained from the king himself the title of the 'Devil's Own.' The alarm throughout the country was very real. A gentleman living in Suffolk has told me that his father, chief constable of his 'hundred,' had orders from government that the moment news arrived that the French had landed, as was expected, near Harwich, every stack in the 'hundred' should be fired, and the road made impassable by felling the trees. From a lady, the daughter of a clergyman in Derbyshire, I have heard how her father would lie awake at night, in misery at the thought that England would be a French province.

masters of the world!' So sure was he of success, that a medal was struck with the inscription, 'Frappé à Londres en **1804**.' The sudden death of the admiral who was to carry out the scheme compelled him however to postpone it for a time.[14]

The crisis made Pitt's return to power imperative. Several events had led to estrangement between him and Addington. Addington's measures in finance and foreign affairs were unsatisfactory, and his preparations to meet the danger totally inadequate. At length Pitt joined Fox and Lord Grenville in opposition, and Addington immediately resigned, April 29, **1804**. The king at once applied to Pitt, who requested that Fox, Grenville, and their friends might be included. But George utterly refused to accept Fox; and, though that statesman magnanimously urged his friends to join in spite of his own exclusion, they refused, and Pitt was forced back upon Addington's cabinet and his own personal friends.[15] Lords Eldon, Castlereagh, Harrowby, and Melville (formerly Mr. Dundas), with Canning, were the only men of mark. Addington was himself before long reconciled to Pitt, and joined the ministry as Lord Sidmouth. Pitt resumed office without a word about Catholic Emancipation, the cause of his former resignation. The Catholics had placed full trust in his former assurances, and had remained peaceable ever since on the strength of an appeal well known to have been made with his authority. The breach of faith is explained, though it cannot be approved or excused, by Pitt's knowledge that the agitation caused by the dispute had brought on an alarming recurrence of the king's illness; and by the fact that, recognising the evils which might thus be produced, he had solemnly promised George never to raise the question again. The Catholics, backed by Fox, now sent petitions to both Houses, but the Commons, by 336 to 124, refused to listen to them.

Pitt's second ministry

Pitt gives up Catholic Emancipation

Pitt's great object, after making England herself as strong as possible, was to form a fresh coalition against Napoleon. Russia willingly assisted him; and when Napoleon, already created emperor, had himself crowned King of Italy also, and annexed Genoa and

[14] A fresh Irish conspiracy at this time was formed under the leadership of Robert Emmett. A large number of men were sworn in, and arms and ammunition distributed. The lord chief justice, Lord Kilwarden, with his nephew, were dragged from their carriage and murdered in the presence of his daughter. The government had received warning that an attempt would be made upon the castle, and when the conspirators gathered in the streets they were dispersed by the military. The leaders were seized. Emmett and others were tried by court-martial and hanged.

[15] Had he remained firm to his opinion, he might, in union with Grenville and Fox, have been more powerful in opposition than he was in office, and would have compelled the king to accede to his terms. When he died the king admitted Fox.

Lucca, the league was joined by Austria and Sweden. Napoleon's object now was to effect the conquest of England before the coalition could act. He ordered Admiral Villeneuve to sail to the West Indies, in order to draw our fleet from the Channel, and then, while the Channel was clear, to return to escort the troops to England. In March **1805** Villeneuve accordingly sailed, pursued by Nelson in May. In June he had come back, still with Nelson at his heels. He now received Napoleon's orders to break the blockade at Brest, and then, in company with the ships set free, to drive Nelson from the Channel. But he was wanting in decision, and finally sailed off to Cadiz to join the Spanish fleet there. Napoleon, to whom every hour was of importance, since Russia and Austria were on the point of uniting their forces, was furious at seeing his great design thus wrecked. But without an instant's hesitation he hurried his troops away from Boulogne to meet the Austrians. On October 19, Mack, the Austrian commander, completely out-manœuvred, capitulated at Ulm with 30,000 men, leaving the road to Vienna open. Meanwhile Nelson, who had put into Portsmouth to refit, had sailed with Collingwood, after but a fortnight's rest in England, to meet the united fleets of France and Spain; and, on October 21, two days after Ulm, with twenty-seven large ships and four frigates, he encountered Villeneuve and Gravina, with thirty-three ships of the line and eight frigates, off Trafalgar. Flinging out the memorable signal, 'England expects every man to do his duty,' he advanced at noon in two lines. Collingwood with one line was to cut through the enemy at the twelfth ship from the rear, while he himself in the 'Victory' pierced the centre. Refusing to put off the orders which glittered on his breast, he became a mark for the enemy's riflemen, and was shot from above in the shoulder early in the action; three hours later he died with the words, 'Thank God, I have done my duty!' He lived to hear of victory. In the end twenty ships struck, Villeneuve was made prisoner, and Gravina died of his wounds. Neither France nor Spain could be regarded as a naval power during the remainder of the war.

Second coalition against Napoleon

Invasion of England abandoned

Ulm and Trafalgar

All England, as when Wolfe fell before Quebec, or Blake died after his great achievement (p. 291), was in mingled joy and mourning. Nelson was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral; his brother received an earldom, with 6,000*l.* a year and 100,000*l.* for an estate. But the people recognised that Trafalgar was the reward of Pitt's steadfastness as much as of Nelson's heroism. When he went to dine at the Guildhall the horses were taken from the carriage and he was dragged thither in triumph. On this occasion

Enthusiasm for Pitt

he made his last public speech. It consisted of but two sentences. He had been called the 'Saviour of Europe.' He ended thus: 'Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example!'[16]

Austerlitz and the death of Pitt

Scarcely were the rejoicings for Trafalgar over when this hope was for the time crushed. Napoleon, after his triumph at Ulm, had occupied Munich and Vienna without firing a shot. On December 2, he ruinously defeated the Emperors of Russia and Austria at Austerlitz. Austria made peace at Presburg, ceding to the victor the Tyrol and Venice, while the Confederation of the Rhine, formed by Napoleon, placed a barrier between him and Austria. This ruin of his hopes killed Pitt. 'Roll up that map,' he said, pointing to the map of Europe: 'it will not be wanted these ten years!' The gout from which he constantly suffered flew to his head, and on January 22, **1806**, he died, exclaiming, 'Oh, my country! How I leave my country!' On February 22, **1806**, he was laid in the vault which held his father.

Ministry of Grenville and Fox. Abolition of the slave trade

Pitt was succeeded as prime minister by Grenville, with Fox, whom George was now compelled to admit, for foreign minister. Abortive attempts at negotiation with Napoleon, and a resolution condemning the slave trade, followed by an act for its abolition in **1807**, were all for which this ministry is to be remembered, except that Fox imitated Pitt in saying nothing about Catholic emancipation in Ireland. He followed his great rival to the grave in **1806**; and, in **1807**, a quarrel having arisen between ministers and the king upon the Catholic question, they were dismissed. The Duke of Portland, who had headed the Whig seceders to Pitt after the Revolution (p. 421),

Portland's anti-Catholic ministry

then formed an anti-Catholic ministry. His chief colleagues were: Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; Canning, foreign secretary; Castlereagh, secretary at war and for the colonies; Huskisson, secretary to the Treasury. Two of these, Canning and Castlereagh, had in former times actively assisted Pitt's attempt to

[16] The stately reserve of Pitt's manner was one of his most marked characteristics. The resolution of the Commons, carried by the casting vote of the Speaker, for the impeachment of his life-long friend and colleague, Dundas, then Lord Melville, for corruption, was the one occasion on which this partially broke down. It formed a touching scene, and one which illustrates the bitterness with which his unequalled supremacy was regarded by his opponents. As he pressed his hat low over his eyes the tears were seen to flow down his cheeks. A few of the baser sort came round to see 'how Billy looked after it,' and to exult over his distress. But his friends formed a close circle around him, and escorted him from the house without their being able to catch a glimpse of his face.

remove the disabilities they now united in opposing; but it must be remembered that Pitt himself had given up the cause. Parliament was shortly dissolved, and a large anti-Catholic majority returned.

Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Union with Ireland	1800	Trafalgar	1805
Resignation of Pitt	1800	Austerlitz	1805
Renewal of war	1803	Death of Pitt	1806
Pitt's second ministry	1804		

Section 6. — *The War to the First Peace of Paris*, 1815

Napoleon's victorious career had not ceased with Austerlitz. Prussia had held aloof from the coalition, and now reaped the fruits of her selfishness. In October **1806** she was utterly crushed at Jena and Auerstadt. But England was still the chief object of Napoleon's hatred. From Berlin he issued his famous Decrees, which forbade France and all her allies to trade with Great Britain, and declared all English ports under blockade, any vessel trading with Britain to be a lawful prize. But in the first place he had no fleet to blockade them; and in the second England could play the same game with far more effect. The 'Orders in Council' prohibited trade even by neutral nations with French ports or with ports in French possession; and this, as we had command of the sea, was no empty threat. Meanwhile Napoleon was still at war with Russia. Two fearful battles were fought at Eylau, in which he was nearly defeated, and at Friedland, in which he gained a crushing victory. The result was the Peace of Tilsit, June 25, **1807**. The secret articles of this treaty declared that if France and Great Britain should be still at war on December 1, Prussia was to declare war against the latter; while for permission to conquer Sweden and Turkey if he could, and to annex the Danubian provinces, the Czar agreed, if England would not accept Napoleon's terms, to join him, and to force Denmark and Portugal to take part against her. Canning however got an inkling of the danger. He had reason to believe that the Danes were about to hand over their powerful fleet to Napoleon (p. 427). He resolved therefore to strike a blow which, as Denmark was neutral, could be justified only by necessity. The surrender of the fleet to England was demanded. Upon a refusal, a fleet and an army were at once sent to Denmark. The Danes resisted bravely, but were defeated on land; Copenhagen was bombarded by land and sea, and shamefully plundered after capitulation; and then the whole Danish fleet of sixteen ships of the line, nine frigates, and

Jena and Auerstadt

Berlin Decrees and the Orders in Council

Peace of Tilsit

Capture of the Danish fleet

fourteen corvettes, with all the vessels laden with naval stores, was led away captive to England.[17]

Secure in the east by the Peace of Tilsit, Napoleon now turned his eyes westward. He resolved to attack England through Portugal, then under a regency, and to conquer first that country and then Spain. The regent was ordered to close his ports to British vessels, to declare war upon England, and to confiscate all British property in Portugal; and, when he refused the first and last of these conditions, Napoleon forced the King of Spain to grant a passage to an invading force, under Marshal Junot. Marching with a haste which almost ruined his army, Junot occupied Lisbon on November 30, the royal family barely having time to escape to Brazil with their treasures.

Napoleon invades Spain

The full extent of Napoleon's design was then disclosed. Fresh troops gradually crossed the Spanish border, and on one ground and another possessed themselves of the frontier fortresses. The effete Bourbons of Spain, Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand, were compelled to abdicate in favour of Napoleon's brother Joseph. On March 1, **1808**, Marshal Murat entered Spain in force, and, on the 23rd, was in possession of Madrid. But then the nation rose in its own behalf. Everywhere the scattered French forces were successfully attacked. One army of 23,000 men, under Dupont, was defeated, and capitulated at Baylen. Joseph was deposed, and the French forced to retreat in haste beyond the Ebro; Junot remaining with 30,000 men in Portugal.

Dethrones the King of Spain

Is driven out by a national rising

Portugal now appealed to her old ally, England: and in July 9,000 men sailed under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley,[18] the victor of Assaye, whose career in India had displayed not only personal intrepidity, but consummate generalship, the most perfect temper, a great organising faculty, and indomitable will. Since his return from India he had been employed in an abortive expedition in North Germany and in the late Danish campaign. On August 1, **1808**, he landed at the mouth of the Mondego. Here he

Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal

[17] We also took Heligoland, commanding the Elbe, which we gave up to Germany in 1890. We had already, in 1806, made a final capture of the Cape of Good Hope. Expeditions to Buenos Ayres and Monte Video in 1807 were failures through bad generalship. But in 1810 we took the island of Mauritius, which we still hold, and thus put an end to the destructive privateering war upon our commerce which France waged from thence. A gallant but useless feat of arms was performed by General Stuart, who was defending Sicily against the French. In 1806 he crossed to Calabria, and defeated a greatly superior French force at Maida.

[18] Brialmont's *Life of Wellington*, translated by Gleig.

F.S.Weller.

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

was joined by General Spencer, who commanded a division of 12,000 men further south; and, hearing of the French disasters, he resolved to strike at once. On the 17th he beat Laborde at Rorissa, and on the 12th completely defeated Junot himself at Vimiera, thirty miles north of Lisbon. He was however stopped from pursuing his advantage by the sluggishness of Sir Harry Burrard, who had been sent out by the undecided ministry to supersede him immediately after the expedition had sailed, and who arrived during the action. Junot then signed the Convention of Cintra, by which he agreed to evacuate Portugal on condition that his army was permitted to return untouched to France. This excited the utmost anger in England, which fell chiefly upon Wellesley. But he easily showed that it was no fault of his; and, on January 1, 1809, he received the thanks of both houses. He was now made secretary for Ireland.

Victories at Rorissa and Vimiera

Convention of Cintra

The successful rising of the Spanish people aroused the spirit of resistance against Napoleon in other countries. Austria and Prussia began to arm. But Alexander of Russia was entirely under his influence; and in October a fresh alliance was formed between them at Erfurt. Prussia was forced to submit to the most humiliating terms, and Stein, her great patriot minister, was banished at Napoleon's demand. The emperor was thus again free for a second conquest of Spain, where his path was made easy by the weakness of the Junta, or central committee, chosen from the provincial councils. In November 1808 he crossed the Pyrenees in overwhelming strength, defeated the Spanish armies on the Ebro, in the north, centre, and south, and entered Madrid in triumph, after a short siege, on December 4.

Subjection of Prussia

Second French invasion of Spain

Meanwhile Sir John Moore, the next best officer to Wellesley, had taken command of 20,000 British troops at Lisbon. His orders were to make for Madrid, and on November 13 he reached Salamanca. Here he learned of the Spanish defeats, of the siege of Madrid, that Soult had taken Burgos, and that he was marching with large forces to cut off his retreat. He determined to fall back. But then came despatches from the British minister at Madrid urging him to attempt its relief. He therefore advanced upon Valladolid, to cut the line of French communications. Suddenly, on December 4, he heard that Madrid had fallen ten days previously. He was now in the utmost peril, for Napoleon had guessed his movements, and on December 19 led 40,000 men by forced marches to cut off his retreat. Moore reached Benevente, where there was a bridge over

Sir John Moore and Corunna

the Esla, only a few hours before Napoleon's vanguard. He blew up the bridge, and the defence of the river gave him a further start. On January 1, 1809, Napoleon, called back to France by fresh dangers, left Soult to press the pursuit. Moore made for Corunna. This winter retreat was memorable alike for its rapidity, for the terrible sufferings of the men, for their heroism, and for their excesses on the route. Halting at Lugo, through sheer inability to move further, Moore offered battle; but Soult's army was as fatigued as his own, and he held back. On January 11 the English reached Corunna, 14,000 strong. The transports were not there, and a battle was inevitable. Moore drew up his men on a range of low hills before the town, and met Soult's attack on January 16. Everywhere the English were victorious; but their heroic leader died at the moment of victory. The transports having now arrived, the army embarked that night and sailed for England.

Joseph Bonaparte was now again king of Spain, with 300,000 men and the best generals of France. The complete conquest of Spain was delayed only by the heroic resistance of Saragossa, which did not capitulate until February 20. In March, Soult entered Portugal, and established himself at Oporto.

Napoleon had been called away to cope with the renewal of war by Austria. In April he entered Vienna once more in triumph. Crossing the Danube, he suffered his first defeat in Europe, at Aspern, on May 21; but repaired it by a second crossing and by a great victory in the two days' battle of Wagram, July 5 and 6. Austria however was not yet defeated; and on July 12 Napoleon was forced to conclude an armistice at Znaim, followed shortly by peace at Vienna, which set him free to attend again to Spain.

Renewal of war between France and Austria

Peace of Vienna

England had determined to throw more energy into the war there. On April 22 Wellesley entered the Tagus. Soult lay at Oporto, and Victor, after a series of successes over the Spaniards, at Talavera on the Tagus. Having restored confidence and organisation among the Portuguese, Wellesley resolved to attack Soult first. On May 9 he reached the Douro. The crossing on the 12th was perhaps the most daring, skilful, and successful operation of the whole war. Soult was driven out of Oporto with heavy loss, and, closely pressed, escaped northwards to Lugo. Wellesley at once returned, and marched up the Tagus to fight Victor, who retired to Toledo, but then returned with King Joseph and 50,000 veterans. Wellesley had 54,000, of whom however only 19,000 were British. His army was half-

Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal. Campaign of 1809

Crossing of the Douro

starved, and there was good reason to fear treachery on the part of the Spanish general, Cuesta. An action on the 27th was followed by the great French attack next day. The fight was a desperate one; Wellesley finally gained a complete victory, with the loss of 6,300 men, the enemy losing 7,400 and fourteen guns.

Battle of Talavera

Wellesley had intended to make for Madrid. But, like Moore, he suddenly found himself in the most imminent peril. Unknown to him, Soult had reformed his army, and had reached Placentia, far to his rear; should he succeed in securing the bridge of boats at Almaraz, Wellesley's retreat would be cut off. His decision was taken at once. Leaving the Spaniards under Cuesta[19] to guard Talavera, he quickly crossed to the left bank of the Tagus at Arzobispo, while Crawfurd, by forced marches, just managed to break down the bridge of boats at Almaraz before Soult's vanguard arrived there, and then made his way south-west to Badajoz, the fortress commanding the southern road into Portugal, as Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo guard the northern.

Wellington's retreat

Wellesley had been forced to retreat; but he had accomplished a great enterprise. 'With a handful of men and a good general, the English had made head in Spain against the best troops in the world.' He had beaten two French armies and destroyed their prestige, and had cleared Portugal of its invaders. All this had been done under extreme difficulties. His worst enemies were the conceit, the jealousy, the selfishness, and the incapacity of his Spanish allies, who were always well provisioned while his own men starved. So strongly did he feel this that henceforward his plans were made without reference to the Spaniards. He had, too, the constant task of strengthening the faltering spirit of his own government, which sent him neither men nor money. Had he lost a battle, had he suffered any serious reverse, the war would have been given up; and the knowledge of this made him feel that caution—incessant caution—must be his chief guide. The English people were in a fit of angry depression, and it was with difficulty, and only after prolonged debate, that the thanks of the Houses were offered him. He was now made Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talavera; while both Spain and Portugal placed him in supreme command of their forces. It is only by a close study of the details of this memorable campaign that the clear foresight, the cool courage, the unfaltering will and patience, and the decisive judgment—the pos-

His difficulties

[19] Cuesta was utterly defeated at Ocana, east of Toledo, by Victor, November 19.

session of every quality which enables a commander to sustain the strain of prolonged and unceasing harassment, can be in any degree realised.

The Walcheren expedition

To all this a sad contrast was seen in the misconduct of another expedition. Before Austria declared war against Napoleon, she had urged the despatch of an English force to North Germany. The ministry delayed action until July, and then determined to attack the French docks and fleet at Antwerp. On July 28, under Lord Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, a man of the slenderest capacity, thirty-seven ships of the line, with 40,000 troops, sailed for the Scheldt. Chatham landed on the pestilent isle of Walcheren; but, instead of pushing on for Antwerp, he wasted time in bombarding and capturing Flushing, thus allowing the French to place Antwerp in a complete state of defence. In August the whole force sailed back, except 15,000 who were left in the marshes of Walcheren. There 2,000 died of pestilence, and then the rest were recalled.

Ministerial changes

One advantage resulted. Canning and Castlereagh quarrelled over the failure; the quarrel led to a duel, and to the resignation of both. Then Portland also resigned, and Mr. Perceval became prime minister.[20] More important still was the appointment of Wellington's able brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, formerly governor-general of India as Lord Mornington, to be foreign secretary. Wellington was thus sure of support at home. Two future prime ministers, Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston, were members of the cabinet.

The Lines of Torres Vedras

The French having conquered Andalusia, Napoleon now sent his best general, Masséna, with overwhelming forces against Wellington. But Wellington had foreseen and provided against the danger by enclosing the corner formed by the Tagus and the sea, on which Lisbon stands, in a triple line of fortifications—the famous Lines of Torres Vedras—upon which the engineers had for months been spending all their skill to utilise the advantages of nature, and which he was confident he could hold against any force brought against him. Thither he slowly retired, making the country a desert right up to the lines. He allowed Ciudad Rodrigo to be taken rather than depart from the course he had marked out for himself. Once only, at Busaco, he turned to fight Ney, and beat him heavily. On October 8, **1810**, he entered the lines, which were guarded by 126 works, 247 guns, and 30,000 men. So well had the secret been kept, that Masséna was close to them before he was

[20] He was assassinated in May 1812, when Lord Liverpool became prime minister, remaining in office until his death in 1827.

aware of their existence. Then he realised that he was foiled, and, soon starved out, went back into winter quarters at Abrantes and Santarem.

Though safe from the enemy, Wellington was in great straits. The king had once more become insane, and, as his condition grew more hopeless,[21] the opposition at home attacked the war policy with increasing vehemence. The disorganisation of the Spaniards grew daily worse, and the jealousy between them and the Portuguese prevented co-operation. Wellington almost despaired of success. At length Masséna, unable to support his army any longer in the desolated country, retired northwards, March **1811**. Wellington at once pursued, and drove him to Coimbra and over the Mondego. Finally, after losing baggage, artillery, and nearly 30,000 men, Masséna left Portugal, and, hoping to be joined by Soult from Andalusia, concentrated his forces at Salamanca. This retreat marked the ebb in Napoleon's fortunes. Portugal was left in a pitiful state; 2,000 square miles lay utterly desolate, almost without an inhabitant or sign of living thing.

Campaign of 1811. Retreat of Masséna

Meanwhile, Soult had marched from the siege of Cadiz to join Masséna.[22] On March 11 he took Badajoz, which was feebly defended by the Portuguese. Wellington then formed the siege of Almeida (p. 439), and, when Masséna advanced to the rescue, fought and beat him at Fuentes d'Onoro, May 5. Almeida was evacuated; Masséna was superseded by Napoleon and went into retirement.

Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, and capture of Almeida

Wellington had previously despatched Beresford with 20,000 Portuguese and 6,000 English to retake Badajoz. Beresford had scarcely invested the place when he heard that Soult was returning with 18,000 men. He at once raised the siege, and took up a position at Albuera, where, on May 16, was fought the bloodiest battle of the war. Out-generalled, Beresford nearly suffered a great defeat, which was turned into victory by the famous bayonet charge of the English infantry up the hill against Soult's massive columns. So terrific was the carnage that when the French broke and fled down the opposite slope 1,500 English alone stood alive out of 6,000; one regiment, the 57th, out of a total strength of 570, lost 23 officers and 400 men. It was reckoned that within a few hundred feet there were piled 7,000 corpses.

First investment of Badajoz. Battle of Albuera

[21] At the end of October 1810 the Prince of Wales was made regent, with the restrictions contained in Pitt's bill of 1788 (p. 416), to last until Feb. 1812.

[22] Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded at Cadiz, had come out and defeated the French at Barrosa but had been again forced to retire.

Wellington now joined Beresford, and invested Badajoz, June 3. But again Soult came on in such force that the siege was raised on the 12th, and Wellington retired into Portugal. He was not long idle. In July he marched north, and, deceiving Soult, invested Ciudad Rodrigo on January 7, **1812**. He had heard that Napoleon, now intent upon that invasion of Russia which was to prove his ruin, had withdrawn 60,000 of the flower of the French army, and that the garrison was weakened. This was fortunate, for the British were in terrible distress, the men in rags and starving, the horses dying by hundreds for want of provender. No fewer than 20,000 men were in hospital. Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by storm on the 12th, a victory disgraced by the excesses of the troops. For this exploit, which opened the northern road into Spain, Wellington was made an earl, with 2,000*l.* a year, by his own country; a grandee of the first class, and Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, by the Spaniards; and Marquis of Torres Vedras by the Portuguese.

Second invasion of Portugal. Retreat of Wellington

Campaign of 1812. Storm of Ciudad Rodrigo

Wellington at once returned to Badajoz, and invested it on March 17. The place was of great strength, commanded by a brave and determined man, at the head of 5,000 veterans. The English were utterly inexperienced in siege work, and, as at Ciudad Rodrigo, destitute of proper appliances. Torrents of rain impeded the work, and nothing but the unceasing vigour and indomitable will of Wellington could have overcome the difficulties which pressed upon him. At length the breaches were declared practicable, and at 10 P.M., on the night of April 6, 18,000 men were formed for the storm. For a long time the most heroic valour failed before the desperate defence; 3,000 men died in the first two hours. It was not until 6 A.M. that the governor at length capitulated, after the town had been won. And then followed an awful scene. For three days, maddened with slaughter, deaf to the entreaties of their officers—threatening them indeed with death if they interfered—the troops wreaked their passions in murder and outrage upon the wretched inhabitants. Never was heroism tarnished by such atrocity, which Wellington himself was powerless to stop. But the capture of Badajoz was the turning-point of the war; both northern and southern roads into Spain were now open, while the capture of Almanza and Alcantara by General Hill gave Wellington the command of the Tagus and assured his communications.

Third invasion of Portugal; siege and storm

Wellington moved northwards again without a moment's unnecessary delay. On July 22 he won a great victory over Marmont

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at Salamanca. Marmont retreated to Burgos; King Joseph hurriedly left Madrid, and Wellington entered it on August 12, amid the enthusiasm of the inhabitants. On September 1 he marched to the siege of Burgos. The siege lasted until October 20, during which the English suffered severe loss. Then, hearing that Soult had raised his blockade of Cadiz, in order to join Joseph, and that three armies were converging upon him, Wellington hastily abandoned the siege, escaping a probable catastrophe only by the greatest skill and presence of mind, and went back into Portugal for winter quarters.

Battle of Salamanca. Failure at Burgos

By the end of May, **1813**, he had completely reorganised his army, and for the last time left Portugal. The French armies, constantly drained by Napoleon, could not face him. Burgos was abandoned, and Joseph retreated again behind the Ebro. Wellington followed hard. With a new base of operations in Santander, Bilbao, and Corunna on the north coast, he had no fear of his communications; and on June 21, **1813**, at Vittoria, he utterly defeated Joseph, who narrowly escaped capture, and whose papers, valuables, and court equipments fell into the hands of the conqueror. No victory so great had been won by English soldiers against France since Blenheim. Its effects spread far beyond Spain: Austria was emboldened to take up arms once more. On July 28 Wellington invested San Sebastian, both by land and sea—a border fortress of great strength, and well garrisoned. The attempts at storming were repulsed with appalling loss of life. Soult advanced to the rescue. Wellington, without losing hold of San Sebastian, fought no fewer than ten engagements in nine days, during which he lost 7,500 men, and the French nearly twice as many. Soult was completely foiled, and the siege was taken up with renewed vigour. As before, the English were totally lacking in siege appliances, and had to trust to the valour of the troops in storming. On September 8, after a siege of seventy-three days, the place was taken by assault, with a loss of 5,000 men, and suffered the same hideous fate as that which was meted out to Badajoz.

Campaign of 1813

Battle of Vittoria

Siege and storm of San Sebastian

Then Wellington crossed the Bidassoa into France, while Pampeluna was besieged and taken. On November 10 he drove Soult, by the battle of the Nivelle, from entrenchments which he had hoped would be to him what the Lines of Torres Vedras had been to Wellington. Battles took place almost daily, as the English, barefooted and starving, forced their way through the wintry gorges of the Pyrenees. On February 12, **1814**, Soult was driven from his fortified camp at Bayonne and routed at the great

Wellington enters France. Defeat of Soult

battle of Orthez, February 27, in which Wellington was slightly wounded. On the 28th the Adour was passed. Beresford was sent to capture Bordeaux; and Wellington, fighting all the way, followed up Soult to Toulouse, where the last battle was contested with almost equal numbers, and the last victory won. On April 12 the news arrived that Napoleon had abdicated.

Campaign of 1814. Battles of Orthez and Toulouse

This was the end of the war which had cost England a hundred millions sterling and at least 50,000 lives; of the French no fewer than 200,000 men had perished. The English army was re-embarked; part was sent to fight in America,[23] part to the West Indies. Wellington went first to Paris, where he heard that he had been created a duke, with a gift of half a million; the fact that the opposition had insisted upon the sum being raised to this amount from the 300,000*l.* proposed by the government shows how English feeling had altered. No such scene of enthusiasm as that which greeted him at Dover and London on his return to England had been witnessed since Henry V., with the cleft helmet and dinted armour, had returned after the triumph of Agincourt. With every possible solemnity the thanks of Lords and Commons were granted him. The most famous man in Europe, he accepted the eulogies which were showered upon him with the same calm self-respect as he had shown during four years of censure and obloquy.

Reception of Wellington

We must now briefly trace the circumstances since the Peace of Vienna (p. 438) which led to the fall of Napoleon. This peace, by his marriage with the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, caused a coolness with Russia, whose trade had moreover been almost ruined by the action of the Berlin Decrees. In **1810** the Czar issued an order opening the ports of Russia to all vessels bearing a neutral flag, and placed a duty upon French products. The order was an effective check to Napoleon's plan of destroying the commerce of England, hatred to whom was still his ruling passion; and the whole of **1811** was spent in enormous preparations by both countries for the inevitable war. Austria and Prussia, who were in Napoleon's grasp, were forced to become unwilling allies; and on June 23 Napoleon crossed the Vistula with 450,000 men. His difficulties began at once in the breakdown of the transport service; the country through which he moved was a desert; sickness broke out; and by September no fewer than 175,000 men were sick, dead, or missing. Each day's march, it was reckoned, now cost the French 3,000

Napoleon's Russian campaign

[23] War had broken out in 1812 with the United States through the anger caused by the Orders in Council. It was brought to a close in 1814 by the Treaty of Ghent.

men. At the Borodino, seventy miles from Moscow, the Russians ceased their retreat, and fought a tremendous battle, in which 70,000 men were left dead on the field. They were driven from the ground; and on the 14th Napoleon entered Moscow, which had been utterly deserted by the people. That night fires broke out in several quarters, which did not cease until the 20th, when three-fourths of the city had been destroyed. Feigned negotiations delayed Napoleon until October 19, when the memorable retreat began. With but 100,000 men he endeavoured to take a new road; but the Russians barred the way, and he was forced back on the desolated line by which he had come. He reached Smolensk on November 9 with 65,000. Then the frost began: swarms of Cossacks pressed upon them; and when at length they crossed the Vistula once more they were but a remnant of 20,000.

In that awful campaign 400,000 men had been left on the plains of Russia. The Czar at once marched into Prussia, and drove the French through Berlin. Prussia threw off the French yoke, and declared war, March 17. Napoleon meanwhile had collected a fresh army in France; twice he beat the Prussians, at Lutzen and Bautzen, and then granted an armistice. But in August Austria joined the allies; and, though utterly beaten at Dresden on the 26th and the 27th, the united armies won battle after battle, until at Leipsic, in a three days' struggle, on October 16, 18, and 19, through sheer numbers they inflicted so crushing a defeat upon Napoleon that he was driven across the Rhine. When he refused favourable conditions, first at Frankfort and then at Châtillon, they invaded France in January **1814**, and, in spite of more than one defeat in a last desperate campaign, entered Paris, March 31. The only part England had in this campaign was the dispatch of a small force to Holland, which was badly beaten in an attempt upon Bergen-op-Zoom.

The Bourbons were recalled in the person of Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI.; while Napoleon was forced by his own marshals to abdicate, and was banished with a body-guard and revenue to Elba. The first Peace of Paris, on May 20, between the allies and Louis XVIII., at which Wellington represented England, restored the frontiers of January **1792**, with some additions to France. Great Britain gave back the colonies, except the Mauritius, which she had taken from France, and France was allowed to retain almost all the art treasures of which Napoleon had despoiled the different countries of Europe. Holland and Belgium were formed into one kingdom under the House of Orange, in order that the barrier to France on the north-east might be strong. Switzerland regained her

First Peace of Paris

independence, and the various states of Germany were united by a federal tie. Austria gained Venice and Northern Italy.

Congress of Vienna. Return of Napoleon

A congress met at Vienna, September 14, to settle all remaining questions, when Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, now foreign secretary, attended on the part of Great Britain. Before it had ended its deliberations it was suddenly broken up by the news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and had landed in France; that the whole army, with Ney at its head, had gone over to him; that Louis XVIII., who had already made himself hated, had fled to Brussels; and that Napoleon had again been received with acclamation in Paris. The work had to be done again, and the great powers at once accepted the challenge. They declared Napoleon the common enemy of the world; agreed that each should provide 150,000 men for the maintenance of the Treaty of Paris, and that they would not cease from war except by common consent, and until Napoleon was utterly disabled.[24]

Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Berlin Decrees; Orders in Council	1806	Torres Vedras	1810
Capture of Danish fleet	1807	Fuentes d'Onòro; Albuera	1811
Wellesley in Portugal; Vimiera	1808	Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca	1812
Moore in Spain; Corunna	1808–1809	Vittoria, San Sebastian, Orthez, Toulouse	1813
Wellesley in Portugal; the Douro; Talavera	1809	First Peace of Paris	1814
Walcheren expedition	1809		

Section 7.—*The Waterloo Campaign and Second Peace of Paris*

The next three months were spent in preparation for the final struggle. Exhausted though France was by the slaughter of twenty-five years, Napoleon raised an army of 200,000 men, and on June 12, **1815**, left Paris to place himself at their head. Wellington had a mixed force of 106,000 under his command; but the flower of his old Peninsular troops were in America, and his regiments were largely made up of raw recruits. Blücher had 120,000, and Russia and Austria were getting ready. It was arranged that a forward movement should not be made until all were prepared; but Napoleon resolved to anticipate this, and to strike at Wellington and Blücher at once. His plan was to thrust his army like a wedge between Wellington at Brussels and Blücher at Namur, and to crush each separately. He, therefore, concentrated his force between the Sambre and the Meuse. Wellington meanwhile had 30,000 men at Quatre Bras, where the great roads from Nivelles to Namur and Charleroi to Brussels cross; while Blücher lay

The Waterloo campaign

Ligny and Quatre Bras

[24] Hooper, *Waterloo, Downfall of the First Napoleon*, in Bohn's series.

E. S. Weller

BATTLE OF WATERLOO

18th June 1815 at 11 a.m.

Allied infantry. French infantry.

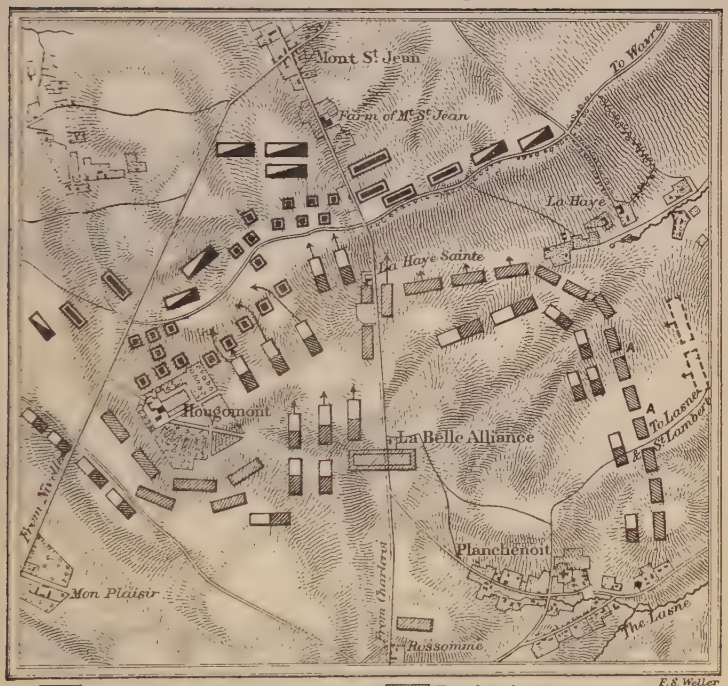
" " cavalry. " " cavalry.

Imperial Guard.

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

18th June 1815, at 5. 30 p. m.



F. S. Weller

Allied infantry.
,, ,, ,, in square
,, ,, cavalry.
Prussians advancing on right rear of French

French infantry.
,, ,, cavalry.
Imperial Guard.
A A French facing Prussians.

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

with 60,000 at Ligny. On June 16 Napoleon sent Ney against Wellington, while he himself attacked Blücher. At Ligny, after a long day of carnage, in which 30,000 men died, Blücher was forced to give way. But so skilfully was the retreat conducted that while Napoleon thought he had gone east to Liège, and under that belief sent Grouchy with 35,000 men to follow him thither, he had really gone northwards to Wavre, so that his communication with Wellington was still maintained. Ney meanwhile had attacked the English at Quatre Bras. A stubborn battle raged from two in the afternoon till nightfall, with no other result than the loss of about 4,500 men on either side.

Wellington, aware of Blücher's movements, now fell back, June 17, fighting all the way, to a position he had already selected at Mont St. Jean, on the Charleroi and Brussels road, behind which stands the village of Waterloo. Blücher promised to join him next day, and when Grouchy, having found out his mistake, marched to Wavre, was far on his way.

Position at Waterloo

Wellington drew up his army in front of Mont St. Jean on a low range of hills running east and west, divided at right angles by the Charleroi and Brussels road. The ridge falls sharply towards the south; the summit is a narrow plateau, whence the ground slopes gently to the north. Thus the movements of the English rear line were hidden from the enemy, while communication was perfectly free, the country being unenclosed. At the foot of the slope, on the western side, stood the château of Hougoumont, with a walled garden, outhouses, orchards, and wood. This was strongly held by a force of English guards, with some Dutch and Hanoverians. In the centre of the position on the great road was the farm of La Haye Sainte, on the lower part of the slope. This, too, was occupied, but not in great strength. On the extreme east were the hamlets of Papelotte, La Haye, and Smolain, also held by the English. Expecting to be helped by Blücher on the left, Wellington made the defence of his right wing his great care. He had with him 70,000 men, of whom 12,000 were good cavalry, and 156 guns. Napoleon's army was drawn up on a parallel range of somewhat lower hills to the south; he had 72,000 men, of whom 15,000 were cavalry, and 240 guns. Thus, while the numbers were nearly even, Wellington was clearly overmatched in artillery.

Attack on Hougoumont

Fully believing that Blücher was far away, Napoleon was so confident of success that he had had a proclamation prepared, dated from Brussels, and ready to be issued as soon as he entered that city. His plan was to strike hard at the weaker part of Wellington's line, the left and centre; while, to divert attention, Hougoumont was attacked in force. The battle thus fell into six distinct

parts: (1) At 11.15 Hougoumont was furiously attacked by large masses of infantry. But it was defended with splendid resolution throughout the day, and, though set on fire, was never taken. (2) The great attack on the British left was delayed by the appearance of the Prussian vedettes on the French right flank. At 1.30 Napoleon gave the word, and, covered by a tremendous artillery fire, Ney led four massive infantry columns across the valley. They mounted the slope to the east of the Charleroi road and reached the ridge; there, charged with the utmost vigour by our foot and horse, they were repulsed and hurled back down the slope. But our pursuing horse went too far—right up to the French guns on the other side of the valley; and there, while their horses were blown and they were in confusion, they were fallen upon by the French heavy cavalry and terribly cut up. (3) Repulsed by our left, Napoleon launched his infantry against the centre, along and on either side of the Charleroi road. La Haye Sainte, where the defenders had not been properly supplied with ammunition, was carried, after a severe fight, and held in force; but that was all that Ney could do; while the necessity of despatching a large force to his right flank to check the steady advance of the Prussians made it impossible for Napoleon to send reinforcements. (4) The French infantry had thus been foiled in every part of the field. But the cavalry were untouched, and they were now called upon; a tremendous artillery duel, in which our forces were grievously over-weighted, preceding the charge. About 4 P.M. 5,000 splendid horsemen, cuirassiers in shining steel, lancers in red, and chasseurs in green and gold, rode majestically across the valley between the Charleroi road and Hougoumont, and, undeterred by the fire of the English artillery, rushed the slope and took the guns. The gunners, abandoning their pieces, ran back into the British squares, which the French charged with splendid but unavailing courage. Staggering under the cool fire from the squares, unable to break through the gleaming line of bayonets, and charged repeatedly by our cavalry, 'big men on big horses,' the French fled down the slope, pursued by a pitiless fire from the British guns, to which, the moment their backs were turned, the gunners ran out from the squares. Time after time the French reformed on the slope and charged again, but always with the same result. The British squares, torn though they were by the fire of the French guns, waited in grim patience for each charge, and stood immovable amid the surging waves of horsemen. Then Napoleon ordered a second body of 5,000, the whole of the cavalry he

Great infantry attack on the British left

Infantry attack on the centre

Great cavalry attack

had in reserve, to try to win where their comrades had failed. It was all in vain, and when at length they fell back discomfited, at least a third of 10,000 splendid horsemen lay dead around the squares. This combat had lasted an hour. (5) The fifth period of the battle was that which tried the English most. Swarms of skirmishers on both sides of La Haye Sainte, supported by heavy bodies of still undaunted cavalry, mounted the slope and poured in an incessant and galling fire upon the allies. The British, impatient to charge, were held resolutely back, and died where they stood. One German regiment charged; the French skirmishers ran back, and, before the regiment could form square, their cavalry crushed into its flank and well-nigh destroyed it. The English guards then charged to rescue the Germans, and, more skilfully handled, formed square rapidly and drove off the foe. The slaughter among the British and Germans during this period was terrible. 'Regiments of horse had been reduced to squadrons; battalions of foot to companies.' Many guns had been disabled, hundreds of the gunners slain; hundreds more had gone to the rear with the wounded; one regiment of horse, the Cumberland Hussars, had fled. But for the advance of the Prussians, which obliged Napoleon still further to weaken his attacking force, it is impossible to say how the fight would have ended.

Attack by infantry skirmishers and cavalry

(6) The sun was setting when Napoleon made his grand final assault. The famous Imperial Guard, 15,000 strong, and still untouched, were ordered to carry the position held by the British right. As they came on in two deep, narrow columns, the French artillery fire, more terrible than ever, tore through the exposed squares, while their skirmishers along the whole line kept up at short range a searching fire into the very heart of our position. Led by Ney on foot—his horse had been shot under him—the right-hand column made straight for the spot where Maitland's brigade of guards was lying concealed at the top of the ridge. Nothing was seen but the duke and his staff standing motionless in the angle of a battery on Maitland's right. The moment the leading files of Ney's column showed above the ridge, Wellington gave the word. The guards sprang to their feet and poured in a volley upon the astonished French at fifty yards' distance. The battery where the duke stood opened fire with fearful effect. Then the guards charged with the bayonet and swept the column away. The second column was broken in the same manner, and, as it staggered back, three British regiments, the 52nd leading the way, wheeled to the left, took it in flank, and tore through it from west to east. And then the cavalry were let loose upon the confused mass, and all together, pursuers and pursued,

Attack of the Imperial Guard

went streaming across the valley and up to the opposite slope. (7) The battle was won, though not yet over. 'On the ridge near the guards, his figure standing out amidst the smoke against the bright north-western sky, Wellington was seen to raise his hat with a noble gesture—the signal for the wasted line of heroes to sweep like a dark wave from their covered positions, and roll out their lines and columns over the plain. With a pealing cheer, the whole line advanced just as the sun was sinking; and the duke, sternly glad, but self-possessed, rode off into the thickest of the fight, attended only by two officers, almost the last of the splendid squadron which careered around him in the morning.' The French guards rallied under Napoleon in squares supported by cavalry. But so unremitting was the pursuit, so fierce were the charges of the British horse, so rapid the progress of the Prussians, that they at length gave way. The resolute defence of Planchenoit, Napoleon's head-quarters, against Blücher, and the devotion of his horse grenadiers, alone prevented his being taken prisoner. When night fell, the whole French army was in hopeless rout. Wellington and Blücher met on the high road, and then by moonlight and all through the night the Prussians relentlessly pursued the flying foe. On this great day the English had lost 15,000 men, the Prussians 7,000, the French 30,000 and 5,000 prisoners. The work of the English army was finished for forty years.

Advance of the British

Napoleon fled to Paris, and abdicated in favour of his son. On July 3 Paris capitulated. Napoleon then tried to escape to America, but was forced to surrender himself on board the English ship the 'Bellerophon,' expressing his intention, in a letter to the Prince Regent, of residing henceforward in England. But the enemy of public peace was to have no further chance of troubling Europe. By common consent he was exiled to the distant island of St. Helena; and there he died in **1821**. Louis XVIII. was again restored. By the Second Treaty of Paris, November 20, **1815**, the frontier fortresses were to be held by the allies for five years; the northern provinces for three years. An indemnity of forty millions was exacted; the pictures, statues, and other works of art carried off by Napoleon were to be restored to their owners. Chiefly through the efforts of Wellington, scarcely any territory was taken from France; for he was persuaded that if she were dismembered there would be a national uprising, and the work would have to be done again. Russia extended her sway beyond the Vistula. Prussia had part of Saxony. Austria secured Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, Dalmatia, &c. But she lost Belgium, now joined to Holland. No country had borne such burdens and sacrifices for

Napoleon sent to St. Helena

Second Treaty of Paris

the welfare of Europe as England. The National Debt, which at the beginning of the war was 240,000,000*l.*, was now 861,000,000*l.* All she asked in return was a single benefit to humanity. So rapid had been the growth of national feeling against the slave trade that the government had been forced to put this question foremost in its dealings with other nations. In **1813** Sweden, and in **1814** Holland, had yielded to English pressure. Portugal had agreed to prohibit the trade north of the equator. France, at the first Treaty of Paris, had promised to abolish it in five years. Spain refused.[25] Castlereagh obtained now from the Congress of Vienna a solemn condemnation of the slave trade, as contrary to the principles of civilisation and human right. Napoleon had so recognised the English feeling that on his return from Elba, as a bid for her friendship, he had abolished the slave trade during his stay in Paris; and Louis XVIII. was now compelled to maintain the abolition.

England and the slave trade

The nation was proud of the triumphs of the army. But the traditional dislike of a standing army (pp. 289, 336, 347) was as keen as ever. When the troops returned after Marlborough's campaign, the soldiers were treated with coldness; and this was still more the case after Waterloo. 'It's us as pays they chaps!' was the cry which greeted the regiments as they landed.[26] The navy, on the other hand, was as much the object of an Englishman's pride as a standing army of his suspicion; and the triumphs of Howe, Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson had erected a firm belief in its invincibility, and in the power of the English sailor to face any odds—a belief but little affected by the not unfrequent reverses of single ships during the late American war (p. 444, *note*). It had one more exploit to accomplish before the long repose began. For centuries the pirates who issued from the harbours of the Barbary States on the north coast of Africa, of which Algiers was the chief, had been the scourge of the Mediterranean. During the war their ravages had multiplied; and hundreds of Christian captives were kept in slavery. Great Britain, as mistress of the seas, was entrusted with the work of putting an end to an intolerable nuisance; and in **1816** Lord Exmouth, commanding in the Mediterranean, was instructed to demand from the Dey of Algiers and the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli the surrender of all slaves without ransom, and a promise never to treat prisoners of war as slaves. Algiers was defended by strong works armed with 500 cannon and

[25] In 1817 she agreed to abolish the trade north of the equator, and from 1820 entirely; and Great Britain paid her 400,000*l.* as compensation. But this was largely evaded.

[26] Spencer Walpole, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 195.

held by 40,000 men. But when the Dey refused compliance, Exmouth, with only five ships of the line and ten smaller vessels, English and Dutch, sailed into the harbour, disabled the batteries, and destroyed the town with his fire. The Dey then acceded to every demand made upon him, and the Mediterranean became the secure highway of commerce.

SECTION 8.—*The Beginning of the Great Peace. Distress*

Under all the stress of war England had flourished apace. Untouched by its ravages, her development had gone on in perfect security, while the whole face of industry was being changed by the mechanical discoveries and engineering improvements already mentioned. She had monopolised the carrying trade of the world, and the wealth of other nations had been spent among her manufacturers and farmers. People supposed that peace would but heighten this prosperity; but they were terribly disappointed. War had brought glory and solid advantage; peace brought commercial panic, and misery to the poor. Every nation cut down its expenditure by one half; England ceased to be the only provider, and the demand for her productions—and, therefore, prices—fell greatly and at once. But the main cause for the paralysis which had set in was the resumption of cash payments. In the early years of the war, when export of merchandise was dangerous and difficult, the drain of gold to pay for our imports was so serious that in **1793** the Bank Restriction Act freed the Bank of England from the obligation to honour its notes in cash. Since a paper currency, having no intrinsic value, will never be really worth its nominal cash value, unless it can be changed into cash at will, the price of everything rose considerably. But in **1821** cash payments were resumed,[27] with the result that prices fell at once below that from which they had risen. Thus the merchant who had stored goods to sell again at a profit found himself obliged to sell at a loss. The landowner who, while wheat was at famine price, had borrowed 1,000*l.* at high interest to drain and enclose a farm of inferior land, now found himself burdened with this interest, although from the fall in the price of wheat and stock his tenant had failed to pay his rent or had thrown up the farm, which was allowed to fall out of cultivation again. The poor, of course, suffered most. The demand for labour of all kinds fell, and the rate of wages, which had not risen in proportion to the rise in prices, fell with it.

Prosperity during war

Resumption of cash payments

Distress caused by the peace

Unhappily the harvest of **1816** was almost a total failure. The

[27] The actual resumption did not take place until 1821; but the knowledge that it was intended had the effect mentioned.

price of bread rose through the operation of the Corn Law of **1815**,[28] while wages still fell. Thousands were thrown upon the rates, and their numbers were swelled by the disbanded soldiers, who wandered through the country without employment. In the agricultural counties the distress was expressed in the burning of farm buildings and hayricks; these were followed by arrests and executions, and then the people settled down into silent despair. The artizan was no better off; his anger was directed specially against the new machinery which threw out of employment so many hand-workmen. In December **1816** thousands met in Spa Fields and marched into the City, collecting arms as they went; but the danger was averted by the firmness of the lord mayor and the City constables. An attack upon the regent robbed the 'radicals,' as they were now called, of sympathy. In February **1817** the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for the last time in England; the Seditious Meetings Bill made death the penalty for refusing to disperse when called upon, and practically put a stop to political discussion; magistrates were authorised to apprehend persons accused of libellous publications. The only idea of the government, which was positively hated by the people, was repression. On March 10 a great meeting was held at Manchester to protest; a march to London was resolved on; the men came provided with blankets to sleep in on the way; and this has, therefore, been known as the march of the 'Blanketeers.' Large numbers began the journey; but the impulse soon died away, and before many miles had been covered the people had dispersed. General risings with more dangerous aims were arranged for March 30 and June 9, but in each case the government received early information, and took sufficient precautions. The country generally was not, however, in sympathy with harsh measures, and except in the case of the June rioters at Derby, where murder had taken place, juries refused to convict. Fortunately the harvest of **1817** was abundant; trade rapidly improved, and discontent as rapidly fell. A measure abolishing many sinecure offices pointed to the revival of the reforming spirit in parliament, while the establishment of savings' banks gave the working classes an opportunity for thrift. Still the government persevered in prosecuting radical writers. The most famous of these trials was that of Hone, a humble bookseller who had published witty parodies, directed against the government, on the Litany, the Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, and the

Discontent, riots, and oppression

The 'Blanketeers'

Abolition of sinecure offices. Savings' Banks

Hone's trial

[28] This prohibited the importation of corn until the price of wheat should reach 80*s*. a quarter.

Catechism. Three times the government indicted him, and three times he was acquitted, proving himself at each trial more than a match for judges and counsel in boldness, readiness, and knowledge.

In **1818** took place the first organised strike, that of the Lancashire cotton-spinners, when the strikers were regularly maintained by the men still in work; it lasted from July to September, and ended in a compromise, by which the men gained their chief ends. Temporary prosperity this year was followed by depression in **1819**; the weavers and colliers especially suffered; it was declared that for fourteen to sixteen hours a day a weaver could earn no more than 2*s.* 7*d.* per week. Parliamentary reform was meanwhile rapidly coming to the front, and reform meetings were held throughout the country. A vast assembly met at St. Peter's Fields, in Manchester, on August 16. The magistrates were alarmed; yeomanry and hussars were brought upon the ground, and, through sheer mismanagement, were allowed to charge the crowd; many persons were killed, others arrested and punished with imprisonment for a seditious meeting. A general outburst of indignation arose at what was always known as the 'Peterloo Massacre;' the common council of the City, which had the privilege of admission on demand to the royal presence (p. 396), being specially outspoken in its remonstrances. The government, however, were unable to stop in their course of repression. By the Six Acts, for which Castlereagh and Lord Sidmouth were responsible, the magistrates were empowered, among other things, to search for arms and to seize blasphemous and seditious libels; all drilling of men was prohibited; a second conviction for libel was to be punished with transportation; further restrictions were placed upon public meetings; and a stamp duty was imposed upon small publications, so as to hinder the spread of cheap radical literature. Surrounded by all this discontent and oppression, but unconscious of it, the old king—blind, deaf, and insane—died on January 2, **1820**, at the age of eighty-one; and the prince regent—liar, sot, and libertine—succeeded him as George IV.

Peterloo massacre

The Six Acts

Death of George III.

The new reign was inaugurated by a conspiracy of a very different kind from anything which had yet taken place. Arthur Thistlewood, who had been an officer in the army, but had subsequently, during travels in America and France, become imbued with revolutionary doctrines, had been one of the leaders at the Spa Fields in **1817**, and in **1818** had been sentenced to a year's imprisonment. Upon his release he again threw himself into agitation; but when the Seditious Meetings Bill was passed he decided upon a measure of great atrocity. With some thirty associates from the lowest orders, he

resolved to assassinate the entire cabinet, set fire to the Mansion House, barracks, &c., and in the confusion establish a provisional government. February 23, when the cabinet were to dine together at Lord Harrowby's, was fixed upon for the deed But, as usual, the plot was betrayed, and a body of constables and troops were sent to arrest the conspirators at Cato Street, where they were assembled. In the scuffle an officer was shot dead, and others wounded; the whole gang, however, was arrested, and Thistlewood, with four of his companions, paid with their lives on May 1. Riots at Glasgow and Bonnymuir were dispersed, though not without bloodshed; and with them ended five of the most miserable years of modern times.

The Cato Street Conspiracy

Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Spa Fields	1816	Death of George III. . . .	1820
The Blanketeers . . .	1817	Cato Street Conspiracy . .	1820
Peterloo	1819		

Summary of the Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century has seen the disappearance of one dynasty, with the succession, the dangers, and the permanent settlement of that which still rules; the gradual development of party government (pp. 334, 354, 363), and of administration by a cabinet (p. 363, *note*). It has witnessed the crown under restraint, and the absorption of all political power by the 'grandees' (p. 389). It has seen that restraint broken through by the pertinacity of George III., and the compliance of North, and that absorption of power checked, while the possible rebound towards autocracy on the part of the crown has been frustrated, by the great government of the second Pitt. It has seen a gigantic extension of dominion, the result of the heroism of Chatham and of the men into whom he infused his spirit; and it has seen an empire lost through the obstinacy of a king and the narrow folly of his advisers. It has seen the progress of political reform delayed for a generation by the most tremendous outburst of revolt against tyranny that the world has ever seen. In Chatham it has possessed the statesman in whom beyond all others was concentrated the national spirit, and under whose spell the nation has arisen from a sordid acquiescence in incapacity to a superb confidence; and it has seen that confidence led in arms by the greatest sailor and one of the greatest generals of history.

But most of all the eighteenth century, or rather the longer period from the Revolution of 1689 to Waterloo, is the history of the expan-

sion of England;[29] an expansion gained by a war which has been active during sixty-four years, or more than half the whole period, and which, in differing forms, has throughout been against France. It has been well called the 'Second Hundred Years War' (p. 113) for the possession, not of France, but of the New World. It falls into seven clearly marked periods: (1) The war of William III. against Louis XIV., **1689–1697**, wholly in Europe. (2) Marlborough's war, **1702–1713**, called the war of the Spanish Succession, the true meaning of which is seen at the Peace of Utrecht, by which France is prevented from possessing Spain and her colonies, but a Bourbon is placed on the Spanish throne; and England gains Gibraltar, Minorca, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and, especially, the sole right to carry slaves. Then, after a long period of peace through exhaustion, (3) the war of Jenkins's ears, **1739–1748**—a colonial and trading war against Spain and her Bourbon king, transformed into war against France in **1744**. Then another period of peace—which is no peace, but a time of incessant, though informal, conflict in America and India—is followed by (4) the war of Pitt, Wolfe, Clive, and Howe, **1756–1761**—a war of direct rivalry for the New World, in which England is left completely victorious; (5) the American war, **1775–1783**, when France, by helping the revolted colonies, tries hard to regain her footing in Canada and the West Indies; (6) the first French war, **1793–1802**, when Napoleon seeks to strike at England's power through Egypt,[30] and is foiled by Nelson's victory at the Nile—a war glorious at sea and humiliating on land; and (7) the second French war, begun because England will not give up Malta, which Napoleon wants as the key to Egypt, whence he may once more try to regain India; and ending with the capture of Mauritius, the last place from which France can threaten our empire there—a war in which, after Trafalgar, the work of the British fleet is well-nigh done, and our triumphs are henceforth won by Wellington and the army, until with the great day of Waterloo the rivalry of a hundred years is ended, and a long repose settles upon Great Britain.

[29] Seeley, *The Expansion of England*. [30] Seeley, *Napoleon the First*.

BOOK X

THE ERA OF REFORM

CHAPTER I

GEORGE IV. 1820-1830

SECTION 1.—*Free Trade and Reform*

WE have seen how completely the French Revolution had checked political reform in England. But a generation had grown to manhood since that time, and this effect was rapidly passing away. The reign of George IV. is consequently memorable as the beginning of the era of reform. At the outset, however, all attention was concentrated upon two questions of importance in the royal family. The aversion of the king for his wife, Caroline of Brunswick (p. 416, *note*), had led to their separation after the birth of their only child, Charlotte, in **1796**. In **1817** the young princess was married to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but died after giving birth to a dead child. Of the six remaining sons of George III., the Duke of York had no children; the marriage of the Duke of Sussex was invalid; the Duke of Cumberland, the youngest, had children, but his own character and that of his wife were such that the succession in his line was not desired. The other three, the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, were therefore now hastily married. The first had two daughters, who died in infancy; the second had one daughter, Victoria, born in **1819**; the third had a son and two daughters.

The succession

Since **1814** Caroline of Brunswick had lived abroad. Stories of very indecorous, if not culpable, conduct, came to England; and her husband, bent on a divorce, induced the government to send a committee of investigation to Milan. At the accession she was refused the royal title, and the Liturgy was altered so as to omit her name. But the people, who had no love for the king, were enthusiastic in her favour; and when she boldly came to England her journey from Dover, and through the City, was one long triumph. All attempts at conciliation breaking down over the question of the omission of her name, Liverpool brought in a bill of pains and penalties, to deprive her of her title and to secure a divorce. Chiefly through the brilliant

advocacy of her counsel, Brougham and Denman, it passed the Lords only with difficulty: and the certainty of its rejection by the Commons compelled its withdrawal. Canning, the one man of mark in the government, resigned in disgust at the treatment of the queen. The unhappy woman did not long enjoy her triumph. At the coronation in July she was turned away from the doors like a common intruder, and the insult broke her heart. She died next month. Even then the scandal was not complete. By her own desire she was to be buried at Brunswick. The king refused to allow her body to pass through the City. The mob insisted: the military escort fired, and killed several persons. But the people then blockaded the streets with such resolution that they had their way, and the lord mayor himself headed the procession through the City. Thus ended an episode as disgraceful to the king as to the government that had obeyed his shameful commands.

Trial and death of the queen

While the manufacturing industries continued to improve, agriculture grew more and more distressed. The old Corn Law of **1815** had encouraged over-production: the abundant harvest of **1820** still further lowered the price of wheat, and the glut in the market was so great that the failure of the succeeding harvest had scarcely any effect upon prices, but only added to the farmers' distress. Hundreds of farms were thrown out of cultivation, and landlords and tenants were alike impoverished. They clamoured for help from parliament, for the wholesale reduction of taxation, depreciation of the currency, and repudiation of the national debt; but all that they could gain from parliament in face of the growing strength of free-trade feeling was the repeal of the old Corn Law (p. 453, *note*), which had been quite inoperative, since wheat had never reached 80*s.* a quarter, and the passing of another equally inoperative. The result was that this conservative class suddenly became political agitators: landlords and tenants joined the radicals in demanding parliamentary reform.

Agricultural distress

The landed interest become reformers

On August 12, **1822**, Lord Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, died by his own hand. The effect of this event can scarcely be overstated. For many years he had been practically prime minister, and the mainstay of Toryism. Though a kindly man, he hated popular movements, and had been the unflinching advocate of repression at home, while abroad he exerted the influence of England against the spirit of revolt aroused by the French revolution. His place was filled by his old rival, Canning, whose friends Robinson and Huskisson became chancellor of the Exchequer and president of the Board of Trade, and the

Effects of death of Lord Castlereagh

result was a complete revolution both in domestic and in foreign policy.

The first illustration of the change was the reform of the Criminal Code. Up to **1808** death was the legal penalty for more than 200 offences, the larger number being of the most trivial character, such as cutting down a tree, or personating a Greenwich pensioner. Such a code was at once barbarous and useless: from **1805** to **1817**, for instance, out of 655 prisoners convicted of stealing five shillings'-worth from a shop not one was hanged, though 113 had been sentenced to death. But, on the other hand, many executions revolting in their cruelty had taken place;[1] and from **1808** onwards Romilly, and then Mackintosh, fought unceasingly, but almost in vain, for reform against the opposition of the Lords, and especially of the bishops. In **1823**, however, Sir Robert Peel took up the cause, and carried four acts exempting more than 100 felonies from death. For the first time the Tory party had passed a popular measure.

Reform of the Criminal Code

Then followed the partial repeal of the Navigation Act. Passed in **1651** (p. 285), this act had been the leading cause of the supremacy of England at sea, and had placed in her hands the carrying trade of the world. But this effect could continue only so long as other nations refrained from retaliating. The Americans soon saw this, and imposed heavy duties on all articles imported into the States in British ships. The result was that an American ship taking goods from England or an English ship taking goods from America returned in ballast, and each thus only earned half profits. In **1815**, therefore, the act was repealed for America, and shortly afterwards for Portugal. In **1823** trade was freed from one of its principal trammels by power being given to the king in council to form treaties with foreign powers for the admission of their ships into English ports, and *vice versâ*, on equal terms. Several other acts were passed in the direction of free trade. The bounty system, by which the home trade was encouraged by a payment from government on export, and by which, therefore, the manufacturer was enabled to sell cheaply abroad and dear at home, was partially or totally abolished. To revive the depression in the West Indies, which had followed the abolition of the

Partial repeal of the Navigation Act

Free trade measures

[1] Lecky, ch. xxiii.; Walpole, ch. ii. The more humane temper that was springing up was shown by acts passed against cruelty to animals, and abolishing the revolting regulations for the burial of suicides. In 1824 the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded by Richard Martin, member for Galway. The horrors of prison life had already been mitigated by Howard and others.

slave trade, rum was admitted on payment of a duty equal to the tax on British spirits, while the illicit manufacture and smuggling of Scotch and Irish whisky was checked by reduction of duty. The various duties on coal were replaced by a uniform tax of 5*s.* a ton. Hitherto all coals imported into London had come by sea from Durham and Northumberland, since a heavier duty and other restrictions had prevented their entrance from inland counties by river or canal. By the change now made this monopoly was done away with, and a great impulse given to coal-mining. Of late years the export of raw wool had been prohibited, and free import allowed, in order that our manufacturers might obtain it cheaply. To meet the remonstrances of the graziers, a duty had then been placed upon import. Naturally, the manufacturers in turn raised an outcry. To satisfy both, the import duty was reduced, and export allowed on a small duty. Still more important was the change effected in the silk duties. To secure a monopoly to the manufacturer in Great Britain, the importation of silk goods had hitherto been absolutely prohibited; while, to induce him to get the raw material from British possessions only, prohibitive duties had been placed upon raw silk from India, China, and Italy. These regulations had led to smuggling to an enormous extent, since silk is at once valuable and light. They were now swept away. Silk goods from abroad were admitted on payment of a duty of 30 per cent. on their value, while the British weavers were encouraged by the reduction of the duty on the raw material to almost a nominal sum. The chief seat of the silk trade, introduced in Elizabeth's reign (p. 217, *note*), was originally in Spitalfields. By various acts, up to **1811**, power had been given to the magistrates there to fix the wages paid to the men and women employed in the trade, and this had resulted in skilled and unskilled men earning the same wage, and in weaving by machinery being paid at the same rate as weaving by hand. Thus it followed that all improvements in machinery were discouraged, and the trade was driven away to Norwich, Manchester, and other towns. These acts were now repealed.

The Spitalfields weavers

Finally, the Combination Acts, which made it illegal for workmen to meet for the discussion of the rate of wages, and the act which made it penal for an artisan to leave the kingdom, and subjected him to imprisonment for the mere intention to do so—acts intended to secure cheap labour for the manufacturer—were done away with. They had led to continual conflict between masters and men, and had been largely evaded. At first all combinations were legalised, but intimidation forbidden on either side. Unfortunately the earliest effect was to increase the ill-feeling on both

Labour laws

sides. A strike in a single factory in Glasgow was met by a general lock-out on the part of the masters there; and this led to riot and assassination. In **1821** the law was repealed, and another was passed which lasted for more than forty years, and which, while allowing freedom of discussion, prohibited any person doing any act, or making any threat, to induce a manufacturer to alter the rules of his factory, or a workman to accept or leave any employment or join any club. In other words, combination for a strike was illegal.[2]

A period of rapid manufacturing prosperity followed these changes, while a rise in the price of corn relieved the farmers and landlords.

Rapid prosperity

People began to acquire wealth, and to look for profitable investments abroad. The Spanish American colonies, which had become independent, wanted capital to work their silver mines, and a rage for speculation set in. An impulse was given directly to the iron, machinery, and shipbuilding trades, and through them to every other. The second South Sea Bubble lasted until April **1825**. Then the reaction set in. The companies called up the unpaid capital of their shares; this caused a drain on the private banks, which were brought in many cases to ruin through the heavy advances they had made to speculators on insufficient security at the time when trade was good, and through them on the Bank of England. The confident attitude of the government alone averted a commercial disaster. Much of the harm had arisen from the unchecked issue by the small banks of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes; thus an excessive paper currency had been established, which, when the run came, the banks were unable to redeem. An act was passed now to prevent the issue of these notes.[3] In Scotland however, where they had been in use for a very long period, an opposition at once sprang up as violent as that in Ireland over 'Wood's halfpence' (p. 364); it was led with great spirit and humour by Sir Walter Scott, whose letters, under the signature of 'Malachi Malagrowther,' achieved the same fame and success as the 'Drapier's Letters' of Dean Swift (p. 364). The act was therefore limited to England alone. Another effect was the establishment of joint-stock banks, as in Scotland; possessing large capital, they had been able to withstand the crisis. In the wake of the panic came renewed distress. The employers attacked the late legislation; the unemployed

Followed by commercial panic

'Malachi Malagrowther' and the 1*l.* notes

[2] Violence and intimidation are still offences; but combination to do any act in a trade dispute is not a criminal conspiracy, unless the act is one which if done by a single person would be punishable as a crime. This change was made in 1875.

[3] At this moment a proposal is being made by Mr. Goschen, the chancellor of the exchequer, for the reintroduction of 1*l.* notes.

broke out in riots and destruction of machinery, which were not checked without bloodshed.

In the midst of all this trouble Lord Liverpool was struck down with fatal illness in **1827**. A gentle, industrious, and conciliatory man, of tact, judgment, and ability, he had never been really prime minister. Castlereagh for the first ten years, and Canning, who succeeded him, for the last four, had ruled the state.

Canning, prime minister

Section 2.—*Removal of Religious Disabilities*

The question of the removal of Catholic disabilities had meanwhile become prominent. In Ireland indeed, except that they could not be members of parliament, Catholics had obtained, in **1793**, practical equality with Protestants. But in Great Britain they could neither vote, become magistrates, nor serve as officers in the army. The Union made the contrast absurd. From **1812** their cause made constant progress in the Commons; but all attempts at relief were frustrated by the Lords, headed by the king's brother, the Duke of York. In **1821** a bill for the entire abolition of the disabilities, due safeguards being given to the Established Church, passed easily in the Lower House, to be rejected in the Lords by thirty-nine, who, as it was said, 'saved the Thirty-nine Articles.' The necessity of a settlement was made more clear by events in Ireland, where distress and disorder were universal in the teeming population, and where armed bands of Catholics and Protestants were frequently in collision.[1] In **1823**, Daniel O'Connell, with a few other lawyers of repute, founded the Catholic Association, which from small beginnings soon became the rallying-point for all his co-religionists. It organised the whole country, established a branch in

Catholic disabilities

The Catholic Association

[1] An enormous increase in the population of Ireland, from three and a half to seven millions in a generation, had resulted in terrible destitution. They were too many for the soil, and both the woollen and linen industries, which had grown up in Dublin and Belfast under the free trade she had won in the reign of George III. (p. 406), had been almost ruined by the introduction of machinery in England, with which Ireland, having neither coal nor iron, could not compete. A swarming population was thus turned adrift. Moreover, when the 40*s.* freehold franchise was gained by the Catholics (p. 428), every landowner increased his political power by cutting up his land into these small freeholds, which led to a further growth of the population. But in 1816 the harvest failed, while an Ejectment Act, passed to render eviction easy, was cruelly taken advantage of. Before long it was reckoned that a million persons were living by beggary, plunder, and outrage, in spite of the severest measures. In 1822 the potatoes failed, the most terrible calamity that can fall upon the Irish, and absolute famine was barely staved off by liberal subscriptions from England. In 1823 the injustice caused by the cruel exactions of tithes from Catholics for the support of the Protestant Established Church was to a great degree removed by the Tithes Act.

every town and village, with a secretary to collect regular subscriptions, and sat openly in Dublin. Its funds were spent in agitation and in defence of Catholics who were prosecuted for sedition. The alarm of the government was shown in an abortive prosecution of O'Connell for treasonable language, and in an act for the suppression of the Catholic Association, which was easily evaded, and which served only to increase the irritation in both countries. A brighter prospect seemed to open when, upon Liverpool's death, Canning became prime minister in **1827**. The strict Tories—Wellington, Peel, Lord Eldon, the chancellor, and four others—resigned, and Canning fell back upon the Whigs, who agreed with him about emancipation. Unfortunately his health, always weak, gave way before the vexation of seeing a fresh corn law, by which imported wheat was to pay duty on a sliding scale, rising or falling as the price fell or rose, defeated in the Lords. On August 8, **1827**, he died. His follower Robinson, now Lord Goderich, succeeded; but he was unfitted to lead a party, and his ministry lasted only to December, when Wellington formed a cabinet partly of Tories, of whom Peel was the chief, and partly of Canning's friends, Lord Lyndhurst, Huskisson, and Lord Palmerston. But the radical difference of opinion upon the Catholic question soon rendered it unworkable. Huskisson, Palmerston, and others resigned; and, Lord Lyndhurst having joined him, Wellington then formed a purely Tory ministry. Strangely enough, it was this very ministry which was to pass the long-delayed measure. They were forced to it by the supremacy which O'Connell had established in Ireland, and by the remarkable display of his power in inducing his followers to keep the peace at a moment when Ireland was again ranged in two bitterly hostile factions, ready to fly at one another's throats. Wellington looked at a political question as he looked at a campaign. He saw that emancipation had become a necessity, as a retreat in the field was sometimes a necessity; and Peel agreed with him. In spite of the vehement counter-agitation which at once rose, and which made men fear a repetition of the Gordon riots; in spite of Peel's rejection by the University of Oxford, his constituency; and in spite of the strenuous opposition of the king, they insisted; and the Catholic Relief Bill became law on April 16, **1829**.[5] The franchise in Great Britain was given to the Catholics. The regency, the lord lieutenancy, and the lord chancellorship in either country were alone excepted from the offices which they

Death of Canning. Wellington prime minister

The Relief Bill carried by a Tory ministry

[5] The course of this measure led to a duel between Wellington and Lord Winchilsea. The duke fired first, and missed, and Lord Winchilsea then fired into the air. For Peel's conduct see Thursfield's 'Peel,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*, ch. iv.

might hold. Parliament was thrown open to them. At the same time, to prevent the Protestant interest in Ireland from being utterly swamped, an act was passed to raise the freehold qualification there (p. 462, *note*) from 40*s.* to 10*l.*; the Catholic Association had been already suppressed by a more effective act than the last. Unfortunately, the Relief Act was robbed of its grace by the exclusion of O'Connell from sitting for Clare, on the ground that he had been elected before the passing of the act, which referred only to members elected subsequently. A fresh election merely meant a fresh triumph for O'Connell, who at once began an agitation for the restoration of the 40*s.* freeholders and for the repeal of the Union. Continued distress from bad trade in Ireland, the discontent of the ousted Catholic freeholders, and of the Protestants who had lost their supremacy, led to an intensity of hatred which showed itself in sanguinary faction fights and in universal lawlessness. Great Britain was suffering also, and, had the opposition been united, the government would probably have fallen. At length Lord Althorp, a man of admirable sense and the highest personal character, became the leader of a united party, bent upon economy and parliamentary reform. But at this moment occurred the sudden death of George IV., January 26, **1830**, an event lamented by no one, for he was one of the most worthless of our kings. His constant affection for his first wife, Mrs. Fitzherbert (p. 416), is the only creditable thing recorded of him. A locket containing her portrait was found upon his neck when he died.

Death of George IV.

Previous to the passing of the Relief Bill, the disabilities of Protestant Dissenters had in like measure disappeared. Ever since the reign of William III. the Test and Corporation Acts had been habitually violated, and an Indemnity Act, passed each year, released the Dissenters from the penalties they had legally incurred. In **1828** Lord John Russell, a son of the Duke of Bedford, carried the repeal of these acts. On swearing 'solemnly and sincerely in the presence of Almighty God and upon the true faith of a Christian' never to attempt injury to the Established Church, they were relieved of all disabilities. The form of the oath, however, still kept the Jews outside the pale.

Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts

Section 8.—*England and Liberty abroad*

In nothing did the death of Castlereagh and Canning's accession to power have more striking effect than in the foreign policy of England. The impulse of the French Revolution had spread rapidly in other lands; the Spanish colonies had gained their independence by the volunteer help of England; Spain, Portugal, and

Naples had successively thrown off the kings imposed upon them after **1815**, and had set up popular governments. But in **1815** the autocratic rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, joined shortly by France and Spain, had formed the Holy Alliance, by which they had agreed to be governed by Christian principles. In **1820** they decided that these revolutions were unchristian. Their principle was that 'useful changes in legislation and administration ought only to emanate from the free will and intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has burdened with the responsibilities of power.' In other words, governments were to be despotisms. Austria therefore overran Italy, and restored the Bourbon despotism in Naples; while France, with the encouragement of Russia, made ready to march into Spain. These movements had not been opposed by Castlereagh, who had no sympathy with popular aspirations; but Canning at once declared that England would be no party to them. In spite however of his remonstrance, France invaded Spain, and restored the Bourbon Ferdinand VI., who destroyed every vestige of liberty. Canning hereupon, backed by the United States, formally recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies, Buenos Ayres, Columbia, and Mexico. 'I resolved,' he said, 'that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old,' as Chatham had determined to 'conquer France in America' (p. 380). When the French troops threatened our ancient ally Portugal, Canning made it clear that such a step would lead to war; so, also, in **1826**, when Spain was about to invade her, the despatch of English troops put an end to the scheme. The magnificent speech in which Canning in that year condemned the whole policy of the Holy Alliance ranks with the greatest orations of Chatham or Fox.

Popular movements on the Continent

Suppressed by the great powers

Canning recognises the Spanish colonies

Protects Portugal

But it was the revolt of Greece against the Turks in **1820** which chiefly roused British sympathy. During **1821** and **1822** a terrible war went on. Enthusiasm for the Greeks was intensely excited by the heroic defence of Missolonghi in **1825**, and burning indignation by the massacre of every soul in the town except women and children, who were carried into slavery, when it was at length stormed. Learning that the Turks actually intended to carry off the entire Greek population into bondage, Canning at once declared it should not be permitted. In July **1827** he secured the consent of Russia, Turkey's invariable foe, and of France, which always acted in concert with Russia, that force should be used if necessary to compel Turkey to grant the Greeks

The revolt of Greece

Sympathy in Great Britain

their independence on payment of tribute. The Turkish fleet was lying in the harbour of Navarino, intending to join the Egyptian ships in an attack upon the Ionian Islands. Sir Edward Codrington, the English admiral, forbade its moving; and, when the Turkish commander persisted, he sailed into the harbour with the united English, French, and Russian squadrons, and utterly destroyed the enemy's fleet, leaving but a single frigate and fifteen small ships out of sixty (October 18).

Battle of Navarino

Canning had died very shortly before this event. Wellington, as was natural, took a different tone. As a soldier, he always sympathised with authority, and he used language about Navarino which roused great anger in England. He desired, too, to see Turkey strong in her war with Russia, whose evident intention to seize Constantinople was already the source of anxiety to the western nations. In the end however Turkey was obliged to concede tributary independence to the Greeks, and, although Constantinople was saved, to sign a very humiliating treaty with Russia at Adrianople. In the affairs of Portugal also Wellington showed a backwardness to help the cause of liberty, which provoked sharp comparisons with Canning. He was, indeed, singularly unfortunate in foreign policy. Two of the main results of Waterloo and the settlement which followed had been the restoration of the Bourbons to the French throne, and the annexation, sorely against its will, of Catholic Belgium to Protestant Holland (p. 450). Both were now undone. In France the bigoted folly of Charles X., brother and successor of Louis XVIII., brought about a revolution in July **1830**, which resulted in the placing of Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans (p. 342), on the throne; while in the same year Belgium revolted from her enforced union, and soon after regained her independence.

Wellington's policy

Its failure

Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Trial and death of Queen Caroline	1820	Death of Lord Liverpool	1827
Death of Lord Castlereagh	1822	Canning prime minister	1827
Canning foreign secretary	1822	Death of Canning	1827
Canning favours liberty abroad 1822–1827		Wellington prime minister	1827
Catholic association	1822	Battle of Navarino	1827
Reform measures to	1825	Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts	1828
Commercial panic; joint-stock banks	1826	Catholic Relief Act	1829
		Death of George IV.	1830

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM IV.[1] *THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT.* 1830–1837

SECTION 1.—*Parliamentary Reform.* 1830–1832

THUS, at the accession of William IV., Wellington was discredited as a foreign minister, and disliked both by Radicals for opposing parliamentary reform and by Tories for having yielded to the demand for Catholic emancipation. Distress was widespread, and the reforming spirit was excited by the success of the July revolution in Paris. In Birmingham a powerful political union was formed, pledged to the cause of reform; and an indiscreet expression of Wellington, that the representation could not be improved, merely added to the storm against his ministry.[2] In November he resigned. Lord Grey, now sixty-six years of age, who had proposed reform thirty-seven years ago, became prime minister; Althorp was chancellor of the exchequer; Palmerston, foreign secretary; Lord Melbourne, home secretary; Brougham, lord chancellor; Russell, paymaster of the forces; and Edward Stanley, grandson of the Earl of Derby, Irish secretary.[3] Only four of the ministers were in the Commons: the ministry which was to carry reform was an almost purely aristocratic body. The opposition was led by Sir Robert Peel.

The Reform Bill ministry

The first business of the government was one of repression. The southern counties were under a veritable reign of terror. Bodies of peasants, 1,500 strong, fought the yeomanry, destroyed machinery, burnt farm buildings, and levied contributions. They were at length crushed by superior force, and more than 1,000 persons were tried by a special commission.

Risings of peasants

On the question of reform there were wide differences in the cabinet. The bill upon which they at length agreed, with the king's approval, proposed the disfranchisement of all boroughs with less than 2,000 inhabitants, and the semi-disfranchisement of all with less than 4,000; the extension of the franchise to all

The first Reform Bill

[1] Duke of Clarence (p. 457). For this reign, and that of Victoria up to 1858, see Spencer Walpole's *History of England*.

[2] Before it fell, Peel had created the London police force. The use of spring guns, and similar methods of protecting property, had been made illegal, and the police was established to give the protection necessary. When chief secretary for Ireland in 1814, he had extended throughout that country the police force which Wellington, in 1809, had formed for Dublin—now the Royal Irish Constabulary. They at once acquired the nicknames of 'Bobbies' and 'Peelers;' and these were now transferred to the London police.

[3] For the characters of these ministers, see Thursfield's 'Peel,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*, p. 102.

10*l.* householders in boroughs, and 50*l.* leaseholders and 10*l.* freeholders in counties; the grant of a member to every town of over 10,000, and of two members to every town of over 20,000 inhabitants; and of additional members to all counties with 150,000. Of the 167 members thus free for disposal, five each were allotted to Scotland and Ireland, one to Wales, fifty-five to English counties, and forty-four to large unrepresented towns; the total number being thus lessened. Both in Scotland and Ireland the borough franchise was to be the same as in England, the county franchise in the former being also the same; in Ireland the county franchise remained unaltered (p. 464).

The bill passed its second reading by only one vote, and was then defeated on an amendment that the number of members in England and Wales should not be diminished. The Tories hoped that Grey would resign. When it was found that he had determined to appeal to the country their anger was as great as that of the Whigs had been when Pitt refused to dissolve (p. 412). In the Lords a scene of the wildest confusion took place, the peers nearly coming to blows. But the country was delighted. London was illuminated, and the windows of Wellington and other Tory peers were smashed by the mob. A great Whig majority was returned at the new elections, to the cry of 'The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!': it was at once reintroduced, and passed with ease by the Commons, to be thrown out by the Lords on the second reading, October 8, **1831**. Indignation was loud and deep. The Whig newspapers appeared in mourning; the common council of London met to support the government. Yeomanry resigned because their officers had voted against the bill. In Birmingham muffled peals of the church bells were rung; 150,000 persons met and passed resolutions to refuse to pay taxes until the measure was carried. Riots broke out in other large towns. At Bristol a terrible scene was witnessed, the result of the gross mismanagement of the authorities: the bishop's palace and the mansion-house were burned, and much bloodshed took place. Reform unions were established throughout the country. Such was the state of things when the Reform Bill was brought in for the third time. It differed from the previous ones (1) in retaining the full number of English and Welsh members; (2) in basing disfranchisement not solely on the population, but on the number of houses and amount of assessed taxes as well, thus disfranchising only thirty, instead of more than fifty, boroughs. The third reading was carried in the Commons without a division. To override the hostile majority in the Lords, Brougham proposed a wholesale creation of new peers (p. 359).

Dissolution of parliament

The second Reform Bill

The third Reform Bill

To avoid this the king interposed with such success that the second reading passed by a majority of nine; but it was again defeated on an amendment postponing the disfranchisement. Earl Grey at once resigned, May 9, **1832**. But it was found impossible to form an anti-reform government, and Wellington himself urged the recall of Grey, who resumed office on condition that he might create any number of peers necessary to carry the bill: the Lords gave way, and on June 7, **1832**, the famous Reform Bill, which transferred political power to the middle classes, received the royal assent.[4]

Resignation and recall of Earl Grey. Passing of the Reform Bill

A vast change had taken place in the country since **1815**. The population of Great Britain and Ireland had increased from nineteen to twenty-four millions; and wealth had increased in a double ratio. The whole system of locomotion had been revolutionised by the creation and development of railways, in which the capital withdrawn from agriculture was invested.[5] Under Peel and Brougham the worst abuses in the law courts had been removed, the Welsh judicature abolished, the number of judges increased, and uniformity of practice introduced in the common law courts. The criminal code had been further reformed by the removal of house-breaking, horse and sheep stealing, coining, and most cases of forgery from the death-list. Althorp had done away with the absurd restrictions of the game law by an act permit-

Changes since 1815

Railways

Legal reforms

[4] It came at a time of widespread confusion and distress. 'Disturbances in Ireland, riots in the provinces, the organisation of the working classes, a stagnant trade, an inelastic revenue, an overstocked labour market, a pauperised population, were portending trouble at home. The cholera'—which had broken out in 1831, and which found a fertile field for its ravages in towns reeking with dirt, and among a people enfeebled by hunger and the neglect of all sanitary laws—'was striking down its helpless victims in every village; fanatical preachers were exciting the superstitious feelings of a frightened people; political agitators were bestirring them to action; the king had lost his popularity from his fainthearted support of his ministry; the old ruling classes were regarded with detestation for opposing the wishes of the people; numbers were arrayed against property; the old machinery of government had been abolished; a new untried machinery had been substituted for it; and men gloomily asked each other where the revolution, which had already begun, was to end.'

[5] The only method of land locomotion besides roads was that of wooden or iron tramways with horse power. Steamboats were already in use; the first was constructed by Fulton, an American, in 1803; in 1838 a steamboat crossed the Atlantic. Murdoch, Trevithick, and Gurney had tried steam coaches on roads. In 1812 George Stephenson, a collier's son, made a locomotive which would draw heavy loads on iron rails at three miles an hour. On September 27, 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened. The Liverpool and Manchester line, engineered by Stephenson over the famous Chat Moss, was opened in 1829, when Stephenson's engine, the 'Rocket,' travelled at thirty-five miles an hour. Wellington and several of the ministry attended, and Huskisson was unfortunately killed by the 'Rocket.'

ting anyone to take out a licence to kill or sell game. Abuses in the appointments in the church had been lessened. Real estate had been made liable to debt—*i.e.* a man might no longer sell his estate and hold back the money from his creditors. Another act had taken from Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres the monopoly they enjoyed of exhibiting regular drama. In **1828**, for the first time, the City admitted converted Jews to the privilege of citizenship. The Established Church in Canada—an absurdity in a country chiefly peopled by French Catholics and Scotch Presbyterians—was allowed to die out. It was no longer possible for debtors to escape arrest by buying seats in the house; and an act was now passed depriving members of the power of defying the ecclesiastical courts, which had jurisdiction over cases of probate and divorce. The principle running throughout these and the greater measures which have been mentioned more in detail, was the abolition of privilege and monopoly: and it was this principle which was crowned by the Reform Bill.

Section 2.—*Work of the First Reformed Parliaments*, 1832–1837

The first reformed parliament met on January 29, **1833**. The reformers had 486 seats, their opponents 172. Actually there were now four well-defined parties: (1) Radicals, who looked for the most drastic reforms; (2) the Moderate Whigs, who soon took the name of Liberals; (3) the Moderate Tories, or Conservatives, under Peel's leadership; (4) the Old Tories, represented by Eldon. The second and third often coalesced, and were attacked by the other two by the Tories because they went too far in the path of reform; by the Radicals because they did not go far enough.

Parties in the reformed House of Commons

Ireland was first dealt with. Tithes were extorted only at the point of the bayonet, and the people were angry that the Reform Bill had not restored the forty-shilling freeholder (p. 464). O'Connell, the 'uncrowned king' of Ireland, was again agitating for the repeal of the Union, and terrorism by murder and outrage reigned throughout the land. A policy of 'kicks and kindness' was adopted. A strong Coercion Act was followed by a Church Act, which reduced the archbishopries and bishopries from four and twenty-two to two and twelve respectively. The bishops' lands were to be sold, and the salaries of future bishops reduced. A tax was laid upon all benefices, and those where no duty had been done for three years were suspended.[6] The important question then was, to

Ireland

'Kicks and kindness'

[6] Stanley had, too, given a great boon to Ireland in the Board of National Education, composed of Catholics as well as Protestants, to regulate all

what purpose the revenues of the suppressed bishopries should be applied. The government wished to appropriate them to lay purposes, but were defeated; while the Lords successfully insisted that the funds from the suspended benefices should be applied to building churches. Stanley now dealt with the tithes. He had passed an act in **1831** commuting them for a fixed payment from the occupier. But the small Catholic farmers refused to pay, and the Protestant clergymen, though backed by the whole power of the government, could not collect them. In **1833**, therefore, the government themselves paid 1,000,000*l.* arrears to the tithe owners, and undertook to collect them in future. Other vain attempts were made to settle the difficulty; and in **1838** Lord John Russell passed a bill laying a reduced charge on the landlord instead of the occupier, paying arrears to the amount of 650,000*l.*, and abandoning 260,000*l.* more.

Irish tithes

In **1833** Stanley became secretary for the colonies. He at once had his hands full with the task of abolishing slavery in the British West Indies, the horrors of which—worse, if possible, than those of the slave trade had been laid bare by Thomas Fowell Buxton in **1823**. As one story after another of abominable cruelty was proved to the House of Commons, the determination to have done once for all with the accursed thing deepened rapidly. On May 14, **1833**, Stanley brought in his bill. To abolish slavery without causing too great an injury to the colonists, the slaves were nominally freed from August 1, **1834**, but were apprenticed to their owners for seven years, after which they were to be absolutely free, while 20,000,000*l.* were paid to the planters in compensation. Unfortunately the masters determined to get all they could out of their apprenticed slaves during the years still left them; and their sufferings, in spite of all the efforts of the government, were probably greater during those years than before.[7]

Abolition of slavery

But we had slaves at home. Much of the work in factories could be done well and cheaply by children. Thousands of children, from five years of age and upwards, were swept into the factories

state-aided schools. In a few years 170,000 children were in schools under this board.

[7] The feeling roused by these atrocities was so strong that it was finally decided that the date of emancipation should be August 1, 1838. The slave trade to America continued with all its horrors. Some 150,000 slaves were carried every year. English cruisers received so much prize-money for every slave they found on captured ships. But the captains had a simple way of avoiding this: if pursued, they threw the slaves overboard. The change by which a bounty was given to the capturing ship upon the tonnage of any ship proved to be carrying slaves did much to check the traffic, 1839.

of Yorkshire and Lancashire, apprenticed to practically irresponsible masters, and consigned to a life of suffering or shame. Many hundreds of both sexes were literally carted out of London by the local authorities for this purpose. For twelve or thirteen hours a day, with two short half-hours for meals, part of which was often occupied in cleaning machinery, these poor children stood at their work in an unwholesome atmosphere, with no chance of leisure or education, amid coarseness and brutality. A badly managed factory, it was shown, united the horrors of the slave-gang and the brothel. In **1831** Mr. Sadler proposed that no one under eighteen should be employed for more than ten hours a day. In **1833** Lord Ashley, better known as Lord Shaftesbury, obtained a commission on the whole subject. The result was Althorp's Factory Act,[8] by which children under thirteen were not to work more than eight hours a day; those above thirteen and under eighteen not more than twelve hours a day, or sixty-nine a week.[9]

The Factory Act

Two great commercial questions were now settled. The charter of the Bank of England was renewed, but only upon conditions which enabled it to be watched more carefully than hitherto. Its notes, from 5*l.* upwards, were made legal tender, and its accounts were henceforth published quarterly. The charter of the East India Company was also renewed; but its monopoly of the Chinese and Indian trades was abolished, and offices under government were thrown open to natives and foreigners. India was henceforward to be governed for Indians, not for English alone. But the great change, that which completely altered the face of labour throughout the rural districts, was the amendment of the Poor Law.

The Poor Law

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the spirit of the Tudor laws (pp. 202 228) had been fairly observed, and pauperism had been

[8] Nothing can express the conditions of labour so terribly as the simple fact that the greatest opponents of the Factory Acts were the *parents*.

[9] In 1840 the use of children as chimney-sweepers was forbidden, and Lord Ashley obtained a commission on the employment of women and children in mines, when a shocking tale of cruelty and misery was disclosed. In 1842 the employment of women was forbidden, of boys under ten, and girls under thirteen. From ten to thirteen, boys might still be employed on three days in the week. An attempt still further to improve the lot of factory children in 1843 failed, while Catholics and Dissenters united to reject a bill compelling the inhabitants of the districts in which the factories were to provide schools under Church management, even though a conscience clause was introduced. In 1844, however, the minimum age for child employment was raised from eight to nine. In 1847, though out of parliament, Ashley carried a measure against the Government, forbidding the employment of a 'young person' for more than ten hours a day—'a victory of the people over official England.' He had already secured the prohibition of the employment of children under eight, of all girls, and of boys under thirteen, at night. In 1863 the Factory Acts were applied to many other trades.—*Spencer Walpole*, iii. 416.

regarded as a disgrace. But in **1796** Pitt had passed an act legalising a custom already in vogue—namely, the giving relief to labourers, able-bodied or not, in their own houses. It was given in many ways, all bad; the usual form was to supplement the wages given by the farmers with grants from the poor rate. Every labourer who by residence had a 'settlement' in any parish had a right to this help, which was increased according to the size of his family. If the overseer refused it, 'he could select the most benevolent fool who happened to be a justice of peace in the county' and obtain an order overriding the overseer. The result was disastrous. A race of free men rapidly became a race of paupers. Improvident marriages, large families, and the profligacy which is still so bad a feature of rural life, were legally encouraged by the dole for each child, whether legitimate or not. Wages of course went down, and the poor rates went up. The farmer got his labour for next to nothing; all who paid poor rates, whether employers of labour or not, were crushed to supplement the pittance he gave. Whole villages were, as it were, eaten up by the rate. In **1785** the poor rate was 2,000,000*l.*; in **1832** it was 7,000,000*l.*; and one person in every seven was a pauper. Each parish naturally tried to get rid of its own poor. Many landlords demolished the cottages on their estates, so as to compel their poor to sleep in adjoining parishes, and, by doing so, to transfer the liability of their maintenance thither. Others threw their lands out of cultivation, since no one would incur the rate by taking them. Girls were bribed to marry out of the parish, boys were apprenticed to masters elsewhere. The result was a distribution of the people without regard to their welfare or to utility.

Its evils

In **1832** a commission of inquiry was appointed; it reported in January **1833**; and in July **1834** the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed. It was of the most thorough character. A central board, with unprecedented powers of taxation and administration, supervised the whole system, and introduced reforms at its own will at convenient times and according to varying circumstances. Parishes were joined into unions,[10] and workhouses built. Outdoor relief, beyond medical aid, was prohibited to any able-bodied man. The mother was compelled to support her illegitimate child; and birth and marriage alone were to create a 'settlement,' imposing upon the parish the duty of supporting the impotent poor. The bill was fiercely opposed—by the Tories from dislike of innovation, by the

Poor Law Amendment Act

[10] In 1865 the union was made the area for the levy of a rate, instead of the parish, so as more effectively to check the migration in search of settlements, and to lessen the temptation to landowners to demolish their cottages.

Radicals as the 'Poor Man Robbery Bill.' Its effect was rapid. The paupers became once more free men. In five years the poor rate fell from 7,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.*; and the population soon became distributed according to the needs of the country.[11]

In **1833** the beginning of another great social revolution was made. A few schools for poor children had here and there been built by private benefaction; and, but for these, there was no such thing as elementary education. In that year Mr. Roebuck proposed a system of universal national education; the government gave the miserable grant of 20,000*l.* a year, to supplement local contributions; in **1839** it was increased to 30,000*l.*,[12] to be spent by the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society in building school houses; and there the matter remained for many years.

Education grant

The conflict over the Irish tithes, and over the disposal of the revenues of the Irish Church (p. 471) led to a great change in the ministry. Stanley and three other ministers resigned, and some joined Peel and the moderate conservatives. The reforms of Grey's ministry had aroused the opposition of a host of vested interests. The government lost ground, and Wellington, whose windows had been broken in **1832**, was now the most popular man in the country. Dissension arose in the cabinet over the renewal of the Coercion Act for Ireland; Littleton, the Irish secretary, and Althorp, resigned, and then Earl Grey himself. Lord Melbourne was ordered to form a government, and Althorp joined him. But the ministers were unable to make head against the reaction, and when Althorp was removed to the Lords as Earl Spencer by his father's death, the king

Reaction

[11] The first effect of the act was to create much distress, since a million pensioners found themselves deprived of their doles, and wages did not rise rapidly. There was, too, a good deal of harshness in the administration of the 'tyrants of Somerset House.' Several attempts, happily unsuccessful, were made to repeal the act. In 1844 an act was passed enabling the mother of an illegitimate child to recover the cost of its maintenance from the father; allowing indoor relief under certain circumstances; and providing for the night relief of destitute persons without reference to their place of birth. Another act forbade the removal of poor people from any place where they had lived for five years; of a wife from her husband's parish, or of children from their parents' parish; and these acts greatly lessened the hardships of the act. The act was extended both to Ireland, in 1838, and Scotland, in 1845.—See Carlyle, *Chartism*, ch. iii.

[12] At first the Church would not touch this grant, since the money was to be distributed by a political body—a committee of the privy council—even though the inspectors were chosen with the approval of the bishops, and had to report to them as well as to the council. She very soon, however, changed her mind, and shortly absorbed most of the money. The National Society was a Church of England society, teaching its doctrines and catechisms in her schools. The British and Foreign Society admitted any Protestant, and read the Bible, but taught no catechism.

dismissed them; and on Wellington's suggestion Peel became prime minister. But he, too, was helpless in face of the Whig majority and the Radicals, and when Russell carried a motion to apply the Irish Church revenues to lay purposes—the old question—he resigned. Melbourne then came back to office with Russell and Palmerston as home and foreign secretaries; and, with a very short interval, his government lasted for eleven years.

The Melbourne ministry

One necessary piece of work, the reform of municipal corporations, was accomplished at once. These corporations consisted as a rule of a small number of councillors chosen for life, who themselves filled up vacancies on this body, with a mayor, who in the smaller boroughs had almost sole authority and power over the funds. To enrich themselves, and to further their special political opinions, were the chief objects of these corporations. Often they possessed their own magistrates and courts of law; but in these there was no uniformity. Thus, 'in Bath, with 50,000 inhabitants, the local courts could not try a felony; in Dunwich, with 232, they could sentence a man to death.' All sorts of antiquated rights and trading privileges belonged to individual freemen or to the whole body. Their chief source of income had often been the sale of the representation to some great lord.

Municipal reform

Municipal reform had already, in **1833**, been carried out in Scotland; in **1835** Russell brought in a bill for England. The council was henceforth to be elected by ratepayers of three consecutive years' standing; a third part were to retire annually. A certain number of aldermen were to be appointed for six years. The large boroughs were divided into wards by revising barristers, and each ward was to elect its own councilmen. The freemen were to retain the franchise; but all pecuniary rights, and all exclusive trading privileges, except for existing freemen, were to cease. With the energetic help of Peel the hostile amendments of the Tory peers were rejected, and the bill became law in September **1835**. The abuses in Irish corporations were as great as in England; and their constitution enabled them to perpetuate Protestant ascendency by refusing to allow a Catholic on the corporation. The Commons passed a reform bill for them also; but the Lords spoilt it, and the Commons gave way. In **1840**, however, it was again brought in and passed. The town councils were henceforth elected by 10*l.* householders.

Then followed the settlement of the tithe question in England. The effect of tithes, varying with the productiveness of the crop, was to discourage agriculture, and to produce quarrels and jealousies

between clergy and people in every parish.[13] In **1836** Russell carried an act encouraging a voluntary arrangement by the voice of the majority of tithe payers and owners, and in some cases empowering commissioners to effect a commutation by which the tithe-owner was to receive not less than 60 nor more than 75 per cent. of the nominal value of the tithe reckoned on the average prices of wheat, barley, and oats for the seven preceding years.

Tithe Commutation Act for England

From **1753** to **1836**, marriages, except in the case of a Quaker or a Jew, could be performed only by clergymen of the Church of England, who kept also the register of baptisms, marriages, and burials. All attempts at relief had failed; but Russell now passed an act with general consent, in spite of the resistance of the Lords, allowing persons desiring to be married without banns to give notice to a registrar, their names to remain publicly on the notice-book for twenty-one days; they might then be married in church or chapel, or before the superintendent registrar in London.

Marriage reform

Lastly came the removal of 'taxes on knowledge.' The heavy duties upon newspapers and pamphlets had led, like all heavy duties, to smuggling—to the unlicensed issue, that is, of the papers: and the prosecutions had fallen upon the poor hawkers who sold them. To take a newspaper meant a payment of 9*l.* a year; so that it was beyond the reach of a poor man. The wonderful success of the 'Useful Knowledge Society' had shown that cheap literature of a sound kind was certain of a large sale. In **1836**, through the efforts of Bulwer Lytton, the newspaper tax was reduced from 4*d.* to 1*d.*; and the excise on paper itself was also lessened.

Removal of 'taxes on knowledge'

In spite of all these reforms the action of the government was far too moderate for the Radicals, who were specially angry at its failure to remove church rates; while it was opposed by the whole force of the Tories as well. It would no doubt have fallen, but for the sudden illness and death of the king, June 19, **1837**.

Death of the king

Section 3.—*Foreign Policy under Palmerston*

Ever since **1830** Palmerston had been foreign secretary, and under his guidance England had played an important part in Europe. The revolution in Paris of July **1830** had created a general ferment. Belgium had thrown off her enforced connection with Holland (pp. 450, 466), and a conference was held in London to agree to terms upon

[13] The rector held the great tithes, those on corn, hay, and wood; his vicar or curate had the small tithes—those on cattle, poultry, and other farmyard produce. In many cases lay rectors (p. 192) held the great tithes. Nonconformists had to pay tithes like other people.

which the separation should be recognised. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, husband of the Princess Charlotte (p. 457), accepted the Belgian throne; and when the Dutch, refusing the terms agreed to, invaded Belgium, England and France in concert forced them to give way by blockading their ports and driving the Dutch garrison from Antwerp, October **1832**.

Belgium

Outrages on British persons and property by Don Miguel, the usurper and tyrant who ruled in Portugal, brought a demand for satisfaction from Palmerston, to which he was forced to attend. A little later Miguel's brother Pedro, with French and British volunteers, and with a navy commanded in succession by two British officers, Captains Sartorius and Charles Napier, drove him from the throne. Pedro's daughter Maria was then made queen.

Portugal

In Spain the worthless Ferdinand VI. (pp. 436, 465) had died in **1833**, leaving a rightful heir—Don Carlos, his brother—but making Isabella, the eldest daughter of his fourth marriage, with his own niece Christina, his successor. A war of horrible cruelty on both sides followed, in which Don Carlos and Miguel fought the cause of despotism against Isabella and Maria, who were supported by France and England. No formal intervention took place, but the services of the 'British legion,' a force serving in Isabella's pay under Sir De Lacy Evans, had much to do with her final success.

Spain

Under the influence of **1830** (p. 466), Italy rose against Austria, and Russian Poland against Russia. The Poles appealed both to France and to Britain; but Palmerston refused to interfere, and to the indignation of the people the gallant Poles were sacrificed after a desperate struggle. Turkey was threatened with dissolution by the growing might of her nominal subject, Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt. His son Ibrahim had taken Acre and Damascus, had defeated the Turks in a great battle, and had made himself master of Syria. A second victory brought him to the Bosphorus. The Sultan appealed to Britain and Egypt; but our navy was occupied with the blockade of the Dutch ports, while France was friendly with Mehemet. Russia however, glad of any excuse to gain a hold on Turkey, sent a force which stopped Ibrahim's further advance, exacting in return, by a secret treaty, a promise from Turkey to allow none but Russian war-ships to pass the Dardanelles. Thus the Black Sea became a Russian lake.

Italy. Poland

Turkey and Egypt

The knowledge of this treaty made Palmerston resolved to support Turkey as a barrier against Russian ambition, especially when, in **1835**, after advancing into Turkish Asia, Russia formed an alliance with the other despotisms, Austria and Prussia. In **1836** Austria

absorbed the little republic of Cracow, which lay between the three. Anger ran high in England. When therefore Mehemet Ali insisted upon independence, Palmerston declared that this would mean war with England. The danger passed for a time; but in **1839** the Turks were again utterly defeated in Asia by Ibrahim, and their fleet deserted to Mehemet. The Sultan died of despair, and was succeeded by Abdul-Medjid, a boy of sixteen. The skilful diplomacy of Palmerston hereupon brought about a Quadrilateral Alliance with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, July **1840**, which was soon joined by France, who found herself isolated; and in July **1841** a treaty was negotiated with Turkey, by which the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles were closed to war-ships of all European powers alike.

Dates of Reign of William IV

	A.D.		A.D.
The Reform Bill	1832	Municipal Reform	1835
First Education Grant	1833	Commutation of English Tithes	1836
Slave Trade abolished	1834	Reduction of Newspaper Tax and Paper Excise	1836
First Factory Act	1834		
New Poor Law	1834		

CHAPTER III

VICTORIA. TO THE END OF THE INDIAN MUTINY. 1837–1858

Section 1.—*Peel's Ministry*, 1840–1846. *Chartism. Repeal of the Corn Laws. Irish Famine*

The desire to save from embarrassment the young girl[1] (pp. 354, 457) who ascended the throne, and whose simple and winning dignity evoked intense loyalty, kept the Melbourne government in office, though not in power. Its weakness was at once shown by the manner in which it dealt with the pressing question of Canada.

That great territory had been divided in **1791** into Western or Upper Canada and Eastern or Lower Canada. The former was peopled exclusively by settlers, chiefly from Great Britain; in the latter there was an overwhelming majority of the old French inhabitants, who were, however, compelled to watch lands,

Union of Canada

[1] The succession of a female sovereign dissolved our formal connection with the Continent, which had often been a source of trouble. The crown of Hanover could be worn only by a male; and that kingdom fell, therefore, to the Duke of Cumberland, the queen's uncle.

wealth, and power rapidly passing to the minority of more active and enterprising British, with whom they never blended. Each province had its separate legislature – namely, an elective assembly, a second chamber nominated by the crown, and a governor and executive council. In Lower Canada the French population had, of course, a great majority in the elective house; but they were thwarted, especially in financial matters, by the legislative assembly, which the crown was careful to fill with Englishmen. In **1831** the demand was made that the latter should be elective also; and refusal led to armed revolt in **1837**, which was, however, easily put down. Then Lord Durham, a man of great capacity and zeal for reform, but of harsh and despotic temper, was sent out as governor. The strong measures which he took upon his own authority to crush disaffection roused a storm in parliament; and Melbourne was too weak to support his subordinate, who therefore resigned his post. But a constitution which he had suggested was established by his successor, Lord Sydenham, in **1841**. The two provinces were united, with a single assembly chosen by each in proportion to its population, and having legislative independence and complete control over finance; a council nominated in harmony with popular feeling; and a governor-general appointed by the crown.[2]

The inability of a ministry which existed only on sufferance to deal with many pressing questions was so obvious that Melbourne shortly resigned. Peel was invited to form a government; but he foolishly insisted that the queen should part with the great Whig ladies of the bedchamber. She refused to comply, and the Melbourne cabinet came back. Exposed to the scoff that they had taken refuge 'behind the petticoats of the ladies of the bedchamber,' their case was worse than before, and, as defeat followed defeat, became intolerable. In May **1840** Melbourne dissolved parliament, and appealed to the country. The fact that O'Connell and the Catholics supported the government had alarmed the Protestant feeling in the country, and a great Conservative majority was returned. The bedchamber question was settled by the voluntary resignation of the ladies,[3] and Peel became prime minister as

Bedchamber question

Peel prime minister

[2] In consequence of the dissatisfaction of Upper Canada, a fresh union was formed in 1867 by the legislative confederation of all the British North American possessions. Upper and Lower Canada, with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the North-east Territories form the 'Dominion of Canada,' with a governor-general and a privy council, a senate of life members summoned by the governor, and an elective house of commons. A lieutenant-governor and council manage the North-West Provinces, not yet organised. In 1876 the population was four millions.

[3] This was brought about through the advice of Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, whom the queen had married in 1840.

a Conservative reformer, with Lyndhurst as lord chancellor, Aberdeen foreign secretary, and Stanley secretary for the colonies.

Before the Melbourne government fell, it had passed one memorable measure—the establishment of penny postage. This was the suggestion of Rowland Hill, the son of a Birmingham schoolmaster. Hitherto the postal system had been extremely intricate and expensive; letters were not prepaid, and it was reckoned that on an average it took a postman two minutes to collect the postage on every letter which he left at a door. No letter was carried for less than 2*d.*; while the postage from London to Durham was 1*s.* The result was that poor people did not write letters at all; or, if they did, often contrived to give sufficient information, by some mark on the envelope, to their correspondent, who, having seen it, refused to take the letter in. Others, who could get their letters 'franked' by a member of parliament, paid no postage at all. Hill's proposal, which was carried on January 10, **1840**, was that the uniform charge should be 1*d.*, prepaid.[4] The immediate result was the loss of more than 1,000,000*l.* to the revenue, since it was some while before people learned to write letters. Another permanent result was that letter-writing—that is, the writing of letters which were literary compositions as well as budgets of news—became a lost art.

Penny postage

The work of the Reform Bill had been, speaking roughly, to transfer political power from the great landowners to the middle classes. For that very reason the zeal for further reform had now died out among the middle classes; while among the Radicals, and among the poor, powerless, unfriended, and miserable, it grew the keener every day. No adequate idea can here be given of the squalid wretchedness of the poor in our great towns. In **1841**, 800,000 hand-loom weavers earned 2½*d.* a day; in Manchester, Rochdale, and elsewhere, 1*s.* a week was a frequent wage. Crowded in courts, alleys, or cellars—one-tenth of the population of Manchester and one-seventh of that of Liverpool lived in cellars, neither drained nor ventilated—and in houses run up without the slightest provision for decency or health, the poor were a prey to starvation, vice, and disease.[5] In the country districts things were as

Misery of the poor

[4] In 1840 postage was paid on 42,000,000 letters; in 1875 on 962,000,000.

[5] 'Children fought each other in the streets for the offal which rich men do not allow their dogs to touch. A gentleman saw a labourer standing over his swill-tub, voraciously devouring the wash intended for the pigs. Twenty women begged a farmer to allow them to disinter the body of a cow, which he had buried thirty-six hours before as unfit for human food. Starving men and women, or, worse still, men and women seeing their children starve before their eyes, readily seized the vilest substances which enabled them to protract for a

bad. The wholesale demolition of cottages by the landlords had led to shameful overcrowding, and the consequent immorality: in one Dorsetshire parish there were thirty-six persons to every house. The hardships which followed the first introduction of the new Poor Law added to the distress (p. 474).

The protest against all this took two distinct forms—Socialism[6] and Chartism.[7] The idea of the Socialist was to give the poor man comfort; of the Chartist to give him political power, that he might help to make the laws under which he lived. This had been the idea of Tom Paine and the 'Corresponding Society' (p. 421); but like every other scheme of reform it was smothered in the reaction which resulted from the French Revolution. After the war it sprang into life again. In **1817** five objects were aimed at—manhood suffrage, the ballot, annual parliaments, no property qualification for members of parliament, and the payment of members—in other words, every poor man was to have a vote, to give that vote without fear of loss, and to be able to sit in the Commons.

Socialism and Chartism

In **1837** these demands were embodied in the 'People's Charter,' from which the name 'Chartist' is derived. It expressed the right of 'every freeman who breathed God's pure air, or trod God's free earth, to have a happy home.' The stream rapidly gathered strength. In October **1838**, 200,000 persons met on Kensal Moor to frame a petition to parliament. One leader, Stephens, urged violence if their claims were not met; and he paid for his advice with eighteen months' imprisonment. In **1839** delegates from all the manufacturing towns met at a national convention in London to prepare their petition. Chartist newspapers were established, the 'Northern Star' being the chief. Fergus O'Connor, an Irishman; Lovett and Vincent, artisans; and Jones, a barrister, were the chief

The Charter

few hours longer their miserable lives.' —*Spencer Walpole*, vol. iv. p. 363. 'The misery of the labouring man was aggravated by the "truck" system of wage payment.'—*Ibid.* p. 370.

[6] Robert Owen, a Lanarkshire merchant, was the first experimenter in Socialism. He resolved to change the conditions of labour in his own factory. Holding that education was the root of all, he established an infant school. Then he set up co-operative stores, and a public kitchen; and he devoted all his profits over 5 per cent. to the education and improvement of his men. In 1817 he proposed a scheme for construction of villages, whose inmates were to be employed and educated at the public expense. Everything was to be in common; 'association was to supersede competition; labour was to supersede money.' Unfortunately, he attacked Christianity; the poor, who, indeed, saw little to thank Christianity for, rapidly espoused his views, and thus the name of Socialist became discredited.

[7] See Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke*—especially Mr. Hughes's preface—*Yeast*, and the *Letters of Parson Lot*; Carlyle's *Chartism*; and Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton* and *North and South*.

leaders of the movement. The petition was presented, and rejected with contempt. Riots at once broke out in the large towns. Night after night the Bull Ring at Birmingham, whither the national convention had transferred its head-quarters, was the scene of great meetings. The police suppressed a riot; but ten days later the mob rose again and did much damage. Incendiarism increased alarmingly in the country districts. The government acted with vigour; the army and London police were strengthened; police forces were established in Birmingham and Manchester, and in the counties. Vincent and Lovett were imprisoned, O'Connor arrested: and at the end of **1839** the convention was dissolved. But on November 3 Frost, a magistrate, with a large body of Chartists in South Wales, suddenly rose and marched upon Newport. Their coming was anticipated, and twenty were shot down. Frost and the other leaders were transported for life, and then there was quiet for three years.

Riots

While the working men were thus agitating, the anti-corn-law movement was in vigorous activity in the class above them. The laws of **1815** and **1822** had failed: in **1828** the duty had been made to vary with the price of wheat. This duty, of course, made bread dearer than it otherwise would be: wages of artisans consequently rose, and with them the price at which the master could make his articles. This rendered them open to underselling by foreigners: and the outcry for the repeal of the corn laws was thus a manufacturers', middle class, cry; the landlords, of course, wanted the duty maintained. In **1838** the Anti-Corn-Law League was established at Manchester, and soon found its ablest exponents in Richard Cobden and John Bright. But the landlords were too strong, and Mr. Villiers's proposal of repeal was beaten in **1838** by 342 to 195, Peel heading the majority. In **1839** the League renewed its work by pamphlets, meetings, and lectures; and it was helped by unfavourable harvests and a high price of corn. It now appealed to the *poor* to resist the 'anti-bread' tax; and by **1845** it had collected no less than 245,000*l.* to help the agitation.

Anti-corn-law agitation

The Melbourne government had left the finances of the country in disorder. Peel dealt with them at once, as boldly and in the same spirit as Pitt. By an income tax of 7*d.* in the pound for three years, from which the Irish, except absentee landlords, were excepted, and by other simple methods, he converted the large deficit bequeathed him into a handsome surplus. This surplus he applied in a way which gave the first alarm to the Protectionists, of whom he was regarded as the leader. By deciding to admit all raw materials at a 5 per cent.

duty, partly manufactured goods at 12 per cent., and completely manufactured at 20 per cent. of their value, he dealt straightway with 750 of the 1,200 which at present paid heavy toll on entering the kingdom. Convinced that the population was outstripping the food supply, he encouraged the importation of cattle and meat. Logic pointed to similar encouragement in regard to corn. The Protectionists began to lose heart, the Anti-Corn-Law League to grow more active and confident. The majority against Mr. Villiers's repeal motion grew less and less every year.[8] Among the poor, Peel's policy had the happiest effect. The demand for labour grew, while the price of provisions went down: pauperism, and with it crime, decreased by one-half between **1842** and **1845**. The marvellous development of railway enterprise gave employment to both labour and capital: in **1843** there were 65,000,000*l.*, in **1848** 200,000,000*l.* sterling invested in railways, which stimulated production by the increased ease of distribution.[9]

Peel and free trade

For Peel, as for every English minister, Ireland was the great difficulty. The subdivision of land into small freeholds, and the ease with which life could be sustained upon potatoes, created a swarming population, while the absence of coal forbade the rise of manufactures to employ them. Famine was ever imminent, while wholesale evictions—and of these there were 160,000 between **1846** and **1849**—left thousands of homeless and exasperated men upon the ground. Up to **1841** the cry for the repeal of the Union had languished. But nowhere was that feeling of nationalism which had been fostered by

[8] It was in the corn law debates that William Ewart Gladstone, son of a Scotch merchant in Liverpool, born in 1809, first showed his wonderful grasp of financial questions. He began life as the Tory member for the Duke of Newcastle's borough of Newark. He had already distinguished himself by his defence of the planters in the West Indies, where his father had possessions. In Peel's first short-lived government (p. 475) he was junior lord of the Treasury, and then under-secretary for the colonies. He was at this time vice-president of the Board of Trade, master of the Mint, a privy councillor, and Peel's ablest lieutenant. Another man of great ability, destined to be Mr. Gladstone's rival, Benjamin Disraeli, was also in parliament, and had already told Melbourne he intended one day to be prime minister. But the sober-minded Peel had no appreciation of his wayward genius, and did not give him office. The effect of this was seen in his bitter opposition when the repeal of the corn laws came on. Mr. Villiers still lives (1891).

[9] Steam locomotion was the great invention of the century; another of vast importance was that of the electric telegraph. In 1837 Cooke and Wheatstone in England, and Morse in America, had applied electricity to this purpose; in that year a telegraph was placed on the Great Western line, and the system was rapidly extended in succeeding years. England was joined to France by telegraph in 1851, to Ireland in 1854, to Malta in 1861, to India in 1865, and to New York in 1866. In 1868 the control of all the telegraph lines in the kingdom was acquired by the government.

the policy of Canning (p. 465) so strong as in Ireland: and in **1842** the 'Nation,' a paper conducted by Gavan Duffy and Thomas Davis, gave eloquent expression to the feeling. Subscriptions flowed in: in May **1843**, 100,000 people assembled at the call of O'Connell, and in June half a million came to Mallow, demanding repeal. But the government was firm: a force of 35,000 men was placed in Ireland, squadrons were sent to the coasts, and the barracks were fortified. At length O'Connell summoned the people to meet him at Clontarf, outside Dublin. The meeting was proclaimed. O'Connell shrunk from violence, and at his word the people abstained from meeting. This did not save him from arrest, trial, and conviction of treason; but the sentence was reversed by the Lords. From this time, however, his influence was gone.[10]

Irish discontent

Arrest of O'Connell

The state of Ireland hastened Peel's progress towards free trade. In **1845** the potato crop failed, and a formidable famine took place. To keep the people alive an increased importation of wheat was necessary; and this fact convinced Peel that the corn laws must go. He at once braved the anger of his party by proposing to reduce the duty by a shilling every year until it had vanished; and, when the cabinet declined to uphold him, he resigned. Russell, however, was unable to form a ministry, on account of the mistrust excited among the Whigs by Palmerston's high-handed conduct, and Peel came back, with Mr. Gladstone, now converted, like his chief, in the place of Lord Stanley at the Colonial Office. He at once proposed a great free trade measure. Since the duties on raw materials had been so largely remitted, he called upon the manufacturers to give up those, still heavy, on manufactured articles (p. 483); he reduced the duties on seed, maize, and other things used by farmers, and in like manner called upon them to lessen the protective duties on butter, cheese, and hops by one-half, to admit live stock and meat free, and from February **1849** to consent to a duty of only one shilling upon imported corn. Furious at this betrayal, the Protectionists, led by Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli, offered the keenest opposition. But Peel was steadfast, and on May 28 the Corn Law Bill and the Customs Bill became law. This was supplemented in **1849** by the total repeal of the Navigation Acts (p. 459). The effect may be seen in the following figures. In **1815** the exports were 49,500,000*l.*; in **1842** only 47,500,000*l.*; in **1869** they were 190,000,000*l.*

Irish famine

Repeal of the corn laws

[10] Something was meanwhile done for the Catholics. Large grants were made to Maynooth, the Catholic college, and three Queen's Colleges were established in the north, south, and west of Ireland.

In carrying the repeal of the corn laws, Peel had been joined by the Radicals. But at the same time he had introduced a bill for coercion in Ireland; and on the night on which the Lords passed the Corn Law Bill the angry Protectionists joined the Radicals to defeat the former measure. Peel therefore, his work done, resigned.

Resignation of Peel

Section 2.—*Russell's Ministry. Irish Famine. Chartist Petition. Palmerston*, 1846–1852

Russell became prime minister, with Lord Palmerston for foreign secretary. He at once passed an act making the repeal of the corn laws total and immediate; and he also reduced the duties on foreign-grown sugar to those imposed on colonial sugar, a measure which had hitherto been successfully resisted, by the Tories as Protectionists, and by the Abolitionists because it was the result of slave labour.

Unhappy Ireland then claimed attention once more, and in a startling manner. The potato crop of **1846** failed utterly, and in a moment a famine to which that of **1845** had been as nothing came upon the teeming and thriftless population.[11] By March **1847**, in spite of every effort at relief, no fewer than 240,000 persons were dead of starvation. Relief committees kept three millions alive until the time of harvest; but between **1845** and **1851** the Irish people had diminished by two millions.[12] This awful calamity threw into the shade another scene of equally intense though less widespread distress. The people on the coast of the Western Highlands of Scotland gained a precarious living by extracting from the kelp, or seaweed, which lined the shore an alkali largely used in making soap. Unhappily for them, it was found that the same alkali could be obtained in greater quantities from a foreign plant called the barilla. For a long time their industry was protected by the heavy duties upon foreign alkali; but in **1845** the duty was repealed. The occupation of the kelp burners was gone, and they too died in great numbers from sheer famine.

Great Irish famine

The successful revolution in Paris of **1848**, which drove Louis Philippe from the throne, and which threw all Europe into turmoil

[11] 'Ireland has near seven millions of working people, the third unit of whom, it appears by statistical science, has not for thirty weeks each year as many third-rate potatoes as will suffice him.'—Carlyle, *Chartism*, ch. iv. (written in 1839).

[12] The Irish repaid England in a terrible way. They swarmed across the channel to England to find work, bringing with them infectious fevers, which took such a hold in this country that the death-rate was sensibly increased. Irish immigration, too, has always had the effect of lowering wages in England.

once more, stimulated the Irish Nationalists to activity. The 'United Irishman' outbid the 'Nation' in the violence of its language. Fresh coercive laws were passed to meet it, and Mitchell, the editor, and Smith O'Brien, a member of parliament, were tried and transported. Racial hatred was as bitter as ever in the 'distressful country.' On July 12, **1849**, a fierce fight took place at Dolly's Brae, in county Down, in which nearly fifty Ribandmen were killed or wounded, and their houses sacked and burned. But in August a pleasanter scene was witnessed. The young queen, with her husband and children, paid a visit to the country. Everywhere she was received with enthusiastic loyalty by the emotional race, and her visit did more momentary good than any legislation. Two measures were then passed to conciliate the people; by one the burden of the poor rate on the small occupiers was lightened, large sums being advanced to the unions; the other extended the franchise. For some time Ireland, though always an anxiety, called for no further active measures.

Effect of French Revolution, 1848

The queen's visit

But there were other difficulties besides Ireland. During **1847** railway speculation reached its height. For railway work, loans of no less than 700,000,000*l.* were asked for. Then came a sudden crash, during which very few banks survived the rush upon them; and the crisis taxed the financial ability of the government to the utmost. In **1848** the Chartists again became clamorous. A monster petition, with nearly six million signatures, was to have been escorted to parliament by an enormous crowd. The government wisely forbade this, and the petition went ignominiously in a cab. So great, however, was the alarm created, that Wellington was charged with the duty of guarding against an outbreak; large numbers of special constables were enrolled; troops were held in readiness, and artillery placed so as to command the approaches to Westminster. A careful examination proved that the signatures to the petition were largely fictitious, and this sufficed to secure its rejection with ridicule.

Chartist petition

In **1850** occurred the death of Sir Robert Peel by a fall from his horse on June 18. To none of her statesmen has England greater cause to be grateful. Like Walpole, but on a far higher moral elevation, he possessed a frankness of mind which enabled him to accept either the necessity or the advisability of changes which he had long and vehemently opposed, and a fearless honesty which gave him strength to face the charge of treachery from the crowd of disappointed partisans. He had accepted the Reform Act of **1832** as irrevocable, and had at once assumed the

Death of Peel

lead of the great middle class to which that act had transferred political power. With their help he had done more to unshackle commerce than even Walpole (p. 367 *note*) or the second Pitt (p. 413). The greatest master of finance between Walpole and Gladstone, he had, in his earlier days, as chairman of the committee upon whose advice cash payments were resumed in **1821** (p. 452), placed the currency upon a sound basis; and he had given stability to the banking system (p. 472). He had established a police force and reformed the Criminal Code (pp. 459, 467); he had carried Catholic emancipation when the alternative seemed to be civil war; and he had repealed the corn laws at the demand of the class in whom political power was now placed, when it was seconded by the warnings of famine and by his own convictions.[13]

His death left Russell without a rival. But the government was surrounded with difficulties. In **1850** the Pope, Pius IX., roused the jealousy against Catholicism, which had lain dormant since the Gordon Riots, by dividing England and Wales into twelve sees, Cardinal Wiseman being made archbishop of Westminster. Lord Russell himself inveighed against the Pope in unmeasured terms. An Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, practically repealed in **1871**, was introduced forbidding the assumption of territorial titles by Catholic prelates, declaring all gifts made to them, or acts done by them, under those titles, null and void, and forfeiting any property bequeathed to them. The measure was delayed by the defeat and consequent resignation of Russell on a motion which Mr. Locke-King carried in **1851** for assimilating the county and borough franchise; but, as no one was ready to take his place, he came back at once, and the bill was then passed.

Ecclesiastical Titles Bill

As in the case of Melbourne when he resumed office (p. 479), Russell's ministry now existed on sufferance only. The actual cause of its fall was the conduct of the one strong man in the cabinet, Lord Palmerston. Palmerston was a great foreign minister, and during his rule England had the respect of every European court. But, impatient of control, he acted without reference to his colleagues or even to the queen herself. In his own genial phrase, he liked to make a stroke 'off his own bat.' This excited the resentment of the court, and in **1850** the queen, acting always under her husband's advice, sent a memorandum to the cabinet insisting that this independent action should cease. But Palmerston was irrepressible. In **1851** Kossuth,[14] who had led the Hungarian revolt

Lord Palmerston

[13] Thursfield, 'Peel,' in *Twelve English Statesmen*.
[14] He still lives (1891).

against Austria, visited England, and was received with enthusiasm. As a rebel of Austria, her ally, the queen of course could not receive him; and her annoyance was great at hearing that her foreign minister had openly approved of language in which 'despot,' 'tyrant,' and 'assassin' were the epithets applied to the Emperors of Austria and Russia. But he soon committed a worse offence. The revolution of **1848** in Paris had been followed by a republic, of which Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor, had obtained the presidency for three years. But his ambition went further; and in December **1851**, when his term of office was at an end, he suddenly arrested all his opponents, dissolved the assembly, appealed to the universal suffrage of the people, and by dint of every kind of bribery, intimidation, and church influence, got himself made president for life. In this matter the queen had insisted upon absolute neutrality; Palmerston, however, did not hesitate to express to the French ambassador his warm approval of the *coup d'état*. This could not be borne, and Palmerston was dismissed. But he proved himself as formidable out of office as in it. The mere name of Napoleon had created a fear in England that he would attempt to do what his great namesake had done, and the government was urged to put the country in a state of defence. Upon a bill brought in for the purpose, Palmerston defeated the government, and Russell at once resigned.

Napoleon III

Dismissal of Palmerston and fall of Lord Russell

He was succeeded by Lord Derby—the Edward Stanley of former days—with Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. The fear that they would endeavour to bring back protection was soon found to be groundless, for Disraeli at once turned his back upon his former principles, and brought in a purely free-trade budget. But, unpractised in finance, he gave an easy opening to the greatest master of the subject, Mr. Gladstone; the government were defeated in December **1852**, and resigned. Lord Aberdeen then formed a cabinet, with Gladstone for chancellor of the exchequer, Russell at the foreign office, Palmerston for home secretary, and Lord Granville and the Duke of Argyle. But the great event of **1852** was, not the formation of a ministry, but the death of the foremost Englishman for fifty years, the Duke of Wellington.

Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone

The Aberdeen ministry

Like everything else, the church had felt the hand of reform since **1832**. The two great scandals, the inordinate wealth of the upper clergy contrasted with the poverty of the lower, and the evils of pluralities and non-residence, had been largely remedied. In **1836** the Ecclesiastical Commission had effected a re-

Church reform

distribution of the bishops' incomes, the union of the smaller sees, and the creation of fresh ones. In **1838** it was decided that no clergyman should hold more than one preferment; nor more than one benefice with any cathedral preferment; nor more than two benefices more than ten miles apart, or amounting in the aggregate to 1,000*l.* a year; nor two benefices in any case if the united population was over 3,000. In **1839** and **1840** the cathedral establishments were reduced, and the money spent in increasing the incomes in populous places. The old power of the ecclesiastical courts was also greatly limited. Vain attempts were made to relieve Dissenters from the payment of church rates (p. 476) and to open the universities to them.

Free Church of Scotland

In Scotland, under the leadership of Dr. Chalmers, took place a great secession from the established Presbyterian Church, upon the question of the right of the congregation to veto the nomination of a minister by the patron. The law courts decided in favour of the patron; thereupon 474 ministers left the kirk, May 24, **1843**, and founded the Free Kirk of Scotland. By **1848** they had raised 1,250,000*l.*, and had built 654 churches.

Foreign affairs

Up to **1852** foreign affairs had been ably conducted by Aberdeen and Palmerston. Disputes with America about the Canadian frontier line and the right to search ships bearing the American flag, but suspected of carrying slaves, had been sensibly compromised. Queen Maria of Portugal (p. 477) had been supported against her revolted people, and the liberal Pope Pius IX. against the influence of Austria; when Greece inflicted an outrage upon the person and property of a foreigner named Don Pacifico, who happened to be a British subject, Palmerston had obtained full redress by the seizure of Greek merchantmen and the threat of war. With Louis Philippe good terms were kept until his purpose to secure French influence in Spain through the marriages of Isabella (p. 477) and her sisters was accomplished by gross and shameful trickery. His fall in **1848** was the signal for revolution both in North Italy and Hungary against Austria.

Spanish marriages

Palmerston sympathised with both, but no active steps were taken to help them. North Italy was brought again under the heel of Austria, and Hungary was crushed. In **1850** all seemed peaceful, and the Great Exhibition of **1851**, containing the produce of every land which owned the sway of England, inaugurated, it was hoped, a long reign of peace. Unhappily, events were at that moment taking place which soon led to a terrible war.

Appearance of peace

Section 3.—*The Crimean War*

There were four leading causes for the Crimean war: (1) the natural impatience of Russia at the exclusion of her warships by treaty (p. 478) from access to the Mediterranean out of the Black Sea, and her consequent longing to acquire Constantinople at the first chance; (2) the fact that a large part of the Sultan's subjects were of the Slav race and professed the Russian form of Christianity; (3) the jealousy of Russian ambition, which had become traditional in English policy; and (4) the fact that Napoleon, now emperor of the French, needed the prestige of successful war to maintain an ill-gotten throne.

Cause of the Crimean war

The ostensible cause of quarrel was of the most trifling character. A long-standing dispute between the monks of the Latin Church—the form of Catholicism, that is, professed by the western nations—and those of the Greek or Russian Church, as to the custody of the holy places in Jerusalem ceded to the Christians by Turkey, suddenly assumed grave importance. In May **1850** Napoleon, wishing to conciliate Western Catholicism, asserted the right of France to put the Latin monks in full possession. This claim the Czar Nicholas I. repudiated, the more strenuously because his jealousy was aroused by the emperor's assumption of the title of Napoleon III.,[15] as if there had been no breach in Napoleonic rule; just as in reckoning the years of Charles II.'s reign the Commonwealth was ignored. Turkey was unable to frame a satisfactory compromise; and Nicholas saw the chance of at last dividing the inheritance of the 'sick man.' A personal friend of Aberdeen, he reckoned upon British co-operation. But Aberdeen declared that the 'sick man' might fairly be expected to recover; and in the end Stratford de Redcliffe, a man of iron will, and an earnest opponent of Russian ambition, was sent as ambassador to Constantinople. The question of the holy places was now in a fair way of settlement; but he found that Nicholas was pressing his right to protect the Christians in Turkey, and he persuaded the sultan to reject this demand. The Russians hereupon invaded the Danubian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which they had long coveted; and Stratford de Redcliffe, in reply, on his own responsibility ordered the British fleet to the Dardanelles, thus making Great Britain a principal in a quarrel with which ostensibly she had nothing to do. The country generally was in perfect sympathy with him. Aberdeen himself, indeed, strove earnestly for peace; but the

Ostensible cause

Stratford de Redcliffe

[15] The so-called Napoleon II., the son of the great emperor, never reigned, and died young. This jealousy of the emperor's designs was shared by England. The first volunteer rifle corps was formed at Cheltenham in 1852.

MAP

to illustrate the

CRIMEAN WAR.

The Alma River runs into the Black Sea about 15 miles North of Sebastopol.

March of allies from N. to S. of Sebastopol.

Previous March of Russians evacuating Sebastopol.

Railway made in 1855.

English army and siege batteries.

French ,, ,, ,, ,,

Turks.

A *Charge of Heavy Brigade under Scarlett.*

B ,, ,, ,, *Light* ,, ,, ,, *Cardigan.*

Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York.

nation, utterly unprepared though she was for a great war, was possessed by the war fever. Forty years had passed since Great Britain had known war on a great scale, and her only traditions were those of the glories of the Peninsula and Waterloo. Thus we drifted into war with a light heart. Turkish troops under Omar Pasha crossed the Danube and defeated the Russians; thereupon the Russian fleet in the Black Sea attacked and destroyed the Turkish squadron at Sinope, November 30, 1853. The war-cry in England, sedulously encouraged by Napoleon, grew irresistible. Without waiting to secure the alliance of Austria, an ultimatum was sent to Russia, to be contemptuously rejected by the czar. Had we been content to blockade the Black Sea and thereby ruin the Russian trade, peace might have been gained without bloodshed. Unhappily it was decided to cripple Russia by destroying Sebastopol, her great arsenal and dockyard on the Crimea, the peninsula which juts out from Southern Russia into the Black Sea. Lord Raglan, who, when Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had lost an arm at Waterloo, had the command, while Marshal St. Arnaud led the French. Meanwhile Omar Pasha had driven the Russians from the Danubian provinces, the campaign being remarkable for the gallant defence of Silistria by a few English officers under Captain Butler, who, like Clive at Arcot, had thrown themselves into the place at the critical moment.

War feeling in England

On September 13 the joint expedition landed to the north of Sebastopol. On the 20th was fought a great battle on the little river Alma, fifteen miles from the city, the brunt of which fell upon the English, and which resulted in a complete victory. Had the invaders marched straight forward, Sebastopol, practically indefensible, must have fallen at once. Prince Menschikoff indeed, the Russian commander, evacuated the place with the main part of the army and retired into the interior. But a fatal delay took place, during which Korniloff, and the great engineer Todleben, the one commander who made a reputation in this war, were able to make the fortress as strong as it had previously been weak. The allies had meanwhile carried their whole army from the north to the south of Sebastopol, nearly intersecting Menschikoff's retreat, and established themselves on the Chersonese; and in October a tremendous bombardment was opened both by land and sea.

The Alma

This movement of the allies had left the communications of Sebastopol with Russia on the north unhindered; and very soon troops were poured in, until the garrison, 120,000, was twice as large as the besieging force. They therefore determined to take the offensive. The English, forming the right of the line of siege, drew

their supplies from the little harbour of Balaclava, due south of Sebastopol; while the French rested on the sea at Kamiesch. The valley at the mouth of which Balaclava is situated rises to a causeway called the Woronzoff Road, upon which we had redoubts garrisoned by Turks, and thence slopes downwards towards the north to the Tchernaya, the river running from east to west into the harbour of Sebastopol. On October 25, covered by batteries on the north and east, the Russians attacked the redoubts, drove out the Turks, and then crossed into the southern valley, hoping to surprise Balaclava. Here they were brilliantly and successfully charged by the Heavy Brigade, under General Scarlett, and driven off. Then the British tried to recapture the redoubts; and this led to the still more famous charge of the Light Brigade of 600 men—'magnificent, but not war'[16]—against the Russian batteries supported by many thousands of troops in the northern valley, in which two-thirds of their number went down under a terrific cross-fire. In the end the Russians remained masters of the heights commanding the southern valley. Ten days later another attack with 60,000 infantry was made upon the Inkerman hill, the extreme right flank of the British, held by Pennefather and a few thousand men. This stern fight proved the individual prowess of the British soldier. It was a struggle, carried on for the most part in a fog so dense that combined action was impossible, of men who acted on their own responsibility, small groups, with or without officers, holding their own for hours against the most desperate odds—

Balaclava

Inkerman

> 'Groom fought like squire, squire like knight,
> As fearlessly and well.'

French reinforcements at length came up, and the enemy were hurled back with a loss of 12,000 men; the English had lost 2,600, the French 1,800.

Then followed the terrible winter of **1854**, during which our men suffered the extremity of hardship, aggravated by disease so grievous that in four months 9,000 men died, and by gross mismanagement at home. So bitter was the outcry against this mismanagement that the Aberdeen ministry was forced to resign, and Lord Palmerston became prime minister. His vigorous conduct of affairs rapidly changed the outlook. A railway was made from Balaclava to the camp; ample supplies and reinforcements were sent out.

Palmerston's ministry

[16] The result of a blunder in the instructions. The masterly charge of the Heavy Brigade has occupied less attention, because Lord Tennyson wrote a poem on one and not on the other.

Pélissier, a general of great vigour, succeeded to the command of the French, hitherto in incapable hands; Sardinia and Sweden joined the alliance. The English however lost Lord Raglan, worn out by his labours. He was not a great commander, but firm, patient, and skilful in keeping on good terms with the French. In September **1855** the French took the Malakoff, a redoubt which commanded Sebastopol; our men however failed in two gallant assaults upon the Redan. At length the south side of Sebastopol fell into our hands.[17] The Czar Nicholas had meanwhile died. Napoleon was eager for peace, since he had now no more to gain by war. In **1856** a congress was held at Paris. The claim of Russia to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey was given up; the Black Sea was neutralised, the Russians agreeing to leave there neither arsenal nor more than six small ships of war;[18] the navigation of the Danube was declared free. Moldavia and Wallachia,[19] with Servia, obtained their freedom, though Turkey was permitted to maintain garrisons in Servia; and there was a general restoration of conquests. At the same time the Declaration of Paris—the only permanent result of the war—decided a vexed question of international law. Henceforward (1) privateering was forbidden; (2) a neutral flag was to cover an enemy's goods, except contraband of war; (3) neutral goods, unless contraband, were no longer to be liable to seizure, even in an enemy's ship; (4) blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is, maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coast.

Capture of Sebastopol

Congress of Paris

Declaration of Paris

The war had been signalised by many gallant deeds. But one name above all others stands out for remembrance and honour, and it is that of a woman. Unprepared as England was for war, in nothing did this unpreparedness show itself so calamitously as in the hopeless mismanagement of the hospitals which had been established at Scutari, on the southern side of the Black Sea. If was reckoned that of those who came thither sick or wounded, two out of five died. At length, upon the invitation of Sidney Herbert, the secretary for war—an invitation which crossed her own offer—Florence Nightingale, a lady who still lives (1891) and works for England, or rather for humanity, went out with a

Florence Nightingale

[17] During a great part of the siege Sebastopol had been subject to a terrific fire—the *feu d'enfer*—from several hundred guns. At the time of greatest slaughter, 1,200 men were slain by this fire every day.

[18] A condition so intolerable to a nation like Russia could not be expected to be permanent. In 1871 Russia threw it over, and at the Conference of London in that year Europe acquiesced.

[19] Shortly united into the kingdom of Roumania under a Prussian prince.

band of nurses. Through her skill, her patience against professional jealousy, her indomitable courage in the face of all adverse circumstances, and, not least, her proud humility, she worked such a change in those houses of death that they were before long as healthy as the best hospitals at home.[20]

Section 4.—*India and the Mutiny*

In India war and annexation had gone on continually since the time of Warren Hastings. Oude, Delhi, and the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, the Terai, or jungle and pasture land of Nepaul, on the slopes of the Himalayas inhabited by the Ghoorkas, and the Central Provinces, with Bhurtpore, had come directly or indirectly under our sway; while we had gained influence among the Sikhs, or 'disciples,'[21] a warlike race in the north-west of the Punjab. A war with Burmah had given to the company Assam, Arracan, and Tenasserim, and a British resident was placed at Rangoon, the capital.[22]

Annexation in India

Under the governorship of Lord Auckland in **1835**, European politics definitely influenced the course of affairs in India. Aware of the ill-will of England, Russia determined to threaten our Indian frontier, and spared no pains to secure influence in Persia. Then Afghanistan, ruled over by Dost Mohammed, became the object of attention from both Russia and England. In **1837** Alexander Burnes was sent to Cabul, the capital of Afghanistan, on a political mission; while Persia, under Russian influence, and with Russian help, laid siege to Herat, the gate of India. At the same time Russia gained such influence over Dost Mohammed at Cabul, and his brother at Candahar, that Auckland resolved to replace them by Shah Soojah, a dispossessed ruler of the country. Meanwhile, an English subaltern officer, named Eldred Pottinger, had thrown

Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan

[20] No more perfect tribute exists in the English language than that to Florence Nightingale in Kinglake's *History of the Crimean War*. There is an admirable short history of this war by Sir E. Hamley, in *Events of our own Times*.

[21] The Sikhs were a religious sect, disciples of Nanak, a preacher of Lahore in the latter part of the fifteenth century. They maintained the abolition of caste, the unity of the Godhead, and purity of life, and were distinguished for the steadiness of their religious fervour.

[22] The memorable rule of Lord William Bentinck was one of reform and non-intervention. Economy was studied; the natives were encouraged to take part in the government; the cruel custom of suttee, by which the favourite wife of a dead man was bound to sacrifice herself on her husband's funeral pile, was abolished, as was also the sect of Thugs, whose religion was murder. Under Metcalfe, who followed Bentinck, the press was freed, natives and British were put on an equal footing before the law, through the action of Macaulay the historian, a member of the Council of India; and English instruction was given to the natives.

himself into Herat (1839) at the critical moment (pp. 386, 491), and had so ably conducted the defence that the siege was raised, and the Russian forces were withdrawn.[23] Two ways were open to Auckland—through the Khyber Pass to Cabul, or through Scinde, by the Bolan Pass, to Quetta and Candahar. To secure the latter, Scinde was overrun: in May 1840 the Bolan Pass was forced, and Shah Soojah enthroned at Candahar. Then the army moved by Ghuznee, which was gallantly stormed, to Cabul, 300 miles north of Candahar, where Dost Mohammed surrendered; and by August 1841 the land appeared quiet.

The army, under Macnaghten, was now encamped in fancied security outside Cabul, while Sir Robert Sale occupied Jellalabad with a small force. Suddenly the populace in Cabul, angered by the licentious conduct of the English, rose: Alexander Burnes and Captain Broadfoot were murdered; the movement spread like wildfire; the stores, carelessly guarded, were carried off by a surprise; and thus, in a moment, the whole army—4,500 fighting men, with 10,000 camp followers—was rendered helpless. In December a treaty was made with Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, by which the English gave up their arms on condition of being allowed to retreat unharmed to Jellalabad. The story of that retreat is one of the most awful in British history. An omen of what was to come was seen in the murder of Macnaghten. The helpless mass entered the gorges, and were there shot down by Afghans, who lined both sides of the pass. Out of nearly 15,000 who left Cabul, *one* sorely wounded man—Dr. Brydon—reached Jellalabad. Then followed, from January to March 1842, Sale's heroic defence of that place against Akbar Khan. The besieged had to contend not merely with the enemy, but with nature. An earthquake suddenly destroyed their ramparts, leaving the place defenceless: fortunately this happened at night, and by morning the desperate energy of Sale and his little garrison had partly repaired the damage. Then, boldly sallying out against five times his number, Sale utterly routed Akbar Khan. Before long General Pollock forced the Khyber Pass to his relief, while Nott occupied Candahar. Afghanistan was then evacuated, Dost Mohammed restored, and this rash and ill-conducted war at length brought to an end.

The disaster at Cabul

Defence of Jellalabad

In 1843 Lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded Auckland, resolved to annex Scinde, that the valley of the Indus and the Bolan Pass

[23] Russia again made a diversion on this side during the Crimean war; but the peace put an end to these operations, and after that there was no anxiety from that quarter.

might be in our hands. A great victory was won by Sir Charles Napier with but 2,800 men, against ten times his number, at Meeanee, close to Hyderabad. Hyderabad was then taken, and Scinde annexed. For this aggression there was slight excuse; but the results to Scinde itself, which had been a prey to misrule, were very beneficial. Under Napier's rule it became a flourishing and contented part of our empire. Then an opportunity was found for attacking the Rajah of Gwalior: two battles were fought, and a British resident, with practically supreme power, was placed in Gwalior.

Annexation of Scinde,

Under Sir Henry Hardinge, Ellenborough's successor, a still greater extension of our rule was carried out. As in Scinde, the disorder which ruled in the Punjab, the land of five rivers, gave an excuse for interference. Two great victories, at Moodkee, on December 18, **1845**, when Sir Robert Sale was slain, and at Ferozeshah, three days later, when we lost 2,415 men; two under Sir Harry Smith, at Durrumkote and Aliwal, on the Sutlej, in January, **1846**; and the glorious victory of Sobraon, on February 8, when Gough stormed an entrenched camp of great strength, and almost annihilated the Sikh army, completely broke their power. The Punjab was overrun, and a large part annexed; and the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, with Sir Henry Lawrence as resident, was left with a diminished sovereignty—Sir John Lawrence governing the annexed territory. But in **1848** a revolt of the Sikhs took place, and Dalhousie, who had succeeded Hardinge, was forced to a second Sikh war. On January 13, **1849**, a desperate battle at Chillianwalla resulted in something like defeat for Gough; but he redeemed the check brilliantly at Gujerat on February 21. The Punjab was then entirely annexed, and was governed with great success by a commission headed by the two Lawrences. In **1853** a fresh expedition to Burmah took Rangoon, and annexed further territory; while, in **1856**, Oude, whose position practically cut the British power in two, was taken entirely into our hands. And with this the occupation of India was completed. The rule of Dalhousie, like that of Bentinck, was memorable for other things than war. It saw the first railways and the first telegraphs, the wide development of canals for navigation and irrigation, the establishment of native schools, and the opening of the civil service to competition. In **1856** he was succeeded by Lord Canning, younger son of the great statesman.

of the Punjab,

of Oude

Our empire in India had been possible because the inhabitants were not one race, but many races, a diversity of which successive governors had availed themselves with great skill. And not only so, but the armies with which our battles were fought were largely com-

posed of the natives themselves. Out of a total force of 280,000 men, 235,000 were natives, the best being Sikh and Ghoorka regiments. Of these, five-sixths were Hindoos, the followers of Brahmin; the rest were Mohammedans. Among both the binding feeling was that of caste—and the loss of caste, from the failure, even involuntary, to observe one of a thousand religious obligations, the most dreaded calamity. In **1806** a serious mutiny had broken out when some regulation of dress threatened this loss of caste; another in **1824**, and a third in the second Burmese war, when the soldiers were ordered to cross the sea. In **1856** Canning ordered that none should be permitted to enlist who would not consent to do so. Thus the sepoy was obliged either to abandon a military life, the only one for which he cared, or to risk the loss of his caste.

Indian caste

Many other causes led to the great outbreak. The very improvements effected by Dalhousie and Bentinck induced the belief that all Indian customs were to be swept away. Every dethroned prince was of course an enemy. The sepoys serving in Oude had special reasons for discontent. A prophecy ran that after a hundred years the British drums should be heard no more; and a hundred years had now passed since Plassey.[24]

A curious circumstance, whose effects were unforeseen, was skilfully used by the main instigators of revolt to bring all this discontent and these aspirations to a head in Bengal. During the Russian war an improved firearm—the Minié rifle, so-called from its inventor—had been introduced. The cartridges were greased, that they might be the better rammed down; and one end had to be bitten off in order to set the powder free. It was asserted that the grease used was the fat of swine and cows—the one hateful to the Mohammedans, the other the sacred animal of the Hindoos—and that the British were bent on thus destroying the Hindoo caste and on defiling the Mohammedans. Several small mutinies occurred at once, which were easily crushed. But in the spring of **1857** secret signals passed throughout Bengal, by means of *chipâtis*, or small cakes, and in May a serious revolt took place at Meerut. The ringleaders were captured and sentenced to severe punishment; but the next day the 3rd Native Cavalry rose and released the prisoners, killed their officers, and marched straight upon Delhi, where there was no European regiment, and where they were joined by the native troops, who butchered an English chaplain and fifty women and children. Many isolated bodies of English, living in fancied security, suffered the same fate. Sir Henry Lawrence, with a small

Causes of the mutiny

Capture of Delhi

[24] Malleson's 'Indian Mutiny,' in *Events of Our Own Times.*

garrison, defended Lucknow, and was killed there. Cawnpore, where there were 1,000 English, chiefly women and children, was besieged at the same time by the Mahratta Nana Sahib, the adopted son of a dethroned prince, who for a long time had been on intimate terms with the English officers, but who thought himself injured by the refusal of a pension. This man displayed a hideous cruelty. On June 27 it was agreed that the English should be allowed to sail down the river to Allahabad. But no sooner were they on the boats than the natives opened fire upon them, and the larger part died there. The remainder were reserved for a worse fate. They were brought back to Cawnpore, and there butchered in cold blood; their bodies were thrown into a deep well.

Massacre of Cawnpore

Luckily Sir John Lawrence was at Lahore, and his Sikhs were faithful. They did not observe caste, and the people of Oude were ancient foes. He at once sent them forward to Delhi under Nicholson, while European troops hurried from Alipore and Meerut. A victory was won outside the city, which was then besieged. Reinforcements came up, and on September 20 Delhi was taken by storm. Unhappily Nicholson was killed.

Recapture of Delhi

Lucknow meanwhile was holding out, though in dire distress. Neill, with a fusilier regiment, followed by Havelock with two more which had been serving in Persia, came by forced marches through the burning Indian sun to the relief; and on September 25 they forced their way through the streets to the residency, where the little band held out, Neill falling gloriously in the fight. But the situation was desperate, for they were still surrounded by many times their numbers. At length, on November 17, Sir Colin Campbell, sent out in haste from England, finally came to the rescue. Then reconquest went steadily on; the last battle was against the Queen of Jhansi, who had been treated by Dalhousie as harshly as Nana Sahib, and who died fighting in the plains of Gwalior.

Relief of Lucknow

The horrors of the mutiny had been terrible; those of the vengeance were still more so. The British were frenzied at the murders of women and children; they covered their name with disgrace by the abominable cruelty of the punishments and executions which followed their successes. Officers vied with men in deeds of such a character that it was rare to find any one who had participated in them willing in a year or two to talk on the subject. One man alone—the governor-general—tried hard to place a check upon this savage spirit of revenge; and he earned the nickname of 'Clemency Canning.'

Revenge

The mutiny had one important result. The long controversy of

the relation of the government of India to the crown was at length brought to an end. In **1858** the East India Company, with the court of directors and board of control, was abolished by parliament, and the government of India transferred to the crown. India is now managed by a secretary of state in England, a viceroy, and a council of fifteen, of whom eight are appointed by the crown, and seven in the first instance by the directors, vacancies in their places being filled up by the council itself.

Change in government of India

Meanwhile we had been at war with China also. The Chinese laws forbade the use of opium, which we insisted upon introducing; and in **1840** a short war ensued. The result was the acquisition of Hong Kong, the opening of other ports to our ships, the payment of nearly 4,500,000*l.* to Britain and 1,250,000*l.* to the opium merchants. In **1856** the quarrel again broke out, nominally over the seizure of a smuggling ship carrying the British flag. We were completely in the wrong, as we had been in **1840**; but 'Our country, right or wrong' was Palmerston's motto, and war followed. Palmerston was attacked by Peelites, Whigs, Conservatives, and the Manchester peace party under Bright and Cobden. An appeal to the country however sent him back to power with a large majority, and before his government fell two years later the Chinese had been again crushed.

Chinese war

Principal Dates

	A.D.		A.D.
Peel prime minister	1840	Repeal of the Corn Laws	1845–1849
Penny postage	1840	Death of Peel	1850
Union of Canada	1841	Ecclesiastical Titles Bill	1850
War in Afghanistan	1841–1842	Great Exhibition	1851
Chartism	1837–1843	Death of Wellington	1852
Anti-Corn-Law League	1838	Crimean War	1854–1856
First Irish Famine	1845	Chinese War	1856
Second Irish Famine	1846	Indian Mutiny	1857

Section 4.—*Emigration and Colonisation*

Emigration had for many years been increasing as the demand for agricultural labourers fell off, and facilities for locomotion increased; the peasants found it more advantageous to emigrate than to go to the towns, and government helped them to do so. Between **1840** and **1846**, 246,000 went to Canada, and 362,000 to the United States; the number settling in Canada afterwards decreased, while nearly 1½ millions, a large proportion being Irish, sailed between **1850** and **1859** for America. The West Indies had rapidly declined since the world's markets had been thrown open to us at the peace of

Emigration to America

1815. But on the other hand Great Britain was founding an empire in the southern hemisphere. The Cape of Good Hope, which had come into our hands in **1815**, had a mild climate and a soil suited for cattle rearing. Thither the government had in **1819** sent some 5,000 emigrants, and the experiment had been successful. Between **1819** and **1849** wars had taken place with the native Kaffirs, in each of which the British border was pushed further east, until it reached the Kei river. But besides the Kaffirs, we had to deal with the slave-owning Boers, or original Dutch settlers, who, after the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act, left the Cape and settled in Natal and the Orange River Free State. In **1843** we annexed Natal to the Drakenberg range, and by **1856** possessed 240,000 square miles, with a population of 270,000.

Cape of Good Hope

Australia had been visited by Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese two centuries before an English foot was placed upon it, but no settlement had been left. In **1769** an expedition was sent out to Otaheite by government to observe the transit of Venus across the sun's disc—an event of rare occurrence, the observations on which enable astronomers to correct the calculation of the sun's distance from the earth. The commander was Captain Cook, who was instructed to explore the Australian coast after completing the scientific work at Otaheite. In **1770** he landed on New Zealand, and in **1771** reached Botany Bay on the coast of Australia, close to where Sydney now stands. He took possession of the east coast in the name of George III., and gave it the name of New South Wales, from the shape of the coast line. The first use made of the discovery was to establish a penal settlement; and the first colonists were 800 convicts, who founded Sydney in **1787**. But the soil was sandy and unproductive; and it was only by the free gift of land, labour, tools, and food to emigrants, and by granting lands to released convicts, that it was found possible to maintain a settlement. In **1821** New South Wales, with Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land, contained 40,000 persons; but the colony was likely to perish through the prevailing drunkenness and immorality. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, sheep rearing was introduced by a settler named McArthur, and the future of Australia was assured. In **1856** there were in New South Wales 265,000 persons and nearly eight million sheep. Melbourne was founded in the early years of the nineteenth century. In **1826**, to put an end to an attempt of the French to settle, Great Britain claimed the whole continent. The progress of Western Australia was very slow; but by **1840** Southern Australia held 15,000 persons and 200,000 sheep. In **1825** Tasmania, or Van

Australia

Diemen's Land, was made a separate colony. Victoria was carved out of New South Wales in **1851**, and Queensland in **1859**. In **1838** New Zealand was acquired, largely by purchase from native chiefs, and made a colony by royal charter in **1840**. This has led to the rapid extinction by war, drink, and vice, of the Maories—a splendid people of the Malay race. The Tasmanians have entirely disappeared, under circumstances of atrocious cruelty on the part of the conquering race.

The main drawback to the prosperity of Australia and New Zealand was the transportation system, which filled the colony with the worst characters from England, and which kept down the wages of free labour. So loud was the outcry that in **1840** transportation to New South Wales ceased. But Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island were the more flooded, until the evil grew so intolerable that the government in **1849** attempted to ship the convicts to the Cape. There the colonists rose almost in rebellion, and forced them to re-embark. A league was then formed throughout Australia for ridding the colony of this blighting system, and in **1853** it was absolutely abolished; henceforward penal servitude has been carried out in our prisons at home.

Abolition of transportation

In **1842** New South Wales was placed under a legislative council appointed jointly by the crown and the inhabitants; and in **1849** Victoria, Southern Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and Western Australia had similar constitutions. In **1850** power was given them to alter their form of government. New South Wales, followed by the others, at once reproduced the home system—an elective house of commons and a second chamber nominated by the crown. The discovery of gold in **1851** brought a rapid influx of people; in **1850** Australia had 265,000, in **1881** nearly two millions.

CHAPTER IV

VICTORIA.[1] 1858–1887

Section 1.—*The Second Reform Bill. Irish Legislation*

On January 14, **1858**, an attempt which barely failed of success was made in the streets of Paris to murder Napoleon III. The plot had been hatched in London, and the French inveighed against England in the most unmeasured and menacing terms. To satisfy French feeling Palmerston brought in a bill for

Conspiracy to Murder Bill

[1] Molesworth's *History of England*, and M'Carthy's *History of Our Own Times*, 'The Reign of Victoria.'

punishing such conspiracies ; but the vapouring of the French caused so strong a feeling in the country that a hostile amendment was carried, and Palmerston resigned.[2] Lord Derby then became prime minister for the second time, with Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. The life of their ministry was short. A new reform agitation, for the extension of the franchise, which was led with his utmost eloquence by John Bright, compelled the government to move, and Disraeli brought in a bill which would have extended the franchise certainly, but in such a way as to give votes almost entirely to the classes naturally conservative. It was at once contemptuously thrown out; parliament was dissolved; a Liberal majority was returned, and in June a vote of no confidence was carried.[3] Palmerston came back to office, with Mr. Gladstone, who was constantly growing more progressive, as chancellor of the exchequer, and with Lord John Russell, Sidney Herbert, Cornewall Lewis, Lord Granville, and the Duke of Argyle, in the cabinet also. A reform bill upon radical lines was at once brought in by Lord Russell; but Palmerston was no lover of reform, the country was lukewarm, and the bill was withdrawn. The chief interest was in Mr. Gladstone's budget, and in the new treaty of commerce with France, mainly the work of Cobden. By this great free-trade measure Great Britain abolished totally all duties upon French manufactured goods, and reduced those on French brandy and wines, the former to that paid on colonial brandy ; France in return reducing her duties upon coal and all articles of staple British manufacture. In **1858** the property qualification for members of parliament laid down in Anne's reign (p. 350) was abolished.[4]

Palmerston's second ministry

Free trade treaty with France

Mr. Gladstone's proposal to repeal the paper duty led to a quarrel with the Lords, who by rejecting it asserted their right to alter a money bill, a right never put forward since the time of Charles II.[5] Lord Palmerston at once introduced three resolutions rejecting this claim ; and, to overcome the Lords' resistance, the repeal of the duties was 'tacked' to the budget (p. 338), so that both must be passed or rejected together. The

Interference of the Lords in money bills

[2] Another practical expression of English feeling was shown in the universal formation of volunteer rifle corps (p. 490, *note*).

[3] Several events testifying to national security, wealth, and advancement had meanwhile taken place. The Social Science Association, the South Kensington Museum, the British Museum Reading Room, the Art Treasure Exhibition in Manchester, the Handel Festival, the 'Great Eastern' steamship, and the laying of the Atlantic cable—all belong to this period. The National Gallery was founded in 1824.

[4] In 1866 a similar treaty was made with Austria.

[5] Airy, 'The English Restoration and Louis XIV.,' in *Epochs of Modern History*, p. 172.

Lords have never again revived the claim. During this session a bill for the abolition of compulsory church rates (p. 476) was rejected by the casting vote of the speaker; in **1861** it was defeated by two votes. It was finally passed in **1868**.[6]

In **1861** broke out the disastrous civil war between the Northern and Southern States of America, which resulted in the abolition of slavery there. It began with the repudiation by South Carolina, followed by that of ten other states, of the authority of the Union. The Northern States were free, the Southern slave-owning. The Northern States, too, were largely manufacturing, the Southern were not; and questions regarding tariffs embittered, if they were not the principal cause of, the quarrel. Formal neutrality was observed by all other nations; but in Great Britain, while the working men were steadfast in their sympathy with the North, there was among the upper classes, in spite of the question of slavery, a strong feeling for the South; and we were within a short distance of war when a British steamer, the 'Trent,' was stopped by a Northern cruiser and four Southern gentlemen forcibly carried off. Our law officers declared this action illegal; the country was vehemently excited; but the North hesitated to give way, and we made ready for instant war. Their final acquiescence in our demands was due not only to their own necessities, but to the conciliatory though firm language of the despatches, in the framing of which the Prince Consort[7] had a large share.

American civil war

The 'Trent'

The southern coasts being strictly blockaded, no cotton could reach England. The result was that the trade of Lancashire was at a standstill, and 800,000 wage-earning men were robbed of their livelihood. Their behaviour was an honour to the whole working class. Had we joined the South, their sufferings would have ended. But they raised no cry for this; they knew that the cause of the South was the cause of slavery. Soon help flowed in; every class gave according to its means; servants gave from their wages, children from their pocket-money; even the Northern States sent subscriptions; and thus the people, though in enforced idleness, were kept supplied until the end of the war. The stoppage of the cotton supply had another result. It was felt that we must no longer

Lancashire cotton famine

[6] War broke out in 1859 between France united to Sardinia and Austria. The latter was expelled from North Italy; while in the south Garibaldi freed Sicily and Naples. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king of Italy by an Italian parliament, Austria still retaining Venice, and the Pope being master of the church states. France acquired Savoy.

[7] Unfortunately he died, December 11, 1861, at the early age of forty-one. In 1863 the Prince of Wales was married to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark.

be dependent upon a foreign nation for the material of a staple trade; and cotton growing in India was therefore rapidly developed.

Though formally neutral, we had become seriously compromised. The 'Alabama' and other vessels built at Birkenhead were fitted out as cruisers for the South, and were allowed to escape in spite of the remonstrances of the American minister. The damage done to the commerce of the Northern States by these cruisers was very great; but they were in no condition to enforce redress at the time. It was not until **1872** that arbitrators were appointed by Great Britain, America, Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil, to settle the claim against us. They finally decided that we should pay 3,000,000*l.* In that year a second arbitration took place regarding the island of San Juan, which was given against us in favour of the United States.

The 'Alabama'

Arbitration

During **1864** motions were introduced to make the county and borough franchises the same (p. 467), and to lower the latter. They were defeated through Palmerston's opposition; but they served to emphasise Mr. Gladstone's position as future leader of an advanced Liberal party.[8] At the general election of **1865**, which was fought upon the question of reform, he was in his own phrase 'unmuzzled' by being defeated for the University of Oxford, his old constituency, and elected instead in South Lancashire. The death of Lord Palmerston cleared the way; Lord Russell became prime minister, and Mr. Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer. Two other notable men died in this year—Cobden, and Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States.[9]

Death of Palmerston

In March **1866** Mr. Gladstone brought in his reform bill; but a

[8] Up to 1861 Austria was the leading power in Germany. But in that year William I. became king of Prussia, with Count Bismarck for his chief minister. Bismarck's idea was to make Prussia the head of a united German empire. In 1864 Austria and Prussia joined to wrest from Denmark the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, whose inhabitants were of German birth. Our sympathy was with the Danes, and Lord Russell used menacing language, the failure to back which by deeds brought upon him from Lord Derby the taunt that his policy was 'meddle and muddle.' In 1866 Austria and Prussia quarrelled. A war, lasting only six weeks, ended in a complete victory for Prussia, in a great measure through the excellence of her 'needle gun,' an improved rifle. Austrian influence in North Germany was completely destroyed. By the treaty which followed, Italy acquired Venice (p. 503, *note*), Rome still remaining in the hands of the Pope.

[9] The agitation against the liquor traffic had begun in 1852; the United Kingdom Alliance was founded in 1853. A bill was introduced in 1864, providing that if two-thirds of the ratepayers were in favour of prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in any town, such sale should be illegal; but it was rejected. The contest has gone on unremittingly ever since. On March 20, 1891, the High Court of Appeal decided that magistrates may refuse to renew a licence to a public-house at their discretion.

party was formed against it amongst the Liberals themselves, led by Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman, which will always be remembered less for its success than for the name of 'Adullamites' applied to its members by Mr. Bright, because, like David, they had called into their cave of Adullam 'everyone that was in distress and everyone that was discontented.' Hereupon Lord Derby and Disraeli again came into office. Urged on by the general feeling that the question must be settled somehow—by the activity of the Reform League, by the action of the mob, who, forbidden to meet in Hyde Park, tore down the railings and held their meeting in despite of authority, and by great meetings in the large towns, especially one in Birmingham addressed by Mr. Bright—Disraeli determined, in spite of the resignation of three members of the government—Lord Cranborne (the present Marquis of Salisbury), Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel—to bring in a bill himself. Like the last, it was drawn mainly to suit the Conservatives: (1) in the boroughs the franchise was to be given to any householder of two years' occupation who also paid rates. This cut out all lodgers, as well as the very large class called 'compound householders,' who lived in houses of a poor class where the landlord compounded for the rates, paying on a lower scale than that paid by persons inhabiting houses of a higher rental; (2) in the counties no one occupying a house of less rateable value than 15*l.* was to have a vote—thus even the better class of agricultural labourers were unenfranchised; (3) any one who paid sufficient direct taxation, and who was also an occupier paying rates, was to have two votes; (4) there were then what Mr. Bright called the 'fancy franchises'—votes were given to university graduates, or those who had passed the senior middle-class examinations, ministers of all denominations, barristers, attorneys, medical men, and certificated schoolmasters, and to any one who on July 1 in any year, and during the two years immediately preceding, had had a balance of 50*l.* in savings-banks, or had during the past year paid 20*s.* for assessed tax and income-tax; (5) towns with less than 7,000 inhabitants were to be disfranchised, and the members thus set free were to be distributed chiefly among the counties, not among the large towns. This bill looked very different after it had undergone Mr. Gladstone's manipulation. Disraeli, not having a majority in the house, accepted alterations one after another, which transformed it into a thoroughly Liberal measure. The dual vote and the exclusion of the compound householder were both abandoned, the latter alteration admitting four times as many as Disraeli had intended; lodgers paying 10*l.* a year rent had the fran-

Cave of Adullam

Disraeli's reform bill

The bill altered by the Liberals

chise given them; the fancy franchises vanished; the county franchise was lowered from 15*l.* to 10*l.*; the two years' compulsory residence in boroughs was reduced to one; the standard for partial disfranchisement was raised from 7,000 to 10,000; and Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds each got an additional member. The Lords however succeeded in an important alteration: in places returning three members each voter was to have two votes, so that the candidate of the minority might gain a seat; the lodger franchise was also raised to 12*l.* With these changes a Radical measure was passed perforce by a Conservative minister. The Reform Bill of **1832** had given political power to the middle classes; this gave it to the working classes.[10]

It becomes a Radical measure

To the intelligence and enterprise of the working men themselves, more than to any legislation or help from outside, is due a vast improvement in their condition. Foiled on the side of Chartism, they had, as early as **1843**, turned to Socialism (p. 481); and the history of co-operation is worthy of a place beside the greatest legislative triumphs of the era of reform. In that year twenty-eight Rochdale weavers, calling themselves the 'Rochdale Equitable Pioneers,'[11] subscribed a sovereign each to set up a shop where, for ready-money only, they might buy good groceries at a reasonable price, dividing the profits among themselves. Soon their numbers increased; the grocer's shop developed into a store for the sale of all that workmen wanted; and libraries and news-rooms were attached. Then came corn mills, a manufacturing society, land and building societies, all on the same principle. In **1861**, instead of twenty-eight members with a capital of 28*l.*, the Rochdale society had 3,500 members, with a capital of 125,000*l.* After the beginning of the American war their example was followed in all the great manufacturing towns. In **1852** the 'Industrial and Provident Societies Act' gave these societies power to carry on trade as general dealers, to sell, that is, to non-members; another act in **1862** enabled them to hold more than a single acre of land, to which they had hitherto been restricted. The principle of co-operation has spread from the working class to every other, until co-operative stores and co-operation generally—the idea of Robert

[10] The worst form of the no-popery spirit was excited at this time, chiefly in the Midlands, by the lectures of one Murphy, an itinerant lecturer, against the Catholic priesthood and the confessional. He was aided by the undoubted growth of Ritualism in the Church of England, and by the English working man's dislike of the Irish, who lowered wages (p. 485, *note*). His pamphlet, 'The Confessional Unmasked,' had a very wide sale, and his coarse invectives attracted vast audiences, which for two or three days subjected Birmingham to a repetition of the Gordon riots.

[11] Molesworth, *History of England*, iii. p. 206.

Owen (see page 481, *note*)—have become common throughout the country.

Unhappily there is a less pleasant side of the life of the working classes at this time to be mentioned. Trades-unions were common in England. Some were reasonably administered; but in others obedience to the rules of the union was enforced, or men unwilling to join were compelled to do so, by coercion which often took the form of outrage, and more than once of murder. In Sheffield especially, under the direction of Broadhead, the secretary to the union, who himself gave evidence, an appalling tyranny existed, which was disclosed in **1867** before a government commission.

In February **1868** Lord Derby resigned the premiership to Mr. Disraeli.[12] Ireland was once more to absorb attention. The Fenian[13] Association, which began in **1858**, and came to its height during the American war—was led by Stephens, one of the agitators of **1838**. A plot to seize Chester Castle was betrayed, and the leaders arrested. An attempt to rescue them as they were being driven through the streets failed, but a police sergeant was killed in the fight, September 18, **1867**. On December 10 a barrel of gunpowder was exploded against the wall of Clerkenwell prison, a large part of which was blown down; but the authorities had had warning of an attempt to rescue the Fenian prisoners confined there, and the plan miscarried. These events led Mr. Gladstone to resolve to clear away one great Irish grievance; and on April 30, **1868**, his resolution that it was expedient to disestablish and disendow the Irish Church was carried against the government. Mr. Disraeli therefore appealed to the country, when a majority of 120 was returned pledged to support Mr. Gladstone, who at once became prime minister, and a great period of legislative vigour began.

Mr. Gladstone in power.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church

On March 1, **1869**,[14] he brought in his bill; and on July 26, after a brilliant debate in the House of Lords, the last in which

[12] In 1867 an expedition was sent under Sir Robert Napier to Abyssinia, to secure the release of some British subjects whom King Theodore had imprisoned. In April 1868 it reached Magdala, the capital, after a toilsome march of four hundred miles through a mountain country destitute of roads. There a battle was fought, in which the wild rush of the Abyssinians was foiled by the discipline and rifles of the English: 500 of them were killed, and 1,500 wounded. Of the English not a man was killed, and only nineteen wounded. Magdala was then stormed, King Theodore dying by his own hand. Sir Robert Napier was made Lord Napier of Magdala.

[13] The word 'Fenian' is of uncertain meaning, said to be the name for the ancient Irish soldier.

[14] In 1869 imprisonment for debt, unless it were fraudulent, was abolished. An Endowed Schools Bill was passed, to apply more usefully the funds of the numerous schools endowed in early days, which had been largely diverted from their proper objects.

the veteran Lord Derby took part, it received the royal assent. From January 1, **1871**, the Irish Church, with the ecclesiastical courts, ceased to exist. On February 15, **1870**, Mr. Gladstone brought in his second great Irish measure. His Land Bill gave facilities to tenants to purchase their holdings, and to landlords to prepare waste lands for occupation; awarded compensation to the tenant for eviction and for improvements he had made on his farm; and to the landlord for damages done by the tenant. After a prolonged struggle of six months, this bill became law.

Irish Land Act

At the same time there was passed, through the energy of Mr. Forster, the great Education Act of **1870**, which remedied the educational destitution of the poorer classes.[15] It provided that in all localities where the school supply was inadequate to the population, school boards should be compulsorily formed to build and manage new schools provided out of the rates. These boards were empowered to frame bye-laws, compelling the attendance of the children, and settling at what age they might leave school. As proposed by Mr. Forster, they might also aid existing schools, and give whatever religious instruction they thought well in their own; and over this arose the principal debates. Dissenters, and those who held that no religious instruction at all should be given in rate-aided schools, opposed it with all their force; while they further maintained that the aid already given to voluntary schools ought to be discontinued so long as religious instruction was given in them. At length a compromise was arranged. In the board schools religious instruction might be given, but with a 'conscience clause,' enabling children to be withdrawn from it when desired by the

Elementary Education Act

[15] For the state of public education up to 1839, see p. 474. Until that time the grant had been 30,000*l.* a year for building school houses only. In 1840 compulsory inspection was introduced. The first training college for teachers was founded at Battersea, 1840, and was aided with a Government grant. In 1843 this was handed over to the National Society, and the British and Foreign Society established another at Borough Road. By 1846 the annual education grant had risen to 1,000,000*l.* In that year the system of pupil teachers was begun; and it was stipulated that schools receiving grants should be properly furnished and supplied with books and apparatus. By 1859 there were 6,878 certificated teachers, and 15,224 pupil teachers. This progress was the work of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, secretary to the Committee of Council. In 1861 the Duke of Newcastle's commission inquired into the state of things; and Mr. Lowe, then vice-president, issued the revised code, by which the system of payment by individual pass was stamped upon the system. It has only been got rid of in 1890. Matters remained thus until 1870. In 1860 the public grant, spent on 920,000 children, was 750,000*l.*; in 1885, from parliament and rates, 4,000,000*l.*, spent on 3,500,000 children.—*The Reign of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii., 'Schools,' by Matthew Arnold. At the present moment (1891) a bill is being introduced by Lord Salisbury for making elementary education free—for abolishing, that is, the fees hitherto paid by the children; the state giving an equivalent to the managers.

parents; nor might any religious catechism or distinctive formulary be used. The voluntary schools were to go on receiving grants, but they too were to have a 'conscience clause;' and the children attending the day school were not to be forced to attend the Sunday school. The school boards were to be elected by the ratepayers. Board and voluntary schools were alike placed under the Committee of Council, with the same curriculum of subjects, and under the same system of compulsory inspection. No school might receive from parliament more than the greater of two sums, 17*s.* 6*d.* per head, or the amount of income voluntarily raised. This act was passed in July **1870**.

In **1871** [16] the system by which officers in the army purchased their commissions was abolished by royal warrant without the passing of an act of parliament. The religious tests required at Oxford and Cambridge for degrees were swept away, and the main clauses of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act (p. 487) repealed. Voting by ballot—one of the Chartist demands—was passed to discourage both bribery and intimidation. In **1873** a Supreme Court of Judicature was established for hearing appeals from the Queen's Bench, the Common Pleas (p. 71), and the Court of Chancery.

Purchase in army abolished

To complete his scheme of Irish reform, Mr. Gladstone in **1873** brought forward his Education Bill, by which he provided for a great university at Dublin, from which the teaching of theology and moral philosophy should be excluded. But both Catholics and Protestants disliked it, and it was beaten by three votes. Since Mr. Disraeli was unprepared to form a government, Mr. Gladstone retained office for a short time, during which tests were abolished at Trinity, Dublin, as they had been at the English universities. Then he dissolved parliament, February **1874**. A widespread Conservative reaction declared itself. The country was tired of far-reaching legislative reforms, during which many vested interests had been touched. The Liberals were routed, and Mr. Disraeli came, not only into office, but, for the first time, into power, with a majority of 60 votes.[17] Lord Cairns was lord chancellor; Lord Derby—son of the old earl—foreign secretary; Lord Salisbury, secretary for India; Lord Carnarvon, colonial secretary; Mr. Cross,

Irish Education Bill defeated

Disraeli in power

[16] During 1871 attention was almost entirely engrossed by the tremendous struggle between France and Prussia, which ended in the downfall of Napoleon, the siege and capture of Paris, the horrors of the Commune, the loss of Alsace and Lorraine by France, and the union of all the German states under the King of Prussia, who became emperor, and in the establishment of a republic. During the war Italy, under Victor Emmanuel, took Rome, and the temporal power of the Pope was abolished.

[17] A little war with the Ashantees, a fierce and warlike tribe on the Gold Coast of Africa, was successfully finished at Coomassie by Sir Garnet Wolseley just after the dissolution.

home secretary; Mr. Hardy, secretary for war; Mr. Ward Hunt, first lord of the admiralty; and Sir Stafford Northcote, chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Gladstone now gave up the leadership of the Liberal party to Lord Hartington, and for a time took no part in public affairs.

Section 2.—*Anti-Russian Policy. Home Rule*

The government was not happy in domestic legislation. The Public Worship Act, which was passed in consequence of the complaints against ritualism, and which gave power to aggrieved parishioners to invoke the interference of the bishop against the clergy, and to the bishop to act, led to little good and to much ill-feeling. In **1874** Samuel Plimsoll, who had espoused the cause of merchant seamen against the carelessness and selfishness of many shipowners, brought in a bill making provisions for their safety. It was thrown out; but the government felt bound to introduce a bill of their own. This however they soon dropped; when Mr. Plimsoll expressed his disappointment so vehemently as to cause him to be reprimanded by the speaker, but to excite also such strong sympathy in the country that the government had again to take up the bill and carry it through.

Public Worship Regulation Act

Merchant Seamen's Act

Mr. Disraeli then suffered another rebuff. A circular was issued to captains in the navy, which practically recognised the right of a slave owner to recover a fugitive slave, even when he had sought refuge on a British ship. So sharp and immediate was the outcry from the whole country that the circular had at once to be withdrawn. One most useful act was passed by Mr. Cross —the Artisans' Dwellings Act—enabling local authorities to pull down houses unfit for human habitation, and rebuild on the sites. During this parliament flogging in the army was—thanks to the advantage taken by its opponents of every form of obstruction allowed by the rules of the House of Commons—abolished.

The Slave Circular

Artisans' Dwellings Act

It is for his foreign policy that Mr. Disraeli's last government will be remembered. It was full of dramatic strokes, prompted by the feeling that Great Britain was especially a great eastern power. In **1875** the country was surprised by the announcement that we had purchased from the Khedive of Egypt, for 4,000,000*l.*, his 400,000 shares in the Suez Canal, thus acquiring a direct proprietary right in the highway to India. Then the Prince of Wales was sent on a tour through

Disraeli's foreign policy. India

India, with every circumstance of pomp. India itself was put more directly under the secretary of state, and Lord Lytton was sent out to carry through the government policy. In **1876** the title of 'Empress of India' was, at the prime minister's wish, assumed by the queen.

Of the designs of Russia in the east Mr. Disraeli had the suspicion traditional to English politicians (p. 490) in a pronounced form. The blood and treasure poured out in the Crimean war seemed indeed to have been spent in vain. The rule of Turkey over her subject races was detestable, while Russia, growing stronger every day, was keenly alive to the advantages given her by the discontent thus created. Insurrections against Turkey broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina in **1876**; and Austria, Germany, and Russia now united in a remonstrance, to which Great Britain reluctantly assented. When however a fresh memorandum was proposed, which threatened force in case Turkey failed to carry out her promises, Mr. Disraeli refused to accede to it, and it was therefore dropped.

Russia

Turkey

Then followed an insurrection in Bulgaria, suppressed by Turkey with atrocities which aroused a tempest of indignation in England. Nothing so weakened Disraeli in popular estimation as the apparent levity with which he treated the accounts of these outrages—'coffee-house babble,' he called them—though abundantly verified. Mr. Gladstone came from his retirement to head the burst of feeling. But his demand that Turkey should leave her Christian provinces, 'bag and baggage,' produced a counter-reaction. The object of Lord Beaconsfield—for Mr. Disraeli had now accepted a peerage—was to maintain Turkey as a barrier to Russia; while Mr. Gladstone, looking to her incapacity for decent rule, would have let her power disappear.

Bulgarian outrages

Before long Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey. Servia was soon conquered, but Montenegro held out until Russia insisted on an armistice. Then a conference of all the powers took place at Constantinople, when the influence of England had the same effect in strengthening the resistance of Turkey to Russian demands as in the time preceding the Crimean war (p. 490). On April 24, **1877**, therefore, Russia declared war, and crossed the Balkans, and at the same time invaded Asia Minor. The campaign was bitterly contested, but the fall of Plevna to the genius of Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, after a siege of the most murderous character, laid open the road to Constantinople.

War between Russia and Turkey

Intense excitement now reigned in England;[13] and it was made

[13] It was at this time that a famous political nickname was invented, referring to a speech of Lord Beaconsfield at the Lord Mayor's banquet in

still keener when Lord Beaconsfield ordered the British fleet to the Dardanelles, and obtained a vote of 6,000,000*l*. Had Russia persisted in going to Constantinople war would have followed. When news came that Russia had made a treaty with Turkey at San Stephano, containing conditions which Beaconsfield would not accept, orders were sent to bring a large contingent of Indian troops to Malta.[19] Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon disapproved of so warlike a policy, and resigned, Lord Salisbury now becoming foreign minister.

Russia gave way, and in **1877** a congress was held at Berlin, where Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury represented Great Britain. They returned with the famous 'Peace with Honour,' which caused a fresh burst of enthusiasm among the Conservatives, during which the mob broke Mr. Gladstone's windows. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were made independent states. North of the Balkans there was formed a tributary, but self-governing state, of Bulgaria; south of the Balkans a new kingdom of Eastern Roumelia; the Grecian boundary was rectified. Russia received Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum in Asia Minor, with Bessarabia; Austria took Bosnia and Herzegovina. Two secret treaties concluded by Great Britain and Russia and Turkey respectively, previously to the congress, had secured this agreement. By the first, Great Britain had promised to Russia the lands she now gained; by the second, she guaranteed the Asiatic possessions of Turkey in return for the island of Cyprus.

Congress of Berlin

But Beaconsfield was bent upon a further check to Russia. As in former days (p. 494), it was believed that she had designs upon India, and her influence in Afghanistan was dreaded. An armed mission was therefore sent in **1879** to Shere Ali at Cabul, and both Cabul and Candahar were occupied. A paper treaty with Shere Ali's son, Yakoob Khan, gave us some strong places, forming a 'scientific frontier.' Then, following precisely the course of former events (p. 495), came the revolt, the murder of Cavagnari, the head of the mission, and of his escort, followed by a fresh invasion and occupation of Cabul.

Afghanistan

1876, in which he intimated that England was well prepared, if need be, for a prolonged conflict. There was a music-hall song much in vogue, the burden of which was:

'We don't want to fight; but, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too.'

The name 'Jingoes' was at once affixed by their opponents to supporters of Lord Beaconsfield's policy.

[19] This raised a very important constitutional objection. The Mutiny Act settles each year the number of soldiers to be maintained in England. But, if this could be overridden at any moment, without parliamentary consent, by drawing upon India, the safeguard provided by law was rendered a nullity.

During **1879** there was war in South Africa also. North-east of Natal, divided from it by the Tugela river, were the Zulus; beyond them lay the Transvaal, inhabited by the Boers, or Dutch settlers (p. 500). The latter quarrelled with two great Zulu chiefs—Cetewayo and Secocœni—and were beaten. To guard against the danger of the Zulus overrunning the Transvaal, and then falling upon Natal, we annexed the former, and Sir Bartle Frere went out as lord high commissioner. War broke out with Cetewayo, and on January 22, **1879**, our troops suffered a severe defeat by the savages at Isandhlwana, followed by the memorable stand of Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead at Rorke's Drift—one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of the British army—and redeemed soon afterwards at Ulundi by Lord Chelmsford. Cetewayo was then hunted down and imprisoned. In one of the skirmishes of this war the Prince Imperial, son of the Emperor Napoleon, who was serving with our army, was killed.

Zulu war

In March **1880** Beaconsfield dissolved parliament. Just as the country had under Mr. Gladstone been weary of reform, so now it was weary of surprises and a spirited foreign policy, and it was disappointed at the failure in domestic legislation. The High Churchmen in especial were alienated by the Public Worship Regulation Act. In his famous 'Midlothian campaign,' Mr. Gladstone roused feeling to the utmost against both the foreign and domestic policy of the government, with the result that at the general election the Liberals were in a majority of 106. Mr. Forster now became Irish secretary; Lord Granville, foreign secretary; Lord Hartington, secretary for India; and Mr. Chamberlain, president of the Board of Trade. Lord Beaconsfield died in the following year, and Lord Salisbury became the Conservative leader.

Midlothian campaign

Fall of the Conservatives

The last parliament had seen the beginning of that revival of the agitation for the repeal of the union with Ireland, or Home Rule, which, working at first through the Land League, and led by Mr. Parnell, has largely occupied the years that have since passed. In his hope of removing the wrongs of which Ireland still complained, Mr. Gladstone at once brought in and carried a new Land Act, by which a commission was formed to fix rents for fifteen years in advance; and through its operation rents were largely reduced. Unhappily, the agitation was accompanied with such a revival of murder and outrage that it was felt necessary to pass a fresh Coercion Act; and upon the issue of a manifesto advising tenants to pay no rent at all, Mr. Parnell and other

The Home Rule agitation

No Rent manifesto

Irish leaders were arrested. But before long Mr. Parnell was released, against the advice of Mr. Forster, who thereupon resigned.

Murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke

More than once Mr. Forster had narrowly escaped assassination. His successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was less fortunate. Within a few days of his arrival he was murdered in broad daylight in the Phœnix Park, with Mr. Burke, the under-secretary. A fresh and severer Coercion Act was at once passed.

Meanwhile our annexation of the Transvaal had led to war with the Boers, who inflicted a serious defeat upon our troops under General Colley at Majuba Hill; and, though their ultimate subjugation was certain, Mr. Gladstone resolved to restore their independence. Afghanistan, too, was evacuated.

War with the Boers

Affairs in Egypt, which, as commanding the route to India (p. 510), was of the utmost importance to us, and where Great Britain and France exercised a dual control, the Khedive being only a nominal ruler, then demanded attention. An Egyptian officer named Arabi Pasha headed the army in a national movement, and held the forts of Alexandria. The English fleet straightway bombarded Alexandria, and destroyed the forts; and then Arabi was defeated in the field by Sir Garnet Wolseley at Tel-el-Kebir. He was soon afterwards taken prisoner, and sent to Ceylon, where he is still living.

Bombardment of Alexandria

Battle of Tel-el-Kebir

The warlike Arabs of the Soudan, a southern province on the Nile, long subject to Egypt, now revolted under a religious adventurer called the Mahdi. An Egyptian army, led by General Hicks and a few other English officers, marched against them, but was cut to pieces in the desert, scarcely a man remaining alive. The government then ordered the Khedive to abandon the Soudan; and General Gordon, the type in these days of Christian chivalry, who knew the country and its people well, volunteered to go and effect the peaceful withdrawal of the garrisons. He reached Khartoum, the capital of the Soudan, but was there besieged by the Mahdi. A force was sent to his rescue, which fought its way through the desert almost to within sight of Khartoum, only to find that it had already fallen, and that the gallant Gordon was dead. There had been an unfortunate delay in sending out the relieving force, and this sad ending of a heroic enterprise caused a great outburst of feeling against the government.

The Soudan

Death of General Gordon.

Enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer

The Reform Bill of **1867** had not extended the household franchise to the agricultural labourers, and this was now remedied in **1884**. The Lords however refused to pass the bill

until a conference between the leaders of the two parties had drawn up a scheme of redistribution of seats, which also provided for splitting the large constituencies into several divisions, each returning one member.

In **1885** Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the budget and resigned. On most questions however the Liberals were in a majority; Lord Salisbury therefore advised a general election in the autumn, which resulted in the return of 332 Liberals, 250 Conservatives, and 85 Irish members pledged to Home Rule, who formed under Mr. Parnell a separate party which acted without reference to either Liberals or Conservatives. At first they joined the Liberals, and Lord Salisbury's government was at once defeated. Mr. Gladstone came into power for the third time.

Defeat of Mr. Gladstone

and of Lord Salisbury

Suddenly the country was startled by hearing that he had become convinced of the necessity of Home Rule. This was the first time that an English minister had been bold enough to espouse the principles of O'Connell, and the effect was not unlike that produced when Peel proposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. In April **1886** he brought forward two great measures—one to effect Home Rule, and one to buy out the landlords, in order that the tenants might become owners of their holdings, at a valuation based upon the rents fixed by the Land Commission (p. 513). The Home Rule Bill proposed: (1) an Irish parliament in Dublin to consider all matters except those reserved for the imperial parliament—except, that is, foreign affairs, the control of the army and navy, and the customs; (2) that for questions which do not concern the constitution of the Irish government, Irish peers and members should no longer sit in the parliament at Westminster; (3) that the Irish parliament should have executive power in Ireland; and (4) that Ireland should still contribute to imperial expenses.

Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule bill

The drastic nature of these proposals split the Liberal party from top to bottom. Several of the ablest men in it—Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, Sir George Trevelyan, and Mr. Chamberlain, joined in resisting the scheme; and their followers have since been known as the Liberal Unionists. The bill was rejected by 341 votes to 311. A dissolution followed, and at the general election only 193 members were returned pledged to Mr. Gladstone, against 318 Conservatives, 73 Liberal Unionists, and the 85 Irish Home Rulers. Mr. Gladstone of course resigned, and Lord Salisbury came into power. He made his nephew, Mr. Arthur Balfour, secretary for Ireland; and before long the cabinet was greatly strengthened

The Liberal Unionists

Lord Salisbury's ministry

by Mr. Goschen's acceptance of the chancellorship of the exchequer. From this time the union of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists has been steadily maintained, while Mr. Gladstone and his followers have been as constant to the cause of Home Rule. Irish affairs, especially since the carrying of a permanent Coercion Act for Ireland, have been the great theme of discussion; but the influence of the Liberal Unionists has been seen in the passing of more than one important measure which would probably never have been proposed by a Conservative government. In particular, representative and local self-government has been widely extended by the transference of county government to an elective council in each county.

Dates.

	A.D.		A.D.
Commercial Treaty with France	1858	Purchase of Suez Canal shares	1875
American Civil War	1861	Treaty of Berlin	1877
Reform Bill	1867	Russo-Turkish War	1877
Fenians	1867	Wars in Afghanistan and Natal	1879
Disestablishment of Irish Church	1869	War with the Boers	1881
Irish Land Act	1870	Egypt and the Soudan	1882
Elementary Education Act	1870	Agricultural Franchise	1884
Merchant Seamen's Act	1874	Home Rule Bill	1886

Summary of the Era of Reform

With the year **1887**, the fiftieth year of the reign of the queen, who in **1891** still rules over an empire in every quarter of the globe, we close this brief account of the Era of Reform, of the war against privilege, which began afresh at the accession of George IV. Three Reform Acts, in **1832**, **1867**, and **1884**, have transferred political power from the great landowners and the wealthy purchasers of rotten boroughs, first to the middle classes, and then to the great mass of the people. The church, the law, the army have all felt the beneficial hand of reform. The government of our great towns has been taken from the hands of a small and corrupt class, and, like that of the country at large, has been placed in those of the people to whom that government is all important. A criminal code defaced by revolting cruelty and injustice has been rendered effective by the removal of all its odious features. The law no longer encourages pauperism, nor permits the growth of a population in ignorance as gross as that of the beasts that perish. The light has been thrown upon the sorrows of the poor, and the worst of the hardships to which mothers, and children barely removed from infancy, were subject, have been put down by an advance of that humane feeling which had already been roused on behalf of animals.

The nation has wiped away the stain of slavery for which, in a special degree, it was responsible; it had taken the lead in the accursed traffic, and it has redeemed itself by taking the lead in abolishing it. While an established church has been maintained, the injustices which made it hated have been swept away; the universities are open to all, without respect of creed; a free press has been brought within the reach of the poorest man; commerce has been set free. The relation between labour and capital, the question of centuries, the question that was first fought out by the peasants of England in the reign of Richard II., is still far from settlement. But at least the artisan is now free to combine with his fellows in the interests of labour; at least he is politically equal with his employer; he can vote with him without fear of intimidation at the poll; he can sit by his side on the benches of the House of Commons, and prove his title to respect. Ireland, the disgrace of centuries, is still our reproach; but no thinking man is now without the sense of duty to Ireland, and remorse for what the bad government of past centuries has brought upon her and upon us. In England, in Scotland, and in Wales the whole face of life has been altered. And, as must ever be the case in any self-governing race, with every advance in freedom, with every fresh expression of trust in the people, has come an advance in order, in happiness, and in self-respect.

Chief Dates of the Era of Reform

	A.D.		A.D.
Reform of the Criminal Code	1823	Penny Postage	1840
Repeal of the Navigation Act	1823	Church Reform	1836–1840
Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts	1828	Repeal of Corn Laws	1849
Catholic Emancipation	1829	Free Trade with France	1858
Reform Bill	1832	Second Reform Bill	1867
First Education Grant	1833	Disestablishment of Irish Church	1869
Slave Trade Abolished	1834	Irish Land Act	1870
First Factory Act	1834	Elementary Education Act	1870
New Poor Law	1834	Agricultural Franchise	1884
Municipal Reform	1835	Mr. Gladstone proposes Home Rule for Ireland	1886
Reduction of Newspaper Tax	1836	Lord Salisbury's Government	1886
Commutation of English Tithes	1836		

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